

C O N T E N T S

OF THE

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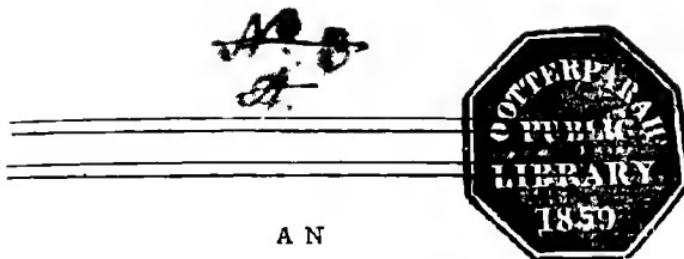
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Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts, to the Present Time.

C H A P. VI.

The History of the Phœnicians.

S E C T. I.

The Description of Phœnicia.

THE tract we commonly call Phœnicia, is more accurately termed Phœnices.

Whence it borrowed the name, is not determined. *Name.* Some derive it from one Phœnix^a; others^b, from the Greek word Phœnix, signifying a palm, or date, as if that tree remarkably abounded in this country. Some again suppose^c that Phœnices is originally a translation of the Hebrew word Edom, from the Edomites, who fled hither in the days of David. By the contraction of Canaan it was also called Chna, and anciently Rhabbothin, and Colpitis^d (A). The Jews commonly named it Canaan^e; though

^a Syncel. p. 152. ^b Chron. Alex. p. 158. ^c Sir Isaac Newton's Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amended. ^d Steph. Byzant. ad vocem Ῥαββοθίνης. ^e Vide Matt. xv. 22.

(A) This last name is a *syn*, by changing the Hebrew translation of the first. *Rab-* is into the Greek *t*, comes *rabi-* *botu* is, in Hebrew, a great *boten*, and, with a little va-gulph, or *bay*. From *rabbet-* *rabbethin*. *Kīnē-*, *colpos*

though some part of it, at least, they knew by the name of Syrophœnica^b (B). Such were the names peculiar to this small country; though Phœnicia was sometimes extended to all the maritime countries of Syria and Judea, and Canaan to the Philistines^c, and even to the Amalekites. On the contrary, these two names, and the rest, were most generally swallowed up by those of Palestine and Syria (C).

The proper Phœnicia, as far as we can gather from the ancient geographers, lay between the 34th and 36th degrees of north latitude; bounded by Syria on the north and the east, by Judæa on the south, and by the Mediterranean on the west. There is some disagreement among authors with respect to the northern limits of this country. Ptolemy makes the river Eleutherus the boundary of Phœnicia to the north; but Pliny^d, Mela^e, and Stephanus, place it in the island of Aradus, lying north of that river. Strabo observes, that some will have the river Eleutherus to be the boundary of Seleucis, on the side of Phœnicia and Cœlesyria^f. On the coast of Phœnicia, and south of the river Eleutherus, stood the following cities: Sumyra, Orthosia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblus, Palabotrys, Berytus, Sidon, Sarepta, Tyrus, Palatyrus. Sumyra is mentioned by Pliny and Mela as standing at a small distance from the river Eleutherus. Strabo calls it Laxymera, which is supposed to be a mistake. Next to Sumyra, Pliny and Mela place Marathos, which the latter calls a city of tame note; but neither Ptolemy nor Strabo take notice of it. Orthosia, or Orthosias, is mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, and the author of the fifth book of the Maccabees^g.

^a Mark viii. 26. ^b Zephian. lib. 5. ^c Plin. lib. v. cap. 20.
^d Mela. lib. ii. cap. 7. ^e Strabo. lib. xvi. p. 518. ^f 1 Maccab.
xxv. 17.

σφῆς, is Greek also for a *bay* or *gulf*; whence it appears, that *σφῆνοι*, or *σφῆται*, is a translation of *שְׁבָתִים*.

(B) Boehmer supposes, that the borderers, both upon the Phœnician and Syrian side, were called by the common name of Syrophœnicians, as partaking equally of both nations.

(C) Or rather Phœnicia, Palestine, and Syria, were pro-

miscariously used for each other, and particularly the two former. Phœnicia and Palestine, says Stephanus. Byzantium, were the same. As for Syria, we have already observed that, in its largest extent, it sometimes comprehended Phœnicia and Cœlesyria. Herodotus plainly confounds these three names; we mean, uses one for the other indifferently.

Sidon we may properly enough call the metropolis of *Sidon*, Phœnice, since it seems to have been the oldest city of this part, borrowing its name from Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan, by whom it is said to have been built (D).

It was seated on the sea-side, and provided with a summer and winter harbour¹ (E), or one much more land-locked or inclosed than the other; but this we take to be a mistake (F) that may be tolerably accounted for (G). It is now called Seyde.

Tyre, anciently Sor (H), is commonly called the *Tyrs*, daughter of Sidon, and stood also upon the sea, two hundred

¹ Achil. Tat. apud. Reland. Palæstr. illutr.

(D) Trogus derives the name from a Phœnician word, *sidon* signifying a *fib*; and this opinion Bochart gives in to; for Seid, the name of this city at present, is, as we may render it, a *filling-place*. The same Bochart seems to doubt whether or no Canaan's son was called Sidon; for, by that name, Moses meant, according to him, the city itself, denoting thereby the father of the Sidonians, or the founder of that city, whatsoever his name was; but why the name of the eldest son should be passed over, and the rest specified, is what we are not able to conceive. Others again derive the name of this city from Sida, the daughter, as they pretend, of Belus.

(E) We find no mention made of a double harbour by any of the most accurate travellers and geographers, whereas there are still visible marks of this at Tyre. This city had a mole, till Læcardine, the emir of the Druses, demolished it, to free himself from the visits of the Turkish gallies; so

that now the shipping have no other shelter than a small ledge of rocks, about a mile distant from the shore, on the north side of the city.

(F) It is observed that Sidonian and Tyrian were synonymously used. Whether or no the seeming mistake, here noted, may not have arisen from some such usage, we leave the reader to judge.

(G) It is at this day pretty well stocked with inhabitants, but much shrank from its ancient extent and splendor, as appears from the vestiges of the ancient city that are left (I).

(H) From hence this city came to be called Sirra by the Latins, and not from *sor*, a *fib*, as Servius upon Virgil intimates. From hence also, say they, is derived Tyre; it being the Syrian way to convert the *r*, or *s* into *t*; so that the Syrians pronounced it Tor, Tui, Tyi; and hence the Greeks, adding their termination, formed *Tyros*, in Latin, *tyrus*. Some pretend that this city gave name to the whole country of Syria; and

(I) Vide Maundell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem.

hundred stadia, or furlongs, to the southward of Sidon. Tyre must be distinguished into three different cities in order of time^k; as Tyre on the continent, or Pæle-Tyros (old Tyre), Tyre on the island, and Tyre on the peninsula, after the island was joined to the main land (l). It had two havens (K), one looking towards Sidon, the other towards Egypt^l. This city, including Palætyrus, was nineteen thousand paces in circumference (L); but by itself, only twenty-two furlongs, or not quite three of our miles^m; which is even allowing it considerably too much, if our modern accounts may be relied on (M).

However,

^j Vide *Data Br. illustr.* vol. ii. ad vocem *Tyrus*.

ⁱ Strabo.

ⁿ Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 19.*

^m Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 19.*

In Syria, Tyria, and Assyria, were indifferently usurped for each other; to which opinion we cannot assent. This name signifies a *rock*; for it stood upon what may be called a *rock*.

(J) There were four different places in Phœnicie which bear the name of Tyre.

(K) These were formed by the isthmus, which joined the island to the main land, and were called, the one Open, and the other Close. The former looked towards Egypt, was the most southern of the two, and accordingly called the Egyptian port. The Shaif Edryfy says, that one of these ports had an arch over the entrance of it, through which the shipping passed; and that it was fortified with a chain drawn across it. These bays, or ports, are all pretty large, and, in part, defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge, resembling a mole, stretching directly out on both sides from the head of the island: but whether these ridges are walls or rocks is uncertain; it is

most likely, however, that they are walls.

(L) From hence it seems plain, that Tyre on the island, and old Tyre on the main, were considered as but one city, after the isthmus was thrown up between them; and possibly they may have had buildings contiguous to each other. If Pliny's numbers are right, the old city must have been by much the most extensive part of the whole, and especially as the place appears at this day. According to Pliny, the island was but seven hundred paces from the continent; whereas Strabo says it was thirty stadia, or somewhat better than three of our miles, from Palætyrus; and according to the same geographer, Tyre was wholly an island, after the same manner as Aradus, excepting the artificial isthmus, which formed it into a peninsula.

(M) By them it appears that Tyre itself was but a small city in extent, though it covered the whole island; and the scantiness of their ground was

The History of the Phœnicians.

However, it appears that this famous emporium was never of very great extent. It could extend its walls no farther than the borders of the island; for this reason they built their houses very lofty, with many different stories. The buildings of this city, in general, were spacious and magnificent; and above the rest appeared the temples built by Hiram to Jupiter, Hercules, and Astarte^m. The walls of Tyre were a hundred and fifty feet high, proportionably broad, and firmly built of large blocks of stone, bound together with white plasterⁿ. It is now called Sûr (O).

Aradus (P) was not, strictly speaking, a city of Phœnicia, *Aradus.* but an inland city, like Tyre, and stood opposite to the southern limits of the sea-coast of Syria. That the Phœnicians, however, reckoned this city as a part of their

^m Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2. & apud eund. contra Apion, lib. ii. ⁿ Arrian de Expedit. Alex. Mag. lib. ii.

was doubtless what induced them to raise their buildings so high; a method they would otherwise have avoided, for fear of earthquakes, which had threatened them with destruction. At present the island appears to have been, in its natural state, of a circular form, hardly containing forty acres of ground; and the foundations of the wall which surrounded it are still to be seen at the utmost margin of the land. If then it be true, that the whole circuit of the old and new Tyre amounted to nineteen thousand paces, or nineteen Roman miles, and that they were distant from each other but thirty-three stadia, or three of the same miles and three quarters, it must be evident that the old city stood upon much more ground than the new. A good part of the island was made ground, as we call it (1).

(1) See Maundrell.

(O) It is now a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being no such thing as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are a few poor wretches, who harbour in vaults, and subsist chiefly by fishing.

(P) Bochart takes this, and that part of the continent opposite to it, to be the seat of the Canaanitish tribe called Arvadites; and we are very much inclined to subscribe to his judgment upon this head. The island of Aradus is about twenty stadia, or two Roman miles and a half from the shore, and about seven-eighths of a Roman mile in circumference. The buildings were like those of Tyre, many stories high (2). By the same pen we are told, that the Arabians, when besieged, could, by the help of long tubes, draw up fresh water from the bottom of the sea.

(2) Strabo, lib. xvi.

country, is plain from the authors we have quoted above. There are some remains of it still extant (Q).

Tripoli.

Tripoli, on the sea-coast of the continent, derived its origin from the joint contribution of the three cities before mentioned, Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus. Accordingly, it was composed at first of three distinct cities, a furlong distant from each other, inhabited by three different draughts or colonies, but all within one common inclosure or wall*. It is still a considerable place (R), and bears its old name.

Ejblus.

Byblus is reported to have been the first city built in this country; but whether we are here to understand the Byblus which stood on the sea, or the Old Byblus (*Palæobyblus*), which was within the land, we cannot determine (S).

Berytus.

Berytus must not have been much inferior to Byblus in antiquity, since it is said to have been standing in the days of Cronus. Under the Roman emperors, it was no less famous for the study of the law in the East, than Rome was in the West; whence it was styled, by the emperor Justinian, "the mother and nurse of the laws." The civil law was there taught in Greek, as it was at Rome in Latin. By whom this academy was founded is not certainly known; but that it flourished long before the reign of the emperor Dioclesian, is manifest from a decree of that prince^y. From this academy the two famous civilians Dorotheus and Anatolius were called by Justinian, that, jointly with others, they might have a share in comparing the Digests; and that prince would allow of no other academies but those of Rome, Berytus, and Constantinople, to explain the laws^z. It is now called Barût, or Ercofot (T).

Sarepta,

^x Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. cap. 41. ^y Cod. Leg. i. lib. x.

^z Justin.

Proem. Digest.

(Q) It seems to the eye to be not above two or three furlongs in length, and is wholly filled up with tall buildings, like castles. The Turks call it Ru-ad^tz).

(R) There are some remains of the ancient city, or cities, still to be seen in the fields near the shore, and many heaps of

ruins and pillars of granite (3).

(S) Byblus was the seat of the famous superstition in memory of Adonis. It is pleasantly situated; but, at present, is but small, though large enough for its few inhabitants (4).

(T) "At present it retains nothing of its ancient felicity,

(*) Magdrell.

(3) Idem.

(4) Idem.

except

Sarepta, as it is called by St. Luke¹, and by Pliny², or *Sarepta*. Zarpath, as we read in the Hebrew, and, in our version Zarephath³, where the prophet Elijah dwelt some time, and raised the widow's son, stood between Sidon and Tyre, but was subject to the former; whence it is called a city of Sidon. Josephus writes it Sarephtha⁴. The wine of this district is commended by several writers of the later ages. Between Sarepta and Tyre a river empties itself into the sea, which the modern geographers call Eleutherus; but no river between these two cities, bearing that name, was known to the ancients. Phoenice extended, according to Ptolemy, even beyond Mount Carmel; for that geographer places in Phoenice not only Ecdippa and Ptolemais, but Sycaminum and Dera, which stand south of that mountain. As these, however, belonged, properly speaking, to Palestine, we shall have occasion to mention them hereafter.

We will not take upon us to mark out the bounds of the midland Phoenice. Ptolemy reckons in it the following towns; Area, Palæbyblus (Old Byblus), Gabala, and Cesarea Panica. This province was considerably extended in the times of Christianity; when, being considered as a province of Syria, it included not only Damascus, but Palmyra also⁵.

The soil of this country is good, and productive of *Soil and Climate.* many necessaries for food and cloathing. The air is wholesome, and the climate agreeable. It is plentifully watered by small rivers; which, running down from Mount Libanus, sometimes swell to an immoderate degree, either increased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains. Upon these occasions they overflow, to the great danger and hindrance of the traveller, and damage of the country. Among these

¹ Luke, cap. iv. ver. 26. ² Pliny, lib. v. cap. 19. ³ Kings, xvii. 9, 10. ⁴ Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 7. ⁵ Vnde Reland. Palest. Illustr. p. 217.

except the situation; and, in that particular, it is indeed very happy. It is seated on the sea-side, in a soil fertile and delightful, raised only so high above the salt water, as to be secure from its overflow-

ing, and all other noxious and unwholesome effects of that element. It has the benefit of good fresh springs flowing down to it from the adjacent hills (5)."

(5) Maundrell.

rivers is that of Adonis, which we shall have occasion to mention anon.

Natural curiosities. The sea, on this coast, formerly produced a quantity of such fish, as, in an extraordinary manner, redounded to the profit of Tyre in particular; we mean the murex, with which they died the choicest purple: and on the shore was a sand wherewith the first and best glass was made; a staple manufacture of this ancient country. To these particulars we shall add a remarkable property of the river Adonis; at certain seasons, and upon certain occasions, it appears bloody. Hence was continued, at least, the superstitious ceremony performed in memory of Thammuz, or Adonis, yearly wounded. The cause of this red appearance of the river was anciently known, and, by those who were not so superstitious as the rest of their contemporaries and countrymen, ascribed to a kind of mineral or red earth which it brought away, when swelled to an unusual height^a. It is still subject to the same colour in the time of floods (U).

There are yet some few remains of the ancient splendor of this now desolate land. Thevenot^b tells us there are fine antiquities to be seen at Tyre, but does not specify them. Sandys^c could discover nothing there but an heap of ruins. The most modern travellers are more particular. They take notice of the ruins of the metropolitan church, near which is a pillar of unusual dimensions; which one represents as a triple, another as a double column, or two joined together. It is of granite, one entire block, four-score feet long (X).

Some vestiges of what Sidon once was, are to be seen among the gardens without the walls of the present city; such as beautiful columns, and other fragments of marble.

Here they pretend to shew a monument of great antiquity, no less than the tomb of Zebulon, standing within a small chapel in a garden, and highly revered by the

^a Vide Luc, de Dea Syr. i. book ii. cap. 60.

^b Travels into the Levant, part i. Lib. iii. p. 168.

(U) — “ We saw—the water (of the river Adonis)—stained to a surprising redness, and—observed—it had discoloured the sea a great way into a reddish hue (6).”

(X) For further particu-

lars, including a description of what are called Solomon’s Cisterns, the reader may consult the travels of De Bruyn, La Roque, and Maundrell’s Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem.

(6) Maundrell, p. 34.

Jews. This tomb is made of two stones only; the one supposed to be at the head, and the other at the feet of the deceased. Their distance is better than ten of our feet; which they give out to have been the stature of this patriarch⁴.

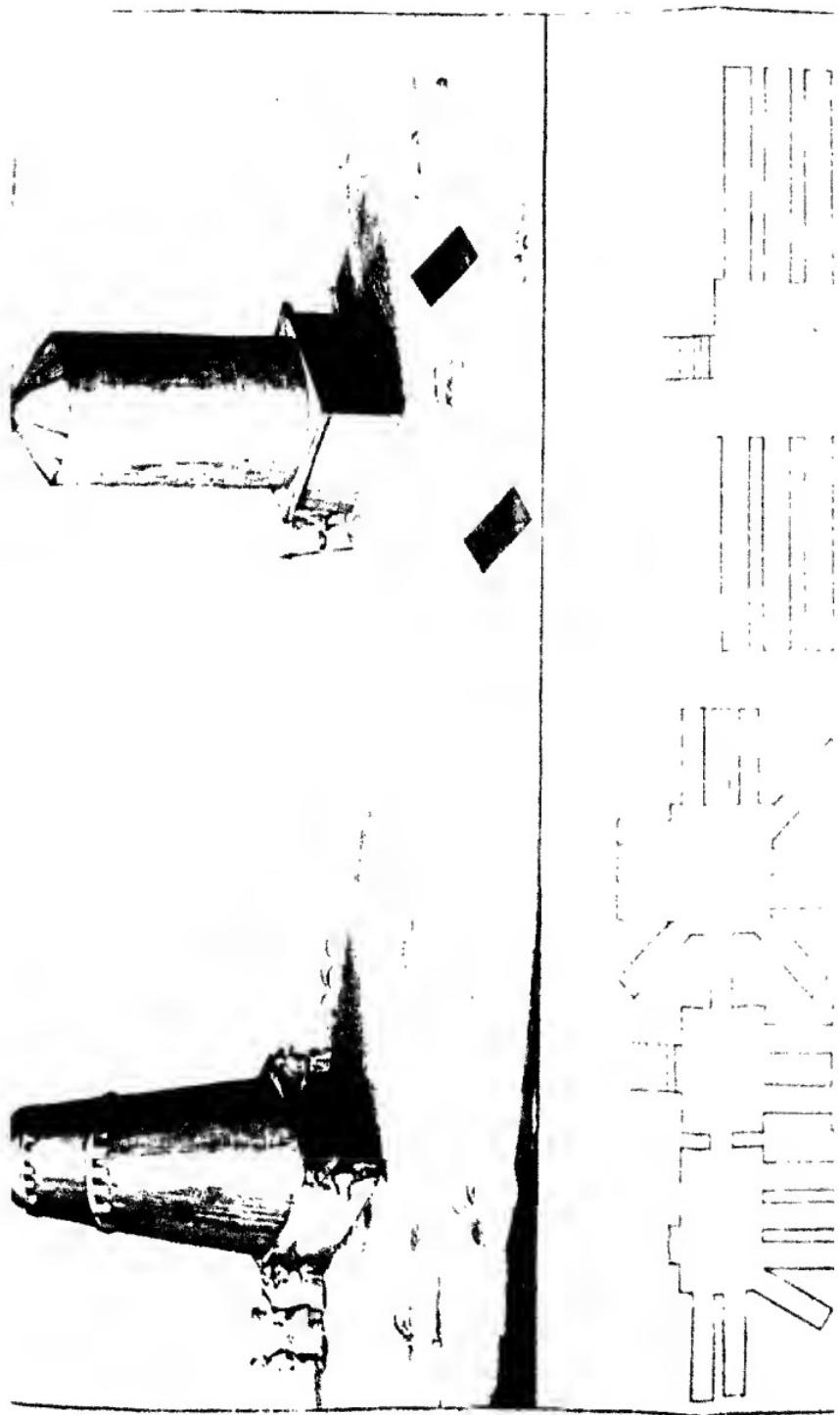
At Byblus, also, are many heaps of ruins, and fine pillars, scattered up and down in the gardens near the present town. Finally, on the continent, a little southward of the isle of Aradus, whereon the city of that name anciently stood, are several antiquities of a very extraordinary kind. The first is a dike, thirty yards over at top, cut out of the firm rock. Its sides slope down, with stairs cut also out of the rock, and descending gradually from top to bottom. This dike stretches in a direct line, east and west, more than a furlong, bearing continually the same figure of stairs, running in right lines all along its sides. It breaks off at last at a flat marshy ground, extending about two furlongs between it and the sea. A little to the southward of this dike, there is a court of fifty-five yards square, cut also in the natural rock; the sides of which stand around it about three yards high, supplying the place of walls. On three sides it is thus encompassed, but to the northward it lies open. In the center of this area, a square, part of the rock is left standing, three yards high, and five and a half square: this serves for a pedestal to a throne composed of four large stones, two at the sides, one at the back, and one at the top, in the manner of a tribunal, or canopy. This whole structure is about twenty feet high, and faces the open side of the court. The stone that forms the canopy is five yards and three quarters square, adorned with a handsome cornice. At the two innermost angles of the court, and likewise at the open side are left pillars of the natural rock, three at each of the former, and two at the latter.

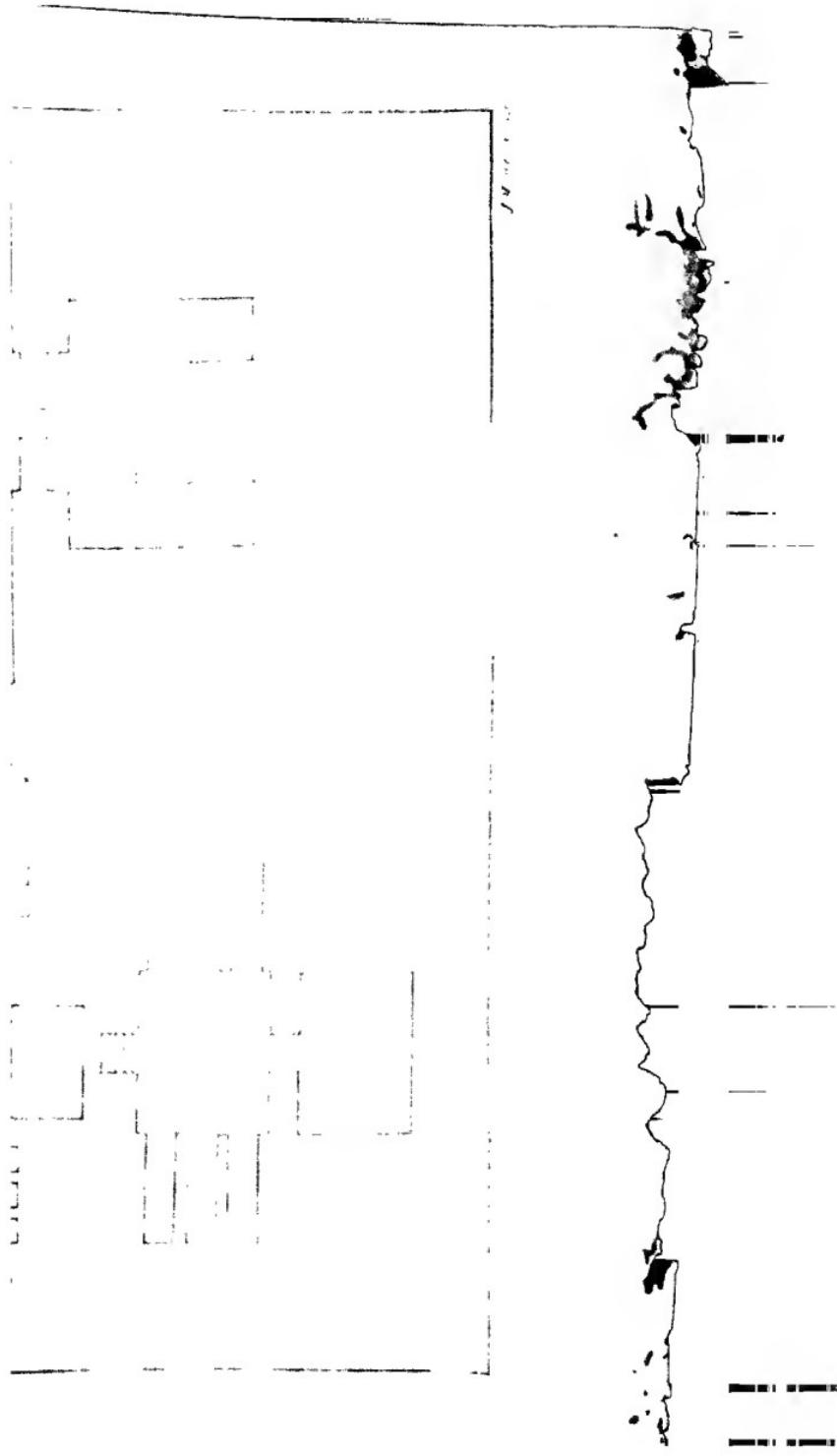
About half a mile to the southward of this court, and this throne, are two towers, supposed to be sepulchral monuments, for they stand over an ancient burying-place. They are about ten yards distant from each other, one in form, a cylinder, crowned by a multilateral pyramid, thirty-three feet high, including the pedestal, which is ten feet high and fifteen square. The other is a long cone, discontinued at about the third part of its height, and, instead of ending in a point, wrought into an hemispherical form. It stands upon a pedestal six feet high,

* *Theven. Voy. au Levant. Sandys's Travels.*









doctrine agreed together, as well as their practice and traditions.

How they represented Beelsamen, we no where find. We are of opinion, that they did not represent him at all; for, meaning by him, in a more especial^b manner, the Sun, whom they had daily before their eyes in all his glory, it is likely they made their addresses immediately to him, according to the ancient rite. There were many Baals^b. The Baal of Sidon was called Thalatius, or the Sea Baal^c. There was Baal-Berith (C), and others, each represented, as we may suppose, under his proper attributes; but we know nothing particular of their idols. Baal is called sometimes a god, and sometimes a goddess; and, on the other hand, Ashtaræ is sometimes termed a goddess, and sometimes a god (D); but, by the Phœnician mythology she was indisputably a goddess; for there we find her mentioned as the mother of many children. She is particularly called the goddess of the Sidonians, and, in Hebrew, Ashtaroth (E). Some^d will have it, she was so called, because she was represented in the form of a sheep. But this is rejected as a groundless notion. She was certainly represented like Isis, with

^b *Corinth.* viii. 5. ^c *Hesych.* ^d *R. Kimch. apud Selden de Deo Syr. Syntag. ii. cap. 2.*

one of Cronus's wives in San-choniatho. 4. Plutarch makes Typhon a contemporary with Cronus and his children; so doth San-choniatho." When the whole is weighed on each side, it must be allowed, that the ancient mythology of both was derived from the same source.

(C) This is a farther proof with us, that all the Baals of the Phœnicians were not intended for the sun. We here see one denominated from the sea, a lord of the sea, as well as a lord of heaven; which seems to distinguish them into two very different deities. We cannot help thinking, that they had different genealogies for, and traditions of, all their Baals.

(D) This arose from the Hebrews knowing no distinction of sex in the gods.

(E) Ashtaroth, which signifies *flocks of sheep or goats*. It is conjectured that men, in ancient times, being chiefly addicted to a pastoral life, and delighting chiefly in that employment, drew their favourite similes of beauty from thence. This is supposed to have been the reason why Ashtaroth, or Allartæ, was so called. It was first started by bishop Cumberland that her first name was Naamah. He tells us, that he could not think of Plutarch's Nemanus, Cronus's wife, but Naamah came into his mind.

cows horns on her head (F), and for the same reason, that is, to represent the moon's increase and decrease; for she was undoubtedly consecrated into that planet, and adored under the style of Queen of Heaven. She was also the Phœnician Aphrodite, or Venus (G).

As there were many Baals, so also there were divers Astartes. She went under different names, and was doubtless very variously represented (H). She is said to have consecrated

(F) Astarte, we are told, put on a bull's head, as the mark of her sovereignty; but Mercury claps on a bull's or ox's head upon Isis, to supply the place of her diadem, which the enraged Orus had torn off. We may see, by both these stories, that the ox's head was esteemed an ensign of supreme dignity; and that Astarte and Isis were names for one person. Bochart observes, that the word Ashtaroth may be extended to herds in general, and is not confined to smaller cattle only; and insinuates, that she may be the Grecian Io, turned into a cow.

(G) Cicero, in his discourse De Nat. Deor. enumerating the several Venuses; "The fourth," says he, "was a Syrian of Tyre, called Astarte, who, as the tradition goes, married Adonis." That she was a Venus, we understand from several other writers; but, for the present, shall content ourselves with this one very plain testimony; upon which we beg leave to an inadvert a little. Cicero places her the fourth in order, which, we apprehend, he does, as supposing the three that precede her in his account to be older than she. Again, she marries Adonis, who is uni-

versally allowed to be an Assyrian by descent. What are we to conclude from hence? Why, it seems apparent enough, that the superstition in honour of Adonis was introduced by the Assyrians, when they conquered Phœnicia; and that Astarte was his contemporary. Sir Isaac Newton, in his Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended, reckons that the Baalim and Atharoth came originally from the banks of the Tigris, whence they migrated into Phœnicia. Hence he derives all the superstition and idolatry of the Phœnicians and Syrians: "The Tyrian, Syrian, and Assyrian Belus," says he, "were all one." If we might be allowed to declare our sentiments on this head, we could add, that the greatest part of what we know of the Phœnician religion is of Assyrian origin; and that it was imposed on them together with the Assyrian yoke.

(H) We cannot doubt but she was pictured as variously as the characters she bore, and the attributes bestowed on her, required. She was pictured with arms, as the goddess of war. In her temple on Mount Libanus, where we was mourning her lost Adonis, her head was

erated Tyre, by depositing a fallen star in the place ^e (I). We have little or nothing to say of their Apollo (K). He is taken for the Phut of Moses, and Put, whence the Pythius ^f of the Greeks. Hercules or Melcartus (L) was the great and ancient god of Tyre. They anciently represented him in no form. His temple had no images in it, an undeniable proof of his great antiquity. However, they deviated afterwards from this laudable custom, as will appear when we come to the reign of king Hiram. Among their gods we may also place Adonis, Thammuz, or Osiris (M); nor must we forget the Pataeci (N) they carried

^e Suid. at Vocem Ἀράτην.
i. cap. 3. col. 33.

^f Vide Bochart Geogr. Sacr. lib.

was muffled up in a veil; her left-hand, which was under her mantle, supported her head; and floods of tears streamed down her cheeks. It must have been an Atalante that Læcian saw crowned with a tower, and with a sistrum in her hand, supported by lions; but we cannot discover from him in what temple, or where, he saw this idol. It cannot be the Syrian goddess, as he calls her, of whom he gives a different description. This last idol resembles in some particulars, certain images of Isis; but to trace her out through all her forms, is a task we are unequal to, for want of proper lights.

(I) Hence it was, we suppose, that she was worshipped as a star; and hence the notion of the star, or globe of light, which, at certain times, darted down from the top of Mount Libanus near her temple at Aphæa, and plunged itself into the river Adonis below, and was thought to be Venus.

(K) We only know, that he was in great repute among

them; and that the Tyrians, when besieged by Alexander, were so much afraid that he should leave them, and go over to the enemy, that they chained him with golden chains to the altar of Hercules.

(L) So called from *melecartha*, the king of the city, which Bochart supposes to be Tyre. Sir Isaac Newton rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, or governor, or prince of the city of Carteia in Spain. Hesychius says, that the Hamathians called Hercules by the name of Malic. Pliny calls him, corruptly, Midaeritus. He was a great navigator, and the first that brought lead from the Cassiterides, or islands of Britain. According to others, he invented the art of dying purple, from seeing by accident a dog's mouth stained by the juice of the murex.

(M) They were certainly but one, or meant the same object. Whence the people of Amuthas, an ancient city of Cyprus, formed their Adonofiris, which is a compound of both

carried about in the prows of their ships ^g. Other deities they had, which we know nothing of. The Cabiri will have their turn in the Grecian mythology.

Beelsamen we understand to have been, in an especial manner, the sun himself; and to him they addressed themselves with their arms stretched out. What else was practised, when they made their addresses to the sun only, we no where find.

Baal had his prophets, and his priests, in great numbers. We read of four hundred and fifty of them, fed at Jezebel's table only. They were wont to offer burnt-offerings and sacrifices to this god, and to dance about the altar, with violent gesticulations. Having worked themselves to a pitch of phrensy, by this exercise, and a violent straining of their voices, they began to cut their bodies with knives and lancets; then they pretended to prophecy, or, rather, raved, as if possessed by some invisible power^h. Nor need we wonder at this extravagance, considering their more barbarous custom, in earlier days, of sacrificing even such persons as were most dear to them, to appeale or reconcile their false gods, when they laboured under any public calamities. This inhuman practice is charged home upon them, not only by the testimony of othersⁱ, but by their own confession, and they had it in common with the Egyptians. But it was discontinued here, as

^g Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 37. ^h Vide Patrick in loc. ⁱ Porphyri. *περὶ δαίμονῶν*, lib. ii. sect. 55, &c.

both the names, Adonis and Osiris; for the Phœnicians and Egyptians laid equal claim to him under different appellations, though he was certainly an Egyptian. So then the beautiful Adonis, begotten by Cinyras an Assyrian, is in reality the Egyptian Osiris. The ceremonies performed in their honour were almost the same. Both the nations in this case meant no other than the sun; concerning whose approach and departure they framed such fables as might best take with the people. The month of June

was the season when all this superstition was transacted both by the Phœnicians and Egyptians. Vide Marsh. Can. Chron. sec. 1.

(N) They were small statues. Herodotus compares them to pygmies. Hesychius and Suidas will have them to have been placed in the prows of the ships. The fashion was, no doubt, changed in the great length of time between them and Herodotus. They were the tutelar gods of sea-faring men, and carried about for protection from disasters of the sea. See Selden de Diis Syr. well

well as in Egypt, pretty early; at what time, and upon what motives, we cannot explain.

Many priests, or prophets, attended also on Astarte. Our version calls them "prophets of the groves;" but Mr. Selden has proved, by comparing many passages of Scripture together, that they were the priests of Astarte; and some, who know not how to contest this interpretation, believe that goddess was worshipped in a grove, which conjecture is very likely; such places being, for the most part, accounted sacred, in the first times. There is no room to doubt but she was served with much form, pomp, and mystery; and women, particularly, are said to have been employed to weave hangings or tabernacles for her¹. When she was adored as the Queen of Heaven, or the moon itself, they offered up cakes to her, which were prepared for that service with great ceremony: "the children gathered the wood, and the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough, to make cakes for the Queen of Heaven^m." They also burnt incense, and pour'd out drink-offerings to her. Job saysⁿ, "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judges." At Byblus she had a temple like that of the Venus of Adonis^p. Such women as would not conform to the custom of shaving their heads, at the annual time of lamenting Adonis, were there bound to prostitute their bodies, one entire day, for hire; and the money thus earned, was presented to the goddess^r. Her temple at Aphæc, on Mount Libanus, was a perfect sink of lewdness. The most shameful commerce between the sexes was allowed, within those profane walls; practised, as some conjecture, because, in this place, Venus first rushed into the arms of Adonis; or, as others say, because this was either the first, or the last place, where they enjoyed each other. Other temples she doubtless had, and other rites, which it were in vain for us to attempt either to distinguish, or enumerate; but her principal temple seems to have been that at Tyre built by Hiram.

After what manner they worshipped their Apollo, is uncertain; but to their Hercules they are said to have

¹ 2 Kings, xxiii. 7.
26, 27, 28.

^m Jerem. vii, 18.
ⁿ Lucian de Dea Syr.

ⁿ Job. xxxi.
^p Idem ibid.

paid particular honour. His rites were performed with great solemnity; the assistants were all clad in Egyptian linen. They offered incense to him in loose flowing garments: the priestly vest was adorned with broad stripes of purple; their feet were bare, their heads shaven; they were pure from any pollution, contracted from the other sex; and the fire of the altar never went out. Women were not allowed to enter the temple, and swine were carefully kept from approaching it^a; such were the ceremonies used, and customs observed, in the worship of the Tyrian Hercules.

Adonis, Osiris, Adonofiris, or Thammuz (for all these names centered in one object), was the son of Cinyras, an Assyrian, who founded the city of Paphos in the island of Cyprus^c. Some say, his name was Gingris, or Gingras^f, among the Phœnicians; but whatever that might be, it is agreed, he was a most beautiful youth. It is reported^g, that Venus was enamoured of him from his infancy, and committed the care of his education to Proserpine; who, when the other came to demand him of her, refused to deliver him; hence a dispute arose between them, which was decided by Jupiter, who decreed, that the youth should be one third of the year with Proserpine, another third with Venus, and the last third be at his own disposal: that, in consequence of this decree, Adonis, captivated by the charms of Venus, spent two thirds of his time with her; and Diana taking offence, sent a wild boar to put an end to his life. Others^b affirm, that Adonis was the offspring of an incestuous embrace; begot by his father Cinyras on his own daughter Myrrha; that, to hide the guilt of this unlawful commerce, from the eyes of the world, he was exposed on the mountains, where he was nursed by the nymphs, and became a great sportsman; that Venus fell in love with him, and admitted him to her embraces; that Mars, conceiving a violent jealousy, turned himself into a wild boar, and slew the beauteous youth; that Venus, being unspeakably grieved at his death, followed him to the shades; that Proserpine, at first, refusing to deliver him, was, at length, brought to this agreement, that he should be half the year with her, and half the year with Venus; who returned, with joy, to the earth, acquainting her fol-

^a Silius Italicus, lib. iii.
Jul. Pol. lib. ii. cap. 4. lib. iv, cap. 14.
Cyril. in Is.

^c Apollod. Biblioth.
^e Apollod. Biblioth.

lowers with the success of her descent, and ordained a festival to be celebrated in commemoration thereof. Whoever compares this fable with what is related of Isis and Osiris, will find it to be the very same story, in a different dress. In consequence of this mysterious tradition, there was an annual mourning among the women at Byblus, especially, for the death of Adonis; which was succeeded by expressions of joy, equally extravagant, for his recovery.

The Jewish writers have among them another story concerning the origin of the rites of Thammuz, or Adonis. Maimonides^k relates, that the ancient Zabii held Thammuz to have been an idolatrous prophet, who, preaching to a certain king the doctrine of worshipping the seven planets, and the twelve signs, the king ordered him to be put to a cruel death; that, on the very night of his death, all the idols, from the uttermost parts of the earth, met together in the temple of the golden statue, or the sun, at Babylon; where being acquainted with the tragical end of Thammuz, they wept and lamented all night; and, as soon as morn appeared, flew back to their respective places. "Hence," says he, "was derived the custom of mourning over Thammuz." Finally, it is said, he was the son of an heathen king, whose image the Jewish women adored with shedding tears, and offering sacrifices^l.

Whoever he was, the superstition of mourning over him was universally practised by the women in those parts. They began their lamentations as soon as they perceived the river Adonis of a bloody hue^m. They then proceeded to their sacrifices, having first disciplined themselves with scourging. Next day, pretending he had risen, and ascended through the air to the upper regions, they shaved their heads, as the Egyptians did for the loss of Apis; and, at Byblus, at least, those who would not comply, were bound to prostitute themselves in the manner, and for the purposes above specified. Some writers relateⁿ, that, on a certain night, while the solemnity lasted, they laid an image in a bed, and, having lamented over it all night long, were anointed in the mouth by the priest, who whispered to each, that salvation was come; that deliverance was brought to pass; upon which, their sorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken, as it

^k In More nevochim. Syntagm. ii. cap. 11.
Firm. apud Purch.

^l Philast. apud Seld. de Diis Syr.

^m Lucian. de Dea Syr.

ⁿ Jul.

p. 90.

were,

were, out of its sepulchre. Others say, the priests of Osiris, in Egypt, wrote to the women of Byblus, signifying that they had found the god. They sent this letter in an earthen pot, or in a small ark, made of the papyrus, which came by sea, of itself, to Byblus. This voyage it performed in seven days; and it no sooner appeared in the port, than the women danced, feasted, and rejoiced, as extravagantly as they had before wept, mourned, and lamented^a. This custom has made so lasting an impression on the women of those parts, that some traces of it are kept up by the inhabitants of Aleppo to this day^b.

There are different ways of explaining this mystery. Adonis was the sun; the upper hemisphere of the earth, was anciently called Venus; the under, Proserpine; therefore, when the sun was in the six inferior signs, they said he was with Proserpine; when he was in the six superior, he was supposed to reside with Venus. By the boar which slew Adonis, they understood Winter; for the boar they made, and not unaptly, the emblem of that rigid season^c. Or by Adonis they meant the fruits of the earth; which are, for one while, buried, but, at length, appear flourishing to the sight. When, therefore, the seed was thrown into the ground, they said Adonis was gone to Proserpine; but when it sprouted up, they pretended, he had revisited the light, and Venus. Hence, probably, it was, that they sowed corn, and made gardens for Adonis; for such a custom they also had^d. We may well suppose, there was no small variation among those who received this piece of superstition, when they talked of what it meant, and why it was practised. Finally, Plutarch takes Adonis to be Bacchus: Osiris was both the Sun and Adonis. It was also said, that Osiris was buried at Byblus. The word Adonis imports *lord*, and so does the word Baal.

Plutarch also informs us^e that Isis had a temple at Byblus, where they worshipped the heath which had concealed Osiris's coffin. This Byblian Isis must certainly have been Astarte; so that we end with the Baalim and Astaroth as we have begun.

Herodotus supposes^f the Phœnicians to have been circumcised; but Josephus asserts^g that none of the

^a Procop. & Cyril. ^b Seller's History of Palmyra, Preface.

^c Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 21. ^d Vide Vol. de Idololatri.

lib. ii. cap. 5. p. 167. ^e De Isid. & Osiride. ^f Lib. ii. cap. 104.

^g Contra Apion, lib. i.

nations, included under the vague name of Palestine and Syria, used that rite, the Jews excepted; so that if the Phœnicians had anciently that custom, they came in time to neglect it, and at length wholly laid it aside. They abstained from the flesh of swine¹.

*Their arts
and learn-
ing.*

Much is said of their arts, sciences, and manufactures; but as what we find concerning them is couched in general terms only, we cannot descant on particulars. The Sidonians, under which denomination we comprehend the Phœnicians in general, were of a most happy genius: arithmetic and astronomy either took rise among them^k, or were brought by them to great perfection: from them those excellent sciences flowed into Greece^l, together with their letters^m. They were, from the beginning, addicted to philosophical exercises of the mind; insomuch that a Sidonian, by name Moschus, taught the doctrine of atoms before the Trojan warⁿ: and Abomenus of Tyre^o puzzled Solomon by the subtlety of his questions. Phœnices continued to be one of the seats of learning, and both Tyre and Sidon^p produced their philosophers of later ages; namely, Boethus and Diodatus of Sidon, Antipater of Tyre, and Apollonius of the same place; who gave an account of the writings and disciples of Zeno.

*Their lan-
guage.*

Their language was a dialect of the Hebrew; the same with that of the ancient Canaanites. Their letters, or characters, were either the same with, or very like to those of the Samaritans.

*Their ma-
nufactures.*

The glass of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the exceeding fine linen they wove, were the product of their own country, and their own invention: and for their extraordinary skill in working metals, in hewing timber and stone, in a word, for their perfect knowledge of what was solid, great, and ornamental, in architecture, we need only put the reader in mind of the large share they had in erecting and decorating the temple at Jerusalem under their king Hiram. Their fame for taste, design, and ingenious invention, was such, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleasing, whether in apparel, vessels, or toys, was distinguished by way of excellence, with the epithet of Sidonian^q.

¹ Herodian. lib. v.
ibid. col. 303.

^k Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 757.
apud Strab.

^m Herodotus, lib. v. cap. 58.

ⁿ Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. lib. viii. cap.

2, & contra Apion, lib. i.

^o Strabo, ubi supra.

^p Bochart. Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 25, col. 303.

¹ Idem
^q Possidonius,

^r Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. lib. viii. cap.

2, & contra Apion, lib. i.

^s Strabo, ubi supra.

^t Vide Bochart. Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 25, col. 303.

^q Vide Bochart. Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 25, col. 303.

Thus

Thus far we have considered them as learned men and artificers, improving themselves, and cultivating their minds sedately at home. It remains that we mention them as merchants, navigators, and planters of colonies in foreign parts. As merchants, they may be said to have engrossed all the commerce of the western world: as navigators, they were the boldest, the most experienced, and greatest discoverers, of the ancient times: they had, for many ages, no rivals. In planting colonies they exerted themselves so much, that, considering their habitation was little more than the slip of ground between Mount Libanus and the sea, it is surprising how they could furnish such supplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their native country.

*Their tra-
and nau-
gation.*

We have supposed that the Phœnicians were induced to deal in foreign commodities, by their neighbourhood with the Syrians, whom we have considered as the most ancient of those who carried on a considerable and regular trade with the more eastern regions; and we see no reason to depart from this conjecture. For their own territory was but small, and little able to afford any considerable exports, if we except manufactures; but that their manufactures were any ways considerable, till they began to turn all the channels of trade into their own country, is hard to believe. In Syria, which was a large country, they found store of productions of the natural growth of that soil, and many choice and useful commodities brought from the East. Thus, having a safe coast, with convenient harbours, on one side, and excellent materials for ship-building on the other; perceiving how acceptable many commodities, that Syria furnished, would be in foreign parts; and being, at the same time, perhaps, shewn the way by the Syrians themselves, who may have navigated the Mediterranean; they turned all their thoughts to trade and navigation; and, by an uncommon application, soon eclipsed their masters in that art.

It were in vain to talk of the Edomites, who fled hither in David's time; or to enquire why Herodotus supposes the Phœnicians came from the Red Sea: their origin we have already seen. That some of the Edomites fled into this country in the days of David, and that they were a trading people, we have elsewhere shewn: what improvements they brought with them into Phœnicia, is hard to say; and, by the way, it is as difficult to ascertain their numbers. In all probability they brought with them a knowledge of the Red Sea, and of the south parts of Arabia,

Egypt, and Ethiopia ; and by their information made the Phœnicians acquainted with those coasts ; by which means they were enabled to undertake voyages to those parts, for Solomon, and Pharoah Necho, king of Egypt.

Their whole thoughts were employed on schemes to advance their commerce. They affected no empire but that of the sea ; and seemed to aim at nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of their trade. This they extended to all the known parts they could reach ; to the British isles, commonly understood by the Cassiterides ; to Spain, and other places in the ocean, both within and without the Straights of Gibraltar ; and, in general, to all the ports of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the lake Mæotis¹. In all these parts they had settlements and correspondents, from which they drew what was useful to themselves, or might be so to others ; and thus they exercised the three great branches of trade, as it is commonly divided into importation, exportation, and transportation, in full latitude. Such was their sea-trade ; and for that which they carried on by land in Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Arabia, and even in India, it was of no less extent, and may give us an idea of what this people once was, how rich, and how deservedly their merchants are mentioned in Scripture as equal to princes². Their country was, at that time, the great warehouse, where every thing, that might either administer to the necessities or luxury of mankind, was to be found ; which they distributed as they judged would be best for their own interest. Their own commodities were, the purple of Tyre, the glass of Sidon, and the exceeding fine linen made in this country : these, and other curious pieces of art, in metals and wood, seem to have been the chief, and almost only commodities of Phœnicia itself. Their territory was so small, that it is not to be imagined they could afford to export any of their own growth ; it is more likely that they rather wanted, than abounded with, the fruits of the earth.

Having thus spoken, in general terms, of their trade, we shall now touch upon their shipping, and some things remarkable in their navigation. Their larger embarkations were of two sorts ; they divided them into round ships, or gauli ; and long ships, gallies, or triremes³. When they drew up in line of battle, the gauli were dis-

¹ Vide Huet, Hist. de la Com. & de la Navig. des Anc. p. 58.
• Isa. xxiii. 8. ² Vide Bochart. Canaan, lib. ii. cap. 11. col. 739.

posed at a small distance from each other in the wings, or in the van and the rear : their triremes were contracted together in the center^a. If, at any time, they observed that a stranger kept them company in their voyage, or followed in their track, they were sure to get rid of him, if they could, or deceive him, if possible ; in which policy they went so far, as to venture the loss of their ships, and even their lives^x ; so jealous were they of foreigners, and so tenaciously bent on keeping the whole trade to themselves. In order to discourage other nations from engaging in commerce, they practised piracy^y, or pretended to be at war with such as they met when they thought themselves strongest. This was but a natural stroke of policy in people who grasped at the whole commerce of the then known world. We must not forget here the famous fishery of Tyre, which so remarkably enriched that city, in particular. The fish they sought after were those that afforded purple, the richest dye in the world ; they were always careful to take them alive. An ancient author attributes the dissoluteness of Tyre to the number of the dyers there established ; from whence we may gather they were a rich and numerous body of people, proud and extravagant, vain and debauched. This fish is now either lost (X), or unknown to the present natives of the country.

We might here speak of the Phœnician voyages in the service of Solomon, had we not a more proper place in view to expatiate on that subject. The long voyage some of them undertook in the service of Necho, king of Egypt, round Africa, sailing out of the Red Sea, and returning by the way of the Streights mouth, ought not to be passed over ; a voyage in which they employed three years.

^a Polyæn. lib. vi. ^x Strabo, lib. iii. p. 175. ^y Huet.
ubi supra, chap. xvi. p. 70.

(X) We are assured, by an eye-witness, who is too modest to allow us the use of his name, that they have a kind of fish on the rocks, on the coast, a little to the westward of Panama, with which the Indians dye a

red purple ; that they carry their yarn down to the sea-side, and bring it back dyed ; and that their hands are always discoloured, like those of our dyers.

S E C T. III.

The Chronology of the Phœnicians.

IT were labour in vain to dwell on this subject. In general we may observe, that the history of the Phœnicians is no other than a continuation of that of Canaan. Their particular epochs it is impossible to discover. Their records, once so faithfully kept^y, are now no more. We will not, therefore, enter, professedly, upon so dark a matter; but shall content ourselves with touching thereon occasionally hereafter. It is observed^z, that they boasted an excessive antiquity, of no less than thirty thousand years. To adhere to the method we have laid down, we shall subjoin a series of the kings of the different kingdoms of this country, so far as we can collect them.

Kings of Sidon.

* * * *

Agenor.

Phœnix.

Phalis.

* * * *

An anonymous king.

* * * *

Sidon.

Tetramnestus.

* * * *

Tennes.

Strato.

Ballonymus, Abdalominus, Abdolomius, or Alynomus.

Reigned

Kings and Judges According to Menand. According to Thea-
of Tyre. Ephes. phil. Antioch.

* * * *

Abibal, or Abeimal,

Hieram, Hierom, Hier-
romen, Irom, Chiram,
or Suron,Baleastartus, or Bazor, 7 years - 17 years.
Abdastartus, - - 9 - - 12 -^y Vide Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i.^z African. apud Syncel.

Reigned

Kings and Judges of Tyre.	According to Menand.	According to Theo- phil. Antioch.
The eldest of the murderers of Ab- dastartus,	12 years	- - -
Astartus,	12	- - -
Astarimus, or Atha- rymus,	9	- - -
Phelles, or Helles,	-	8 months
Ethbal, Ithobal, or Juthobal,	32	- - 12 years
Badezor, or Bazor,	6	- 7 -
Badezor's son,		
Mettinus,	9	- 29 -
Pigmalion,	40	- - -
* * . * *		
Elulæus,	36	- - -
* * * *		
Ithobal,		
Baal,	-	-
Judges.	Echnibal, Chelbis, Abbar, the high priest, Myttonus and Geraustus,	10 2 months
Balator,	-	1
Merbal,	-	4
Trom,	-	20
Maffen,		
Strato,		
* * * *		
Azelmic,		
* * * *		
Marion.		

The Kings of Arad, or Aradus.

* * * *
Arbal,
Narbal,
* * * *
Gerostratus.

We need only refer the reader to the very unaccountable
difference between Menander the Ephesian, and Theo-
philus of Antioch, in their reigns of the Tyrian princes,
to

to judge of the impossibility of fixing on any thing certain in the chronology of even the best and clearest times of the Phœnicians in general.

S E C T. IV.

The Phœnician Kings, from the ancient fabulous History of the Greeks.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of the Phœnician kings, we are, in some shape, obliged to insert the following dark and fabulous account of the family of Agenor, the first king of Phœnicæ mentioned by the Greeks.

Agenor.

Agenor and Belus were, according to Apollodorus, the sons of Neptune by Libya, daughter of Epaphus, king of a part of Egypt. Belus reigned in Egypt, and married Anchinoe, daughter of Nilus, by whom he had Agyptus and Danaus. Agenor passed from Egypt into Phœnicæ, where he settled, and became the father of a numerous race. He married Telephassa (Stephanus calls her Tlephe), by whom he had Europa, Cadmus, Phœnix, Cilix, and, according to Pausanias, Hectra^c, and Thasus^d. Pherecides, as quoted by the scholiast of Apollonius, gives him two wives, one named Damno, by whom he had Phœnix, Isæa, and Melia; the other called Argiope, who was mother to Cadmus and Europa. Plutarch mentions a fourth wife, called Diorippe, who brought forth Sipylus^e; Antonius Liberalis mentions a fifth, named Cassiopea, who bore him a daughter, by name Carina; and Cedrenus takes notice of a sixth, whom he calls Tyrus, pretending that the city of Tyre borrowed its name from her. Europa (whom some writers will have to be the daughter of Phœnix, and not of Agenor) was stolen by Jupiter, transformed into a bull, that is, in a ship named the Bull, or bearing the figure of a bull in her stern; and carried into Crete. Agenor, being extremely grieved for the loss of his daughter, sent his son Cadmus, with a great sum of money, in quest of her; but he, not finding her, nor daring to return home without her, resolved to go and settle elsewhere. With this design, having fitted out a small fleet, he put to sea, and landed in Thrace, where he had the good luck to discover

^c Pausan. in Baet. de Fluviiis.

^d Idem in Eliac.

^e Plutarch

gold

a gold mine in Mount Pangæus. Being enriched with that metal, and in a condition to pursue his design, he was advised by the oracle of Delphi to leave Thrace, and pass into Boeotia. There, having expelled the Hyantes, who opposed him, and allowed the Aones, who voluntarily submitted, to live in the country mixed with his Phœnicians, he founded a new kingdom, and built a city; which, in derivation from his own name, he called Cadmea. This was afterwards embellished and enlarged by Amphion and Zethes, the two sons of Antiope (for they invaded the throne, during the minority of Laius, the son of Labdacus, Cadmus's grand-son), and by them called Thebes, in honour of Thebe their aunt, by the mother's side^f (A).

Isæa

^f Pausan. in Boeot.

(A) We find such a disagreement among authors, in the accounts they give of Agenor, and his descendants, that it is impossible to ascertain the truth. It is generally agreed, however, that Agenor was by birth an Egyptian; that from Egypt he passed into Phœnicæ, where he settled, and became the father of a numerous race; that he was the first king of Phœnicæ, and founder of the cities of Sidon and Tyre. But in the succession of the kings, some of the Latins place Belus the elder before him; and most of the moderns, upon the authority of Josephus, make Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan, founder of the city of Sidon. The same author tells us, that Tyre was founded two hundred and forty years before the building of Solomon's temple: from whence it is plain, that these two cities were not built by one and the same person. Tyre was, without doubt, a colony of the Sidonians, it being called in

Scripture, the daughter of Sidon. And Justin tells us in express terms, that the city of Tyre was built before the taking of Troy, by the Sidonians, who, being driven out of their own country by the king of the Ascalonians, were forced to seek a new habitation. Most of the ancients allow, that Europa, Cadmus, Phœnix and Cilix, were the children of Agenor; and that with them, a great many Phœnicians and Syrians migrated into Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Libya; and there introduced letters, music, poetry, and other arts, sciences, and customs of the Phœnicians. It is pretended, that Europa being carried away by Taurus king of Crete, Agenor sent her brother in quest of her; who, on that occasion, as they were enjoined not to return without her, founded several Phœnician colonies in Asia Minor, Greece, and Libya. But Sir Isaac Newton is of opinion, that those Phœnicians went not to

Ifæa and Melia, Agenor's two daughters, married Egyptus and Danaus, their cousins german. Cilix is said, by Apollodorus, to have settled in Cilicia, and given his name to that country ^e. The same author adds, that Thasus built the city of Thasos in Thrace; a fact which is confirmed by Pausanias ^h. All we know of Electra, is that one of the gates of Thebes borrowed its name from her. Of Sipylus we read in Plutarch ⁱ, that Mount Sipylus was so called from him. We shall have occasion to relate more at length, what we read of Cadmus in the ancient Greek writers, when we come to write the history of the Theban kings.

Phœnix.

Phœnix is supposed by the Greeks to have succeeded his father in the kingdom of Phœnice, or rather of Sidon; which city, as likewise that of Tyre, they pretend to have been built by Agenor; wherein they are followed, among the Latins, by Q. Curtius ^k. That country, according to them, borrowing its name from Phœnix, was called Phœnice, and the inhabitants, Phœnicians. Eusebius adds ^l, that he was the first who found the scarlet colour, which was therefore called at first Phœnicius, and afterwards, with a small alteration, Puniceus color.

Phalis.

The next king of Sidon we meet with in history is Phalis, who flourished in the time of the Trojan war. He proved a faithful ally to the Greeks, and used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to draw Sarpedon, king of Lycia, over to their side ^m. He is mentioned by Homer, and honoured with the title of most illustrious ⁿ.

These are the kings of Sidon we find mentioned in the ancient Greek writers; but, as their accounts are no ways to be depended upon, we have thought fit to treat of them apart, lest we should seem to confound what is fabulous with what is truly historical.

^e Apollod. lib. iii. ^h Pausan. in Eliac. ⁱ Plutarch de Fluviiis,
^k Q. Curtius. lib. iv. cap. 4. ^l Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 5.
^m Dictys, lib. i. ⁿ Odys. iv. 627.

to seek Europa, but in quest Edomites, whom David had of new settlements, when conquered and dispersed, driven out of Sidon by the

S E C T. V.

The Reigns of the Kings of Phœnicio.

PHœNICE was divided into several small kingdoms; for, besides the kings of Sidon and Tyre, mentioned in Scripture, we read in history of Elbasus king of Berytus, to whom Sanchoniatho, according to Eusebius^b, dedicated his history of Erylus king of Byblus¹, and of other Phœnician monarchs^k, whose dominions were generally confined within the narrow bounds of one city, and its territory. Of all the kings of Phœnicio, those of Sidon, Tyre, and Arad, seem to have been the most powerful and wealthy, and they certainly make the most important figures in history: but their successions, and the years of their respective reigns, are overcast with such obscurities, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is impossible to give a regular detail of their transactions. However, we shall produce what occurs in history, and seems chiefly to be depended upon; beginning with Sidon, the most ancient city of Phœnicio.

The Kings of Sidon.

Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan, was, according to Josephus, the founder of this city, or, at least, the father of the people. But, as to his actions, or the years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. Neither are we better acquainted with the sovereigns who succeeded him; for, though the Sidonians are mentioned in the histories of Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, yet we find not in holy writ, express mention made of their kings, till the time of the prophet Jeremiah, who speaks of ambassadors sent by the king of Sidon to propose to Zedekiah a league against Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon.

Sidon.

Yr. of Fl.
1750.
Ante Chr.
598.

The next Sidonian monarch we find mentioned in history, is Tetramenestus, who assisted Xerxes in his expedition against Greece with three hundred galleys, and is counted by Herodotus^l among the chief commanders of the Persian navy.

Tennes appears next; but it is uncertain whom he succeeded. In his reign the Sidonians, and other Phœni-

Yr. of Fl.
1867.
Ante Chr.
481.
Tetram-
nestus.
Tennes.

^b Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 6.
^k Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 520.

¹ Arrian. lib. ii.
^l Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 98.

cians, exasperated by the haughty behaviour, and tyrannical proceedings, of those whom Darius Ochus king of Persia had set over them, entered into a confederacy with Nectanebus king of Egypt, and rose up in arms, with design to shake off the Persian yoke, and recover their ancient liberty. As the Persians were then making vast preparations to reclaim Egypt, which they could not well approach but by marching through Phœnicie, this revolt happened very opportunely for Nectanebus. Therefore, to encourage the Phenicians to persist, he sent a body of four thousand Greek mercenaries, under the command of Mentor the Rhodian, to their assistance, hoping to make Phœnicie a kind of barrier to Egypt, and carry on the war at a distance. On the other side, Tennes king of Sidon (which city then exceeded all the others of Phœnicie in wealth), having fitted out with great expedition, a powerful fleet, and raised a considerable army in his own dominions, took the field; and, being strengthened by the Greek auxiliaries, engaged and routed the governors of Syria and Cilicia, whom Ochus had sent to reduce him, driving the Persians quite out of Phœnicie. The Sidonians, on their first taking up arms, had laid waste a delicious garden belonging to the kings of Persia, seized and burnt all the forage which the Persian governor had laid up for the subsistence of his cavalry; and punished, with the utmost severity, such of their Persian oppressors as fell into their hands. Ochus was provoked to such a degree by these proceedings of the Sidonians, especially after news was brought him of his lieutenant's being defeated, and the Persians driven out of Phœnicie, that now he breathed nothing but revenge, threatening total destruction not only to the Sidonians, but to all the inhabitants of Phœnicie. Thus bent upon revenge, he assembled all his forces; and, having mustered them at Babylon, marched from thence into Phœnicie, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse. Mentor, who was then in Sidon, being terrified at the approach of such a formidable enemy, sent privately a trusty servant, called Thessalion, to the king of Persia, offering not only to put him in possession of Sidon, but likewise to assist him in reducing Egypt. Ochus, glad of this offer, spared no promises to engage Mentor in his service; who, having received such assurance from the king of Persia as he desired, found means to draw Tennes king of Sidon into the same treason. In the mean time, the Sidonians, not mistrusting Mentor, and much less suspecting

suspecting their own king, were preparing for a vigorous defence. The city was furnished with arms, and provisions of all sorts, to hold out a long siege; and the citizens had fortified themselves with a triple trench, and an high wall. Besides the mercenaries, the place was garrisoned with a brave body of tall, stout Sidonians, well disciplined; and the sea-coast was guarded with a fleet of an hundred large gallies. But these preparations were of no avail. Tennes no sooner heard that the Persian army was drawing near, than, feigning to go to the general assembly of the Phœnicians, he marched out with a body of five hundred men, and, taking along with him an hundred of the chief citizens to be created senators, as he pretended, went strait to the enemy's camp, and delivered them up to Ochus, who received him as a friend; but caused all the citizens, as authors of the rebellion, to be immediately put to death. This severity of Ochus, joined with the treachery of Tennes, struck such terror into the Sidonians, that five hundred more of the citizens, all men of rank, threw themselves at their enemy's feet, and implored his mercy. Ochus asked Tennes, whether it was in his power to put him in possession of the city; for he was unwilling to take it upon treaty, being bent on the utter ruin of the Sidonians, in hopes that such an instance of severity would induce the other Phœnicians voluntarily to submit. Tennes assured him, he could deliver the city into his hands whenever he pleased; whereupon Ochus caused the five hundred citizens, though they were come out with olive-branches in their hands, as badges of submission, to be shot with darts upon the spot. After this barbarous execution, he and Tennes marched at the head of the Persian army towards the city, and were admitted without the least opposition by Mentor, and the Greek mercenaries, to whom Tennes, in leaving the city, had delivered up one of the gates for that purpose. The Sidonians, on the approach of Ochus's army, had designedly burnt all their ships, to prevent any person's withdrawing himself from the defence of his country. Therefore, finding themselves thus betrayed, and the enemy within the walls, without any means left them to make their escape, either by sea or land, they shut themselves up with their wives and children in their houses, and, setting fire to them, consumed themselves, to the number of forty thousand, with all their valuable effects. Tennes met with no better fate than his subjects had experienced. For, Ochus, seeing he could do him no farther service,

Yr. of Fl.
1997.
Ante Chr.
351.

and

and detesting in his heart the treachery of the man, caused his throat to be cut, lest he should out-live the ruin which he himself had brought upon his country. Sidon, being at that time in a very flourishing condition, a vast quantity of gold and silver was melted down by the flames, and found in the ashes, which Ochus sold for great sums of money. The ruin and total destruction of Sidon terrified the other cities of Phœnica to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could obtain. Neither was Ochus unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the design he had upon Egypt. Thus all Phœnica was again brought under the Persian yoke^m; and the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, touching the destruction of Sidon, were fulfilled.

Secto.

After Tennes reigned Strato; for such of the Sidonians as, by being absent on traffick at sea, or on other occasions, had escaped the massacre, returning home after Ochus was gone back into Persia, rebuilt the city, but ever afterwards bore an immortal aversion to the Persian name. No wonder then, if in a few years after their calamity, they so readily submitted to Alexander the Great, eagerly embracing that opportunity of shaking off the yoke they groaned under. For the Sidonians are counted among the first in those parts who sent ambassadors to Alexander, as he marched through Phœnica, to make their submission. Strato it seems did not approve of this resolution, but could not prevent it, the citizens being obstinately bent against the Persians.

*Yr. of Fl. 2015.
Ante Chr. 333.* For we are told that Alexander deprived him of the crown, because he submitted at the instigation of the citizens, and not of his own accordⁿ. Theopompus, as quoted by Athenæus^o, gives him the character of a most lewd and voluptuous prince; and tells us in particular, that in order to assemble the women, and have thereby an opportunity of choosing the most beautiful for his own use, he instituted public sports, consisting chiefly of dancing and singing, wherein such as excelled the others were amply rewarded. Aelian^p says he died an unna-

^m Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. p. 531—533.
Justin. lib. xi. cap. 10. & Diod. Sic. lib. xvii.
lib. xii. cap. 13.

ⁿ Curt. lib. iv. cap. 2.
^o Athen.
^p Aelian. Var. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 2.

tural death. Of one Strato, king of Sidon, St. Jerom¹ relates, that, having adhered to the king of Egypt against the Persians, and finding himself in danger of falling into the hands of an enemy, from whom he had no reason to expect any favour, he resolved to prevent the impending calamity, by laying violent hands on himself; but fainting in the execution of his design, his wife, who was present, snatching, with a manly resolution, the sword out of his hand, freed him from that perplexity, by putting first him, and then herself, to death, without shewing the least concern. But the circumstances of this king's death, if true, plainly shew that he was not the same person whom Alexander the Great stripped of his dominions, on account of his attachment to the Persian interest. This Strato, king of Sidon, is also mentioned by Maximus Tyrius².

Strato was succeeded by Ballonymus, of whose assumption to the throne we have the following account from Diodorus. Alexander having deposed Strato, gave Hephaestio power to bestow the crown of Sidon upon which of his friends he pleased to promote. Hephaestio thus authorised, named to the royal dignity one of the chief citizens, in whose house he then lodged, and was splendidly entertained, desiring him to accept of it as a pledge of his friendship, and an acknowledgement of the many favours he had received in his house. The citizen, not at all dazzled by the sight of a crown, returned the generous guest a thousand thanks; but at the same time earnestly begged he would excuse him from assuming a dignity to which he had no title, as not being of the royal family. Hephaestio was not a little surprised at this answer; but finding the Sidonian in earnest, desired he would name some one of the royal race to be invested with the dignity which he himself had refused. He accordingly named Ballonymus, a man of an unblemished character, but so poor, that he was reduced to live in a very obscure condition, and to maintain himself with his daily labour. However, his poverty and mean condition were no objection to Hephaestio, who immediately dispatched a messenger to him with the royal robes, and tidings of his elevation to the throne. The messenger found him all in rags, working in a garden as a common labourer. He was actually employed in drawing water

¹ Hier. contra Jovian. lib. i.

² Max. Tyr. Serm. iv.

out of a well, when the messenger acquainted him with his elevation to the throne, and cloathed him with the royal robes. He accepted without delay the new dignity, and proceeding with the messenger towards the city, was there received by Hephaestio with all the marks of distinction due to his character. Being introduced into the forum, among the joyful shouts of the people, extremely pleased with his election, he was proclaimed king of Sidon¹. The same occurrence is related, with some small variation of circumstances, by Plutarch², Curtius³, and Justin⁴. Plutarch calls this king Alynomus; Curtius says his name was Abdolomins; and Justin makes it Abdalomius. Plutarch asserts he was king of Paphus; and Diodorus represents both him and his predecessor as kings of Tyre. But in this particular we have abandoned him, to follow the current of history, which places Strato and Ballonymus among the kings of Sidon. All we know of his reign is, that to the last he proved faithful to the Macedonians, to whom he was indebted for his crown. And now that we have brought the kings of Sidon down to the conquest of Phœnicia by the Macedonians, let us return to the kings of Tyre.

Kings of Tyre.

We are left quite in the dark as to the series of the kings who reigned at Tyre before Abibal, with whom Josephus and Theophilus Antiochenus begin the succession they have furnished us with from Menander the Ephesian, and Dius, both authors, as Josephus calls them, of unquestionable credit. Dius, by birth a Phœnician, wrote the history of Tyre, extracted from the public records, which were carefully preserved in that city. And Menander compiled the lives and actions of princes, both Greek and Barbarian, as the same Josephus tells us, from public archives.

r. of F.
1291.
Inte Chr.
1056.
—
Abibal.

The first king of Tyre mentioned by those historians is Abibal, or Abeinna, as he is named by Theophilus. With regard to his actions, and the years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. He was contemporary with David, and probably joined with the neighbouring nations against him, since David counts the inhabitants of Tyre among his enemies⁵.

¹ Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii. ² Plutarch de Fortuna Alexandri, lib. ii. ³ Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 2. ⁴ Justin, lib. ix. cap. 10.
⁵ Psalm lxxxiii. 7.

Abibal was succeeded by his son Hiram, whom Theophilus calls sometimes Hieromus, and sometimes Hieromenus; Josephus denominates him Hiram and Irom; Tatian and Zonaras write Chiramus. This prince maintained a close friendship with king David, to whom he sent ambassadors, probably, to congratulate him upon his victory over the Jebusites, whom he had just then driven from the strong hold of Zion, and to conclude an alliance. He presented him with cedar-trees, and sent skilful workmen to build him a palace in Jerusalem^x. And hence he is said in Scripture to have been “ever a lover of David^y.” Upon the death of David, and the succession of Solomon to the throne, the affection Hiram had ever maintained for the father, prompted him to send a congratulatory embassy to the son, upon the news of his accession to the government. Upon the return of those ambassadors, Solomon embraced the occasion, and wrote a letter to Hiram, in these terms:

“King Solomon to king Hiram, greeting.

“Be it known to thee, O King, that my father David had it a long time in his mind to erect a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war, and under a necessity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me, in time of peace, both to begin, and to finish it, according to the direction, as well as the prediction, of Almighty God. Blessed be his great name, for the present tranquility of my dominions! and by his gracious assistance, I shall now dedicate the best improvements of this liberty and leisure to his honour and worship. Wherefore I make it my request, that you will let some of your people go along with some servants of mine, to Mount Libanus, to assist them in cutting down materials for this building; for the Sidonians understand it much better than we do. As for the workmen’s reward, or wages, whatever you think reasonable, shall be punctually paid them.”

Hiram was much pleased with Solomon’s letter, and returned him the following answer:

“King Hiram to king Solomon.

“Nothing could have been more welcome to me, than to understand that the government of your blessed fa-

^x 2 Sam. v. 11. and 1 Chron. xiv. 1.

^y 1 Kings, v. 1.

" ther is devolved, by God's providence, into the hands
 " of so excellent, so wise, and so virtuous a successor; His
 " holy name be praised for it! That which you write
 " for shall be done with all care and good will; for I will
 " give order to go down, and export such quantities of
 " the fairest cedars, and cypress-trees, as you shall have
 " occasion for. My people shall bring them to the sea-
 " side for you, and from thence ship them away to what
 " part you please, where they may lie ready for your own
 " men to transport them to Jerufalem. It would be a
 " great obligation, after all this, to allow us such a pro-
 " vision of corn in exchange, as may stand with your
 " convenience; for that is the commodity we islanders
 " want most."

^a This assures us, that the originals of these letters were extant in his time, both in the Jewish and Tyrian records (B). And they are entirely agreeable to what is delivered in Scripture upon the same subject. Solomon was highly pleased with Hiram's answer, and, in return for his generous offers, ordered him a yearly present of twenty thousand measures of wheat, and as many measures of pure oil. Besides the cedar-wood, and other materials for building the temple, Hiram sent to Solomon a man, who was very famous in Tyre for working in gold, silver, and other metals, to assist and direct him in that great undertaking. Neither did Hiram's friendship towards Solomon stop here; for he not only furnished him with the choicest wood from Mount Libanus, and able architects and workmen, but moreover advanced him one hundred and twenty talents of gold for finishing of the fabric. Solomon was not behind-hand with him in his acknowledgements and presents; for, besides the yearly supply of wheat and oil above mentioned, he bestowed upon him twenty cities in the land of Galilee, not far from Tyre, which Hiram frankly declined accepting, as they were not much to his liking. From this refusal, that part of the country was called Cabul, that is, *displeasing*.

^a Joseph. lib. viii. cap. 2.
ubi supra.

^a Kings, ix. 13. and Joseph.

(B) Eusebius, who calls this king Suron, gives us this letter with much variation, from Josephus. He makes this Sidonian monarch say, that he had sent to Solomon eighty thou-

sand Phœnicians and Tyrians —That the architect he sent him was a Tyrian by birth; but that, by the mother's side, he was descended of the tribe of David, &c.

Hiram

Hiram proved no less serviceable to Solomon in equipping his fleet, than in perfecting the grand work of the temple. For he no sooner heard that the king of Israel designed to build a fleet at Eloth and Ezion-geber (two sea-port towns in the Red Sea), in order to carry on a trade from thence to Ophir, than he generously furnished him with as many builders and shipwrights as he had occasion for; and afterwards sent him expert pilots, and skilful mariners, to conduct his ships to the land of Ophir.

Dius, as quoted by Josephus, tells us, that the love of wisdom was the chief inducement to that tenderness of friendship between Solomon and Hiram; that they interchanged certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he who failed of the solution should incur a forfeiture; and that Hiram, finding the question too hard for him, paid the penalty. But one Abdemonus, a Tyrian, resolved the question, and proposed new riddles to Solomon, upon the penalty of paying so much to Hiram, if he did not solve them to satisfaction.

The kingdom of Tyre was in a very flourishing condition under this prince. He repaired and improved divers cities in the eastern parts of his dominions; enlarged Tyre, and, by the help of a dam, joined it to the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, standing in an island. In this temple he dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter. He built two temples, one to Hercules, another to Astarte; and enriched them with donatives. To Hercules he also erected a statue, and is said to have repaired the temples of other gods, and endowed them to a very great value^b. Hiram, it seems, was rather a religious than a warlike prince; for the only military expedition we read of, during his reign, is that which he undertook against the Eueans, who refused to pay him a certain tribute; but they were soon reduced to reason.

It is related by Tatian, from Theodotus, Hyscrites, and Mochus, three Phœnician historians, that king Hiram gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, who was, by her influence, induced to worship Ashteroth, the goddess of the Sidonians^c. Hiram lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four^d.

He was succeeded by his son Baleazar, Baleastartus, or Bazor, as Theophilus calls him, who reigned seven years, according to Josephus, and seventeen, according

Yr. of F.
1336.
Ante Chr
5012.

^b Menand. Ephes. & Dius. apud Joseph. ubi supra. ^c Tatian. ^d Theoph. Antioch. lib. iii. *Baleazar.*
Orat. contra Græcos.

to Theophilus ; and died in the forty-third year of his age ^{c.}

Abdastartus. Abdastartus, the son of Baleazar, succeeded his father, and died, according to Josephus, in the twentieth year of his life, and the ninth of his reign. Theophilus says, he died at the age of fifty-four, after having reigned twelve years: This prince was murdered by his nurse's four sons, the eldest of whom usurped the kingdom, and governed it twelve years.

Astartus. Astartus, the brother of Abdastartus, recovered the throne to his family, lived sixty-six years, and reigned twelve.

Astarimus. After him came his brother Astarimus, who lived, if we may believe Josephus, fifty-four years, and reigned twelve. Theophilus calls him Atharymus, and says, that he lived fifty-eight years. He was assassinated by his brother Phelles, who assumed the government in the fiftieth year of his age.

Phelles. The usurper Phelles, or, as Theophilus calls him, Helles, did not long enjoy the throne he had acquired by so base and wicked an act; for he was murdered in the eighth month of his reign, by

Ithobal. *Yr. of Fl.* ^{1186.} *Ante Chr.* ^{962.} Ithobal, whom Theophilus names Juthobal, son to Astarimus, and chief priest of the goddess Astarte; which dignity was next to that of the king. Ithobal lived to the age of sixty-eight years, and ruled thirty-two, says Josephus; but, if we credit Theophilus, he lived forty years, and reigned twelve. He is called in Scripture Eth-Baal, and styled king of the Sidonians^f. Josephus gives him the title of king of Tyre and Sidon. Whence it is plain, that, in Eth-Baal's time, Sidon was subject to Tyre. When that subjection began is uncertain; for, even in king Hiram's time, the Tyrians were, in all probability, masters of Sidon; since Solomon, in the beginning of his reign, applied to Hiram for workmen of Sidon, who were famous for their skill in hewing of timber. Ithobal built Botrys in Phœnicia, and Auzates in Africa. Jezebel, king Ahab's wife (whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter), was daughter to this prince. Menander, as quoted by Josephus, tells us, that, in "the time of Eth-Baal, king of Tyre, there was an extreme drought, that lasted from the month Hyperberæus, till the same month next year. Prayers being put up for averting the judgment, were followed by mighty claps of

^e Joseph. lib. i. contra Apion.

^f Kings xvi. 31: thunder."

thunder ^e." This was undoubtedly the drought under Ahab; for it was in his reign that Eth-Baal was king of Tyre.

After him his son Badezor (who, by Theophilus, is *Badezor*, called Bazor) reigned, according to Josephus, six years, and lived forty-five. Theophilus says, he reigned seven.

His son Mettinus succeeded him, and reigned nine *Mettinus*. years, says Josephus; twenty-nine according to Theophilus. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, leaving behind him two sons, Pygmalion and Barca, and as many daughters, Elisa and Anna.

Pygmalion ascended the throne on the death of his *Pygmalion*. father Mettinus, being at that time, as we are told by Justin ^b, very young; that is, sixteen, according to the computation of Josephus, who supposes him to have lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty ⁱ. It was in the seventh year of his reign that his sister Elisa, called also Dido, flying from Tyre, built Carthage in Africa. The occasion of her flight is commonly related thus: Pygmalion, coveting the immense riches of his uncle Sichæus, who was a priest of Hercules, and had married his sister Elisa, determined, by some means or other, to make them his own. But, as his purpose could not be effected so long as Sichæus was alive, he invited him one day to hunt with him; and while their attendants were engaged in the pursuit of a wild boar, ran him through with a spear; then, throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occasion of his death. Justin and Virgil say, that Pygmalion barbarously murdered his uncle at the altar ^k. But, however that be, he reaped no advantage from his treachery: he was disappointed, when he least expected it, by the prudent and artful conduct of his sister Elisa, who, being a woman of great sagacity and penetration, well knew what had prompted him to the murder of her husband; but, at the same time, concealing her thoughts with the most artful dissimulation, shewed the same kindness and esteem for him, as though she had not entertained the least suspicion of his guilt. Mean while, having formed a design of leaving Tyre, and faving both herself, and the treasures of her deceased husband, from the cruel avarice of Pygmalion, under pretence of retiring to Charta or Chartaea, a small city between Sidon and Tyre,

^e Menand. Ephes. apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 7. ^b Justin. lib. xviii. ⁱ Joseph. contra Apion, lib. i. lib. xviii. cap. 4. Virg. Æneid. i. ver. 348—350.

to live with her brother Barca, she desired the king to furnish her with men and ships to convey thither her effects. The covetous prince looked upon this as a fair opportunity of seizing at last what he had for so long a time earnestly desired, though always in vain; because Sichæus, who was thoroughly acquainted with his nephew's avaricious temper, had taken care to conceal his riches under-ground. With this view Pygmalion willingly granted Elisa her request: she being assisted by her brother Barca, and several senators, who were privy to her true design, and engaged to follow her at all adventures, her treasures were put on board, and the fleet out of sight, before Pygmalion was apprised of her resolution. We are told, that seeing himself thus deluded by a woman, and the vast riches, which he deemed already secured in his own coffers, snatched, by such a cunning device, out of his hands, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out with all possible expedition, in order to pursue the fugitives; but was prevented by the tears of his mother and the threats of an oracle. The first place our adventurers touched at was the isle of Cyprus, from whence they carried off a great number of young women, a supply they wanted most of all, since their design was to plant a new colony. From Cyprus they steered their course to the coast of Africa, where they landed, and, being kindly entertained by the inhabitants of Utica, a Tyrian colony, laid the foundation of Carthage; a city which, in after-times, became so powerful both by sea and land, as to contend with Rome for the empire of the world¹. From Barca sprang the illustrious family of the Barcae in Africa; which produced many celebrated heroes, and, among others, the great Hannibal. Pygmalion is said, by Stephanus, to have built the city of Carpasia in the island of Cyprus. He sent to the temple of Hercules, in the island of Gades, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree of massive gold, and of most exquisite and curious workmanship; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderous resemblance to the natural fruit of that tree².

Elulæus.

The next king of Tyre we find mentioned in history, is Elulæus, who reigned in the time of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. This prince, seeing the Philistines broken

¹ Justin. lib. xviii. cap. 4. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 2. Appian. de Bell. Pun. Liv. Decad. iv. lib. 4. Serv. in lib. iv. Aeneid. Joseph. ubi supra, &c. ² Philostrat. in Vit. Apollon. lib. v. cap. 1.

and dispirited by the war which Hezekiah had made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing Gath, which had some time before revolted from the Tyrians. Whereupon the Gittites, applying to Shalmaneser, engaged him in their cause; so that he marched at the head of a powerful army into Phœnice; but, upon the conclusion of a peace between him and Elulæus, he withdrew his troops, and retired. Not long after this event, Sidon, Arce, Palætyrus, and several other maritime towns of Phœnice, revolting from the Tyrians, proclaimed Shalmaneser their king. Thus a new war being kindled between the Tyrians and Assyrians, Shalmaneser, highly provoked against the Tyrians, the only people in Phœnice that disputed his power and authority, resolved to use his utmost endeavours to reduce their city; and therefore, besides his land forces, he ordered a fleet of sixty sail to be equipped against them. But this navy was encountered and dispersed by the Tyrians, with only twelve vessels, and five hundred of the rowers were taken prisoners. This victory gained the Tyrians such reputation for naval affairs, that Shalmaneser, dreading to engage them a second time at sea, turned the war into a siege, and leaving the army to block up the city, returned into Assyria. The forces he left behind him reduced the place to great straits, by stopping the aqueducts, placing guards by the springs, and cutting off all the conveyances of water. However, by digging wells within the city, they found some relief in their distress, which enabled them to hold out for the space of five years; at the end of which, Shalmaneser dying, the siege was raised^o. Elulæus reigned thirty years.

Ithobal II. possessed the throne in the time of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, who laid siege to the city of Tyre, which kept that mighty monarch employed for thirteen years together^p. Such was the power of the Tyrians at that time. We have the description of the siege in Ezekiel^q, who mentions a fort raised against the place, a mount cast up, and engines of war erected to batter down its walls. At last, Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of the city; but, as most part of the citizens had retired, with all their effects, elsewhere, before he entered the place, he had nothing but an empty town for his pains, as is plain from the Scripture, where it is said, "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to

Yr. of Fl.
1631.
Ante Chr.
717.

Yr. of Fl.
1760.
Ante Chr.
585.

Ithobal II.

Yr. of Fl.
1760.
Ante Chr.
572.

^v Joseph. Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 14. ^p Philostrat. apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 11. and lib. i. contra Apion.

^q Ezek. xxvi. 8. & seq.

serve a great service against Tyrus—yet he had no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus." Finding himself thus disappointed, he vented his rage upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants that were left, raising the town to the ground, and putting all he found in it to the sword. Ithobal, in whose reign this disaster happened to Tyre, was, according to the character the prophet gives him^r, a most proud, arrogant, and assuming prince; pretended to know all secrets, to be as wise as Daniel, and even went so far as to rank himself among the gods; an impious pride which brought that heavy judgment upon him, "Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God; behold, therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee;—they shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the death of them that are slain in the midl of the seas."^s From whence we may conclude, that, in this war, he was slain by the Assyrians.

As it is plain from Scripture, that Nebuchadnezzar utterly destroyed the city of Tyre, which he found empty; and as, on the other hand, we are told by the Phœnician historians, that Ithoba! was succeeded in the kingdom of Tyre by Baal, and Baal by several temporary magistrates; it is very probable, that the inhabitants of Tyre retreated with their effects, before Nebuchadnezzar carried the place, to an island about half a mile distant from the shore, where they built themselves a new city; which, after the destruction of the old town, submitted to Nebuchadnezzar, who appointed Baal to be his viceroy. But, upon Baal's death, in order to make the government more dependent on the Assyrians, he changed the royal dignity into that of temporary magistrates, called suffetes (C) or judges; a name well known among the Carthaginians, who were originally Tyrians.

Baal.

Yr. of Fl.
1786.
Ante Chr.
562.

Tyre governed by
judges.

Baal reigned ten years, and, upon his death, the following judges had the government of the city; Ecnibal the son of Basbech, two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdæus, ten months; the high-priest Abbar, three months; Mytgonus or Myttonus, and Geraslus, the sons of Abdellimus, six years. After Tyre had been thus governed for some years by judges, the royal dignity was restored; and

^r Ezek. xxviii. 3, 4.

^s Ibid. ver. 6, 7, 8.

(C) "Suffetes—had its derivation from the Hebrew word *shephelim*, i. e. *judges*; which was the very name whereby

the chief governors of Israel were called for several generations, before they had kings." Prideaux's Connect. vol. i. p. 92.

Balator created king; but both he and his successors were entirely dependent on, and tributaries to, the Syrians, for the space of seventy years; which being expired, they recovered, according to the prophecy of Isaiah¹, their ancient liberty. Balator reigned but one year; and at his death, the Tyrians invited Merbal from Babylon, who reigned four years.

Merbal was succeeded by his brother Irom, who reigned twenty years. In the fourteenth year of Irom's reign, Cyrus, according to the Phœnician annals, made himself master of the Persian empire².

Several years after Irom, reigned Marten the son of Sirom. He served in Xerxes's navy against the Greeks; and, with the other commanders, advised him to engage the Grecian fleet at Salamis³. The Tyrians, as well as the other Phœnicians, were, at this time, tributaries to the Persians, though under a king of their own, being greatly favoured by the Persian monarchs, in consideration of the services they rendered them in their naval expeditions.

About this time reigned Strato, whose accession to the throne is thus related by Justin⁴. The slaves, who were then very numerous at Tyre, having formed a conspiracy against their masters, murdered them all in one night (except Strato, whom his slave secretly saved); and, taking possession of the city, married their mistresses, and put all the others to the sword, who were not of their own race. Having thus not only recovered their liberty, but made themselves absolute lords of the state, they resolved to create a king out of their own body, and unanimously agreed, that he should be raised to that dignity, as being the most acceptable to the gods, who, the next morning, should first see the rising sun. In pursuance of this resolution and agreement, they appointed to meet about midnight in an open field, on the east side of the city, and there, with one accord, bestow the crown upon the person to whom the sun should shew himself first. In the mean time, Strato's slave, having imparted the whole matter to his master, whom he kept carefully concealed, was by him instructed to turn himself, not to the east, as the others would probably do, but to the west, and there keep his eyes fixed on the top of the highest

¹ Isa. xxiii. 15, 17.
² Herodotus, lib. vi. cap. 98, & lib. viii. cap. 67.

³ Vide Joseph. lib. i. contra Apion.

Yr. of Fl.
1792.
Ante Chr.
556.

Balator
king.
Merbal.
Irom.

Yr. of Fl.
1868.
Ante Chr.
480.

Marten.

tower of the city. The slave obeyed his master's directions, and was therefore looked upon by the whole multitude as no better than a mad-man ; it seeming to them very strange, that a man should look for the rising-sun in the west. But they were soon made sensible of their error ; for, while the others stood gazing towards the east, in expectation of seeing the sun appear, Strato's slave shewed them the high edifices of the city already illuminated with his rays ; whereupon he was highly applauded by his companions, and eagerly pressed to name the person to whom he was indebted for such a wise contrivance, which they could not ascribe to him, or any other slave. He refused at first to gratify their curiosity ; but, at last, upon promise of impunity for himself, and the person he should name, he owned, that, out of compassion and gratitude towards his master, who had always treated him with great humanity and kindness, he had saved both him and his son in the common massacre, and acted in the affair they were so inquisitive about, according to his directions. The multitude not only pardoned the slave, but, looking on the master as one preserved by a particular providence of the gods, immediately proclaimed him king. This is all we know of Strato.

At his demise, his son was placed on the throne ; and the kingdom of Tyre was enjoyed by his descendants, among whom, the only prince we find mentioned in history is Azelmic, in whose reign happened the memorable siege and reduction of that city by Alexander the Great. We may judge of its flourishing condition at that time, from the stand it made against that victorious prince, since it stopped the course of his whole army full seven months. As the conqueror approached the territories of Tyre, the Tyrians sent out ambassadors to meet him (amongst whom was the king's own son), with presents for himself, and provisions for his army ; but, when he desired to enter the city, under pretence of offering sacrifice to Hercules, they refused him admittance ; a repulse which provoked Alexander, now flushed with so many victories, to such a degree, that he resolved to storm the city, and enter it by force.

On the other hand, the Tyrians, not at all terrified by Alexander's threats, determined to sustain the siege to the last. What encouraged them to this resolution, was the strength of the place, and the confidence they had in the Carthaginians, their allies.

Azelmic.

Yr. of Fl.
2015.Ante Chr.
333.

Tyre he-
held by
Alexander.

r Arrianus, lib. ii.

The

The city then stood on an island half a mile distant from the shore ; was surrounded with a strong wall an hundred and fifty feet high, and stored with great plenty of provisions, and all sorts of warlike machines ; besides, the Carthaginians, who were then masters of the seas, had promised to send them succours. What animated the Tyrians to stand a siege, gave Alexander no small uneasiness in the undertaking ; for he could no otherwise make his approaches to it, than by carrying a mole or causey from the continent to the island on which the city stood. This grand work he undertook ; and, as he was resolved at any rate to reduce the city, he accomplished it at last, ~~maugre~~ the innumerable, and almost unsurmountable difficulties with which it was attended. He was assisted in raising the mole (which was two hundred feet in breadth) by the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, who were all called in on this occasion ; supplied with stones from the ruins of old Tyre, and with timber from Mount Libanus. The Tyrians at first looked upon this undertaking as a rash and desperate attempt, which could never be attended with any success ; and therefore, from their ships, they asked him in derision, Whether he believed himself to be greater than Neptune ? But, seeing the mole beginning to appear above water, they resolved, for fear of the worst, to send their wives and children, and such as were not fit for service, to Carthage ; but were prevented by the arrival of Alexander's fleet from Cyprus. Neither could the Carthaginians assist them with the promised succours, being detained at home by domestic troubles. However, the Tyrians persisted in the resolution of standing to their defence, first from their ships, and afterwards, as the mole was brought nearer the city, from the walls, with showers of arrows, darts, stones, and other missiles, wherewith they made a most dreadful havock of the Macedonians, who were employed in the work, and exposed without any defence. But what most of all disheartened the enemy, was a violent storm, which, arising all on a sudden, carried away, in a great part, the causey, after it had been, with unwearyed labour, and great loss of men, brought near the walls of the city. This unlucky accident perplexed Alexander to such a degree, that he began to repent he had undertaken the siege, and would have sent ambassadors to the Tyrians with terms of peace, had he believed they would have hearkened to them. But, as they had thrown headlong into the sea the ambassadors, who, before the siege, had, in his name, summoned them to

to surrender, he was afraid those he should send now, might meet with the same, or more severe treatment. Being therefore diverted, by this apprehension, from all thoughts of making up matters by way of treaty, and fully apprized, that his reputation, and the future progress of his arms, entirely depended upon the success of the present undertaking, he reassumed, with seeming cheerfulness, the work ; repaired, with incredible expedition, the breach, which the sea had made in the mole ; and, having brought it again almost home to the city, began to batter it with all sorts of warlike engines, while the archers and slingers harassed, without interruption, those who defended it, in order to drive them from their posts. But the Tyrians, by means of a new contrivance of wheels with many spokes, which, being whirled about with an engine, either shattered in pieces the enemies darts and arrows, or broke their force, covered themselves against the aggressors, and killed great numbers of them, without suffering any considerable loss on their own side. In the mean time, the wall began to yield to the violence of the rams that battered it night and day without interruption. In this dilemma, the besieged, setting all hands to work, raised, in a very short time, a new wall, ten cubits thick, and five cubits distant from the former ; and, by filling up the empty space between the two, with earth and stones, kept the Macedonians a long while employed, ere they could make, with all their engines, the least impression on this new fortification. Alexander, having joined many of his ships together, and mounted them with a vast number of battering engines, besides those he had already placed in the mole, succeeded at last in the attempt, and made a breach an hundred feet wide. Yet when he advanced to the assault, in hopes of breaking into the city over the ruins, the Macedonians, though encouraged with the presence of their king, were forced to give ground, and retire with great loss to their ships. Alexander designed to renew the attack next morning ; but, the breach having been repaired by the Tyrians during the night, he perceived himself no further advanced than when he first began to batter the walls. He now resolved to change his measures : having brought the mole home to the wall, he caused several towers to be built equal in height to the battlements. These towers he filled with the most brave and resolute men in his army, who, pursuant to his directions, having formed a bridge with large planks resting with one end on the towers, and with the other

'other on the top of the ramparts, endeavoured, sword in hand, to gain the wall; but could not prevail, being opposed by the Tyrians with unparalleled bravery, who used weapons with which the Macedonians were altogether unacquainted. These were three-forked hooks, fastened with a cord (one end whereof they held), which, being thrown at a little distance, stuck in the enemies shields, and gave the Tyrians an opportunity, either of plucking their targets out of their hands, and exposing them, without defence, to showers of darts and arrows; or, if they were unwilling to part with their shields, of pulling them headlong out of the towers: some, by throwing a kind of fishing-nets upon the Macedonians that were engaged on the bridges, entangled their hands, so that they could neither defend themselves, or offend the enemy; others, by means of long poles armed with iron hooks, drew them off the bridges, and dashed their brains out against the walls, or on the causey. In the mean time, a great many engines, placed on the walls, played incessantly upon the aggressors with massy balls of red-hot iron, which swept away entire ranks at once. But what most of all disheartened the Macedonians in the attack, and forced them, at last, to give it over, was, the scorching sand, which the Tyrians, by a new contrivance, showered upon them: this sand (which was thrown in red-hot shields of iron, or bras) insinuating itself within their breast-plates, and coats of mail, tormented them to such a degree, that many, finding no other relief, threw themselves headlong into the sea; and others, dying in the anguish of inexpressible torments, struck, with their desperate cries, a terror into their companions. This execution occasioned unspeakable confusion among the assailants, and gave new courage to the Tyrians, who, now leaving the walls, charged the enemy hand to hand, on his own bridges, with such resolution, that Alexander, seeing his men give ground, thought fit to sound the retreat, and, by that expedient, save, in some degree, the reputation of his Macedonians. Such desperate attacks were frequently renewed by the aggressors, and always sustained with the same unbroken and undaunted courage by the besieged. At length Alexander began to entertain some thoughts of abandoning the enterprize, and continuing his march into Egypt; but, considering the dangerous consequences that must have attended such a resolution, he determined to proceed with the siege at all adventures, though, of all his captains, none was found, except Amyntas,

Amyntas, who approved of that determination. Having therefore exhorted his troops to persevere, and encouraged them with assurances of success; he surrounded the city with his fleet, and began to batter it on all sides. Mean while, one of the Tyrians, dreaming that Apollo designed to forsake them, and go over to Alexander, they fastened his statue, with golden chains, to the altar of Hercules. This colossus belonged formerly to the city of Gela in Sicily, and was sent from thence by the Carthaginians, when they took Gela, to Tyre, their mother city*. In this Apollo the Tyrians greatly confided; and therefore, upon the rumour that he was to abandon them, they had recourse even to chains, in order to prevent his departure; but, their utter ruin being already decreed by the true God, and foretold by his prophets†, the confidence they placed in their idols could not avert the impending judgment. They were destined to destruction, and destruction was their fate; for, Alexander, having, at last, battered down the walls, and taken the town by storm, after seven months siege, fully executed the sentence, which the Tyrians had, by their pride, and other vices, drawn down upon themselves and their country. The city was burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants (excepting those whom the Sidonians secretly conveyed away in their ships) were either destroyed, or enslaved by the conqueror, who, upon his first entering the city, put eight thousand to the sword; caused two thousand of those he took prisoners, to be crucified, and sold the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, says Arrian, for slaves. His cruelty towards the two thousand that were crucified, was highly unbecoming the character of a generous conqueror; and reflects an eternal disgrace upon his fame. Alexander treated them thus for no other reason, than because they had fought with such bravery and resolution in defence of their country; but, to palliate the true cause of so base an action, he gave out, that he acted thus to revenge, upon the present Tyrians, the crime which their forefathers committed, when they murdered their masters, as we have related above; and that, being slaves by origin, crucifixion was the punishment due to them. To make this pretence look the more plausible, he saved all the descendants of Strato, as not being involved in that guilt; and, among them, king Azelmic; who, in the beginning

*Yr. of Fl.
2016.
Ante Chr.
332.*

*Tyre taken
and de-
stroyed.*

* Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. p. 390.
xxvii. xxviii.

† Isa. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi.

of the siege, was out with his fleet upon a naval expedition, in conjunction with Autophradates the Persian admiral; but had hastened home, as soon as he was acquainted with the danger of his country. After the city was reduced, he took sanctuary in the temple of Hercules, and was not only spared by the conqueror, but restored to the throne, after Alexander had re-peopled the place; for, having thus cleared it of its former inhabitants, he planted it a-new with colonies drawn from the neighbouring parts; and thenceforth styled himself the founder of Tyre, a city which he had most ungenerously destroyed. Upon taking the city, he unchained Apollo, returning him thanks for his intention of coming over to the Macedonians. He also offered sacrifice to Hercules, and then continued his march into Egypt^z.

The Kings of Arad.

Arad, or Aradus, had its kings, as well as Sidon and Tyre; but we find three of them only mentioned in history, namely, Arbal, his son Narbal, who served under Xerxes in his great expedition^a, and Gerostratus, who reigned many years after that period. He served Darius against Alexander, joining the Persian fleet, as other Phœnician and Cypriot princes did, till, hearing his son Strato had put a crown of gold upon the head of Alexander, and given up to him the island-city of Aradus, that of Marathus on the main land over-against it, as also Mariammia, or Mariame, and whatever else belonged to the Aradian dominion, he thought it most for his interest to approve, seemingly at least, of what his son had done, and to make his submission to the Macedonian^b.

Yr. of Fl.
2015.
Ante Chr.
333.

^z Diod. Sic. ad Olymp. 112, ann. 1. Plutarch. in Alexand. Q. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 5. 6. 11. 15. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 49. Justin. lib. xi. cap. 20. & lib. xviii. cap. 34. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. ultim. ^a Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 98. ^b Arrian. de Exped. Alexand. Mag. lib. ii. p. 119. & Q. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 1.

C H A P. VII.

The History of the Jews, from the Birth of Abraham to the Babylonish Captivity.

*Design of
this chapter.*

WE have, in the preceding volume, carried on the history of the world, and particularly of the descendants of Shem, from the flood to the birth of Abraham; and are now to continue it in the family of that celebrated patriarch, from that remarkable epoch in which he was called, by the divine Providence, out of his native country, into the Promised Land, to that fatal period at which his descendants were, by the same divine appointment, expelled out of it, and consigned to a severe seventy years captivity in Babylon, for their ingratitude, disobedience, vice, and apostacy.

S E C T. I.

The Geography of Palestine, or Holy Land.

*Land of
Promise de-
scribed.*

*Various
names.*

*Whence styl-
ed Holy
Land,*

and Judæa.

PALESTINE was first called the Land of Canaan, or Chanaan, from Noah's grandson, by whom it was peopled: but it has since been more distinguished by other appellations; such as the Land of Promise, the Land of God, the Land of Israel, the Holy Land, and sometimes, by way of pre-eminence, The Land. It hath again been called Palestine, from the Palestines, or Philistines, who possessed great part of it; and Judæa, or Judæa-Palestina, from Judah, whose tribe was the most considerable of the twelve, and possessed the finest and most fertile part of the whole. Christians, as well as Jews, have dignified it with the title of Holy Land; partly on account of its metropolis, supposed to have been the centre of God's worship, and his peculiar habitation; but chiefly for its being the native country of Jesus Christ, and the scene on which he accomplished the great work of our redemption. The name of Judæa it did not assume till after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, though it had been styled, long before, the kingdom of Judah, in opposition to that of Israel, which revolted from it under Jeroboam, in the reign of Rehoboam, the

the son of Solomon^a. But, after their return, the tribe of Judah, the chief, and, indeed, the only tribe that made a figure, settling first at Jerusalem, and in the countries adjacent, and, by degrees, spreading through the whole country, the name of Jehudah and Jebudim quickly extended itself to all the rest.

As to the other names, by which profane authors have called it, such as Syria, Palestina-Syria, Cœlesyria, Iduma, Idumea, and Phœnicia, or Phœnix, they were given out of contempt to the Jewish nation, whom their neighbours did not account worthy to be distinguished by any but the most common names of contiguous provinces, and of which they looked upon them only as an obscure and inconsiderable part. We find it even called Idumea, on no other account, but because the Idumeans seized on some parts of it during the Babylonish captivity; though they were, some time after the return, driven from it by the Maccabees. How Judæa came to be called also Phœnicia, or Phœnicia, we have already shewn in the history of that nation. At present, the name of Palestine is that which has most prevailed among the Christian doctors, ^{and now} *Palestine*, Mahomedan and other writers^b.

As to its situation, the Jews, from a particular veneration for so celebrated a spot, as well as from some mistaken passages in one or two of the prophets, in which Jerusalem is said to have been seated, by the Almighty, in the midst, or, as the Hebrew figuratively terms it, the navel of the earth, have conceived a notion, that it stands in the very heart of all the nations, and the centre of the world. Palestine was inclosed, on the west, by the Mediterranean; and, on the east, by the lake Asphaltites, the Jordan, the sea of Tiberias or of Galilee, and the Samachonite Lake: to the north it had the mountains of Libanus, or rather, of Antilibanus, or the province of Phœnicia; and, to the south, Edom, or Idumea: from whence it was likewise parted by another ridge of high mountains. It must be here observed, that we have confined ourselves to that part which is properly called the Land of Promise: as for the other part, which belonged to two tribes and an half, on the other side Jordan, called Peræa, and the land or kingdoms of Og, Sihon, &c. their boundaries are not so easily ascertained, no more

*Believed
the centre
of the
world.
Bounda-
ries.*

^a 1 Kings xli. *passim.*
cap. 7.

^b See Reland *Palestin. illustrat.*

Vines.

hung by hundreds in a cluster, and as big as hens eggs, of an excellent taste and flavour. Their vines yielded grapes twice, and sometimes three times, a year; great quantities of which were dried, and preserved for use, as well as their figs, plums, and other fruits. They had

Honey.

plenty of honey; the very trees distilled it, and the rocks yielded it in great quantities; but whether that of the latter kind were there deposited by the industrious bees, or produced some other way, is much disputed by travellers and naturalists. They likewise cultivated sugar-

*Sugar-canes.**Cotton.*

caneS in great abundance; and the cotton, hemp, and flax, were mostly of their own growth and manufacture, except some of a finer sort, that were brought to them from Egypt, and worn by those of the higher rank.

Cypresses and other trees.

Their vicinity to Libanus made the cedars, cypresses, and other stately and fragrant trees, very common in most parts of the land, but more especially in Jerusalem. Cattle, both large and small, they fed in vast herds; and the hilly country not only afforded them variety and plenty of pasture, but also of water, which descended thence into the valleys and low-lands, which it fertilized; besides several other rivers and brooks, some of the most remarkable of which we shall speak of in their proper places.

Pasture-grounds.

But the most fertile pasture-grounds were on each side the river Jordan, besides those of Sharon, or Sarona, the plains of Lydda, Jamnia, and some others, then justly famed for their fecundity.

Fish in great plenty.

As for fish, the rivers above mentioned, the lake of Tiberias, and the Mediterranean sea, afforded great plenty and variety. Vast quantities were brought to Jerusalem, on which the inhabitants mostly subsisted; and hence one of the gates of that metropolis was, according to St. Jerom, called the Fish-gate^k. The lake Asphaltites yielded salt in abundance, wherewith to season and preserve their fish, which Galen affirms to have been preferable to any other.

Salt.

In reading the Scripture accounts of this country, it ought indeed to be considered, that it was then inhabited by an industrious people, who knew how to improve every inch of their land, and had made even the most desert and barren places to yield some kind of productions, by proper care and manure; so that the very rocks which now appear quite naked, produced corn, pulse, or pasture; for every little projection was formed into a terrace covered with mould, which, through the laziness of the

Agriculture encouraged.

^k Vidē Reland, lib. i. cap. 57.

succeeding proprietors, has been since washed off with rains and storms. The fecundity of Palestine hath been extolled even by Julian the Apostate, a sworn enemy to Jews and Christians, who frequently makes mention in his epistles of the perpetuity, as well as excellence, and great abundance, of its fruits and product. The visible effects of God's anger which this country has felt, not only under Titus Vespasian, but much more since that emperor's time, in the inundations of the northern barbarians, of the Saracens, and of the more cruel and destructive Christians, during the holy war (L), and in the oppression it now feels under the Turkish yoke, are causes more than sufficient to have reduced the far greater part of the country into a mere desert. If we were to judge by its present appearance, nature itself has rendered it incapable of cultivation.

The ancient state of Palestine, under its first inhabitants, with regard to its government under several tetrarchies, has been already described; and we shall now shew how it hath been divided since its conquest by the children of Israel. Judæa, in its largest sense, was divided into maritime and inland, as well as into mountainous and champaign, and again sub-divided into Judæa on this side, and Judæa beyond Jordan. But the most considerable division is that which was made among the twelve tribes, by lot, to prevent all murmuring and discontent among that stubborn peopleⁿ; of these two and a half were seated beyond Jordan, and the rest on this side. The next remarkable division was made by king Solomon, who divided his kingdom into twelve provinces, or districts, each under a peculiar officer; and

*How di-
vided it
ancient
times,*

*between
the twelve
tribes;*

ⁿ *Josn. xiv. 2, & seq.*

(L) These mutual devastations between the Christians and Mahomedans, wherein the former seem to have been actuated with such a blind and bloody zeal against the latter, and by such jealousies and perfidy against each other, as reflect an indelible dishonour upon them and their religion, have helped to complete the misery of this country. Those depopulated places were seized

by the wild Arabs, who plunder, not only the caravans and all travellers that fall into their hands, but likewise villages and towns; insomuch, that there is scarce a place on the surface of the globe more dangerous to travel, or comfortable to live in, as the common report of every traveller who has been there sufficiently testifies.

*between
the two
kingdoms;*

*under the
Romans;*

*under
Christian
princes;*

*under the
Turks.*

every one of these was to supply the king with provisions for his household in its turn ; that is, each for one month in the year^o. But the most fatal division of all was, that which obtained under his imprudent son Rehoboam, when ten of the twelve tribes revolted, under the conduct of Jeroboam, who became head of this new monarchy, styled the kingdom of Israel, in opposition to that of Judah, the title which distinguished the maimed kingdom of Rehoboam, from that time downwards. Under the second temple the distinction lasted a considerable time, and the same bloody hatred and hostilities continued between these two kingdoms ; that of Israel taking the name of Samaria from its capital. The inhabitants were a mixture of the old Israelites, and of new colonies, sent thither by the kings of Assyria, after their conquest of it, till they were subdued by the Maccabees, and their metropolis destroyed. Under the Romans it began to be divided into tetrarchies and toparchies : the larger were those of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, upper and lower ; the lesser, those of Geraritica, Sarona, and others of less note ; all which lay on this side of the Jordan. The rest, on the other side, were those of Gilead, Peræa, Gaulonitis, Auranitis, Batanea, and Decapolis. Josephus mentions^p another division, made in Gabinius's time, into five districts, or, as he styles them, *συνέδρια*, or councils, agreeable to the Roman manner ; these were Jerusalem, Jericho, and Sephoris, on this side Jordan ; and Gadaris and Amathus, on the other. In the reigns of the Christian emperors it was divided afresh into Palestina prima, Palestina secunda, and Palestina tertia, or Salutaris, which last included the far greater part, if not the whole country, as we shall have occasion to shew in the following history. On that account we shall wave all other divisions and changes that happened to it under the northern barbarians, Saracens, &c. and conclude this article with the present state and division of it under the Turks. The whole country of Palestine is now reduced to a district, or province, under the beglerbegate, or baßaship, of Scham, or Damascus, who hath the seven following sangiacs, or sub-governors, under him, styled, according to the different places of their residence, 1. the sangiac of Damascus, who is under the baßha of that province ; 2. of Jerusalem, or, as the Turks call it, Cudsembaric, or Coudscherif ; 3. Aglum ; 4. Bahara ; 5. Scifat ; 6. Gaza ; 7. Nabolos. Each of

^o Kings, iv. 7, & seq.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 10.

these

these has a number of ziamets, and each ziamet a number of timariots under them; for the better understanding of which terms, we shall refer our readers to Sir Paul Ricaut's account of the Ottoman empire. At present it will be sufficient to say of these inferior sub-divisions, under the sangia^c of this district, or sanguiccate of Jerusalem, that it hath nine of the former, and sixteen of the latter class. Neither must the reader imagine these sanguicatae, or sub-governments, to be any thing considerable, or the residence of these officers to be places of any note or opulence. The former indeed live by oppressing the people under them, and extort contributions of every thing that comes within their reach, such as the protection of travellers, merchants, and caravans; but being all under their respective bashas, who are still more gripping than their underlings, they are commonly fleeced of some considerable part of their unjust gains. As for the places of their residence, except it be here-and-there one in a considerable city, as at Damascus and Jerusalem, the rest are either some old cities, or even inconsiderable villages. Before we come to speak of the capital division between the twelve tribes, it will be proper to begin with a general description of the whole; and, in order to avoid needless repetitions, to give an account of the principal mountains, seas, rivers, lakes, deserts, and plains, that belong to this country.

We begin with the mountains; the highest and most considerable of which are those of Lebanon, so often celebrated in Holy Writ, especially in the poetic books of it, and by other authors, ancient and modern, under the names of Libanus and Antilibanus. As that famed chain is equally a boundary to Syria and Palestine, and might consequently be placed under either, we have chosen to speak of it here, as, on the one hand, it is placed by Jerom, Theodore, and many other ancient writers, in the Land of Promise, or Palestine; and, on the other, as it makes in many respects a considerable figure in the Jewish history, particularly on account of the prodigious number of its cedars, that contributed so much to the ornament of the Jewish temple and metropolis; so that both, as well as Solomon's stately palace, are, in some of the prophets and Canticles, called by the name of Lebanon¹. These mountains, with respect to their extent, situation, and the re-

*Mountains
of note de-
scribed.*

*Libanus
and Antili-
banus.*

¹ See, among other places, Zechar. xi. 1. Ezek. xvii. 3.
1 Kings, vii. 2. Cantic. vii. 4.

lation they bear to each other, have been but imperfectly known by the ancients; and, till of late, but obscurely described by the moderns.

*Libanus,
why so
called.*

Lebanon, or, as it is latinized, Libanus, had its name from the Hebrew *Lalan*, on account of the whiteness of its summits, which appear covered with snow a great part of the year. Some indeed affect to derive it from the Greek *libnos*, *frankincense*; but they should first prove, as Reland justly observes, that either that, or any such aromatic gum grew here. As for the Antilebanon, it hath its name from its supposed running in a kind of parallel opposition to the other. St. Jerom, speaking of Libanus, says, it is by far the loftiest hill in all the Land of Promise, as well as the most woody, and thick-set¹. And another ancient styles it the highest of all Palestine². But, to be a little more particular :

Extent, &c.

It is computed about one hundred leagues in compass, and hath Mesopotamia on the east, Armenia on the north, Palestine on the south, and the Mediterranean on the west.

*Boundaries,
first, &c.*

It consists of four ridges of mountains, which rise, one above the other: the first of these is very fertile in grain and fruit; the second as barren and rocky, producing nothing but briars and thorns; the third, though still higher, is said to enjoy a constant verdure and spring; its gardens and orchards producing such a variety of fruits, herbs, &c. that it hath been styled an earthly paradise: the last and loftiest is uninhabitable, by reason of its excessive coldness, being covered with deep snows almost all the year³. It is mostly inhabited by the Maronites below, and by the wild Arabs, called Amadeah, of the feet of Hali, every where else, but on the top. There are several churches, convents, and chapels on it, and caverns cut into the rock. The monks that inhabit it are

*Inhabit-
ants.*

very poor, but courteous to travellers, from whom they expect some token of beneficence. The convent or cenobium, where the Maronite patriarch resides, lies almost in a bottom; the descent to it is very steep, narrow, and winding, and it has but that one avenue, which makes it so much the safer, as well as more retired. It chiefly consists of sundry grotts, cut into the rock; of which the church is one of the largest. A river, which empties itself at Tripoli, runs a little below it, and supplies it with water. Near the grott of St. Marina, who

Convents.

¹ Com. in Zech. cap. ix.
² Calmet, sub voc.

³ Theodoret. in Ps. Ixzi.

is reported to have lived here as an hermit, in man's cloaths, are some vines, which afford excellent wine, and *Vines*, fine young mulberry-trees, as well as cedars, and other curiosities^b.

Several considerable rivers have their fource in this mountain; namely, the Jordan, Rocham, Nahar-Rossian, and Nahar-Cadicha; the first of which runs through Palestine, and will be spoken of in its place. Besides these, are feveral others, of a lesser stream, that run between the valleys; particularly that of Abouali, which flows down into the Romantic Valley, so called, because surrounded on all sides with high rocks. This river runs with a rapid course, and great noife, and is so covered with trees, that it is hardly to be feen. These rivers, rushing down from such heights, form feveral beautiful cascades, like those *Cascades* of the Nile. Some ancient fathers, as St. Jerom, and Eusebius, have described the Libanus and Antilibanus as one continued ridge, winding about in the form of an horse-*Winding*. shoe, which begins about three or four leagues from the Mediterranean, a little above Smyrna, and, running southward towards Sidon, takes an eastern course towards Damascus; bending thence northward, towards Laodicea Cabiosa^c. The western ridge is what is properly called Libanus, as the eastern is Antilibanus, and the hollow between Coele Syria. This mountain has been, and is still, to this day, a place of retreat and refuge for vaft numbers of robbers, and other desperate people.

The next in dignity, for height, is Mount Hermon, *Hermon*, which, like Lebanon, appears capped with fnow. It was once famed for an ancient temple held in great veneration, and much resorted to, by the fuperfitious heathens from all the neighbouring countries; and in the Psalms, for its refreshing dews^d, which descended on the adjoining mount of Sion. St. Jerom tells us, that it was above the Paneas; that its fnow was carried to Tyre and Sidon, to be used in cooling liquors; and the Chaldees and Samarians style it the Mount of Snow.

Mount Tabor^e, whose fition is better known, and *Tabor*. helps to fix that of the former, hath its name from the Hebrew *Thabur*, which signifies the *navel*, on account of its eminent form, and rising, as it were, from a plain, but

^b Pococke's Descrip. of the East, p. 104, & seq.
loc. Hebr. in voc. Antilib. Euseb. Onomast. in Liban.
cxxxiii. 3. Pococke, vol. ii. p. 74. Calmet & al.
lxxix. 13.

^c Hieron.
^d Psal.
^e Pf.

*City of Itabyrium.**Christ transfigured.**Fertility, and verdure.*

was also called Mons Atabyrius, and Itabyrium, on account of a city of that name built upon it (*T*), and mentioned by Polybius^f. The mountain is justly admired for its beauty, regularity, fertility, and constant verdure, as well as for its situation in the midst of a large plain, at a distance from any other hill. Josephus describes it^g, as being thirty stadia or furlongs high, with a plain on the top about twenty-six stadia in compass, surrounded with walls, and inaccessible on the north side (*U*). He likewise hints at a city standing within that inclosure, when he speaks of his having inclosed it with walls forty days; during which, the inhabitants had none but rain water. He adds, that it is situate between the great plain and Scythopolis; which plain cannot be understood of that of Jezreel, or Esdrælon, but of another spacious valley, at the foot of Mount Carmel, which extends around three sides of it; viz. north, south, and east. But what hath rendered this mountain most venerable, is its being the scene of our Lord's transfiguration^h; on which account, it hath been resorted to, with great devotion, by Christians in all ages (*X*).

The accounts which authors give, both of its ancient and modern state, differ extremely from one another.

^f Lib. v. cap. 70, & alib.
lib. v.

^g Ant. lib. iv. cap. 2. & de Bell.
^h Matt. xvii. passim, Mark ix. 2, & seq., Luke ix. 28. 2 Peter i. 18.

(T) Hence we find, in some medals, Jupiter is styled Atabyrius; though there were so many cities of that name, as in Rhodes, Sicily, Phœnix, Persia, &c, that it is not easy to prove from which of them he had that surname. The name Atabur, or Atabur, properly signifies a place of good pasture,

(U) This account of its height, and extent, is, however, much disputed by some modern travellers, whether considered perpendicularly or obliquely; particularly by Maundrell, who affirms, that he got up to the top of it in less than an hour; and by Theve-

not, who computed its height to be rather less than half a league. The latter adds, that some of his company went up to it on horseback: from which it plainly appears, that the acclivity of it, is not quite so abrupt as is commonly supposed ed from its form of a sugar-loaf.

(X) That this was the very-spot on which that glorious transaction was wrought, is justly doubted by many, on several accounts; one of which is, that this hill is not once mentioned by name either by the evangelists, or by St. Peter, when he speaks of the transfiguration.

The last person who has written of it from his own observation tell us, that it still retains its surprising verdure and fertility, and enjoys one of the noblest prospects that can be imagined, especially of many places famed in Sacred Writ; such as the hills of Samaria and Engadi on the south; on the east and north-east those of Gilboah and Hermon; and at the foot of it, the cities of Naim and Endor; on the south-west, Mount Carmel. One has likewise here a view of the sea of Tiberias, the town of Saphet, situate on a very high mountain, besides that of the large plain it commands all around. There are still some remains of the wall built by Josephus round the top, and some of the gates; and on the east part, those of a strong castle; within the cincture of which are three altars, in memory of the three tabernacles which St. Peter in his extasy proposed to build, and where the Latin fathers celebrate divine service on the feast of the Transfiguration. On the side of a hill is shewn a church, in a grott, where they say Christ retired, to charge his disciples not to speak of his transfiguration till after his resurrection. This is all that is now to be seen on this hill; but we are told that there was a magnificent church, built by the empress Helena, which was a cathedral when the town was a bishop's see; as likewise a convent of Benedictines; and, on another part, one of the Basilians, where the Greeks likewise perform divine service on the festival above mentioned.^{Congvents.}

The next mountain in dignity is Carmel, which stands on the skirts of the sea, and is the most remarkable headland on all the coast. It extends eastward from the sea as far as the plain of Jesreel, lately mentioned, and from the bay of its name, quite to Cæsarea on the south. It seems to have been so called on account of its fertility (Y). Carmel is the name of the mountain, and of a city built on it, and of a heathen deity worshipped in it (Z), but without either temple or statue;^{Ancient temple.} though some

^Y Pococke, ubi supra, p. 54; and Maundrell, &c. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 78.

^Z Tacit.

(Y) The word *Carmel*, according to the Hebrew import, signifies *the vine of God*, and is constantly used in the prophetic books, to signify a fruitful spot, or any place planted with fruit-trees; and this especially, we are told, was very fer-

tile, particularly on the top. (Z) We are told this place was called by the Greeks "Οπός ἡπόρ Διὸς, or perhaps rather, "Οπός εἰπότι Διὸς, the mountain and temple of Jupiter."

*Noble pro
spel.*

Congvents.

*Carmel,
whence so
called.*

*Ancient
temple.*

temple there must have been on it, since Jamblichus tells us this place was the favourite retreat of Pythagoras, who spent a good deal of time alone in the temple^g. But what hath rendered it celebrated and revered, both by Jews and Christians, is its having been the residence of Elijah, who is supposed to have lived in a cave, which is there shewn, before he was taken up into heaven; as it was also the scene where that great prophet called for a miraculous fire from heaven, which consumed the divine sacrifice, convincing the Israelites of their folly in hesitating between their God and Baal^h. On this account the Christians began, from the earliest ages, to shew a more than ordinary veneration for it (A); and both the mountain and cave of Elias, as well as the place where they say his garden was, are visited and reverenced not only by Christians and Jews, but also by the Mahomedansⁱ.

Mount Olivet.

But that which claims our chief regard is Mount Olivet, or the Mount of Olives (B), which stands about a mile distant from Jerusalem, and commands the prospect of the whole city, from which it is parted by the brook Kidron, and the valley of Jehoshaphat. It is not a single hill, but rather part of a long ridge, with three (or, according to Pococke, four) heads, or summits, extending from north to south; the middlemost of which is that,

Its three summits.

^g In Vit. Pythagor.

^h Kings, xviii. passim.

ⁱ Maundrell, Pococke, &c.

(A) We are likewise told that there was a church and monastery erected on it in some of the early ages of Christianity, and that it having been, by length of time, and the fury of its enemies, almost destroyed, a new one was afterwards erected by the zeal of a Calabrian priest; who, upon some revelation, whether pretended or real, gathered about ten more, and with them began to retrieve the veneration of the place; and hence arose the order of the Carmelites, since spread through all the Roman catholic countries, and of whom there are still a certain number, who live in this ancient monastery.

(B) It was originally called, by the Jews, the Mount of Unction, on account of the great quantities of oil that were made from the olives that grew upon it; but when Solomon had once defiled it, by erecting sundry temples to the gods of the Ammonites, Moabites, &c. in complaisance to his strange wives, they then changed the name of it by a small alteration of the letters, that is, of שׁרֵה into מְשֻחִין, into another which signifies the Mount of Corruption, Destruction, or Offence. However, the Greeks have retained its ancient one, of Ὅπεις ὄλιβας, or Ὅπεις τοῦ ὄλιβαν, Mount of Olives.

from

from the top of which our Saviour ascended up into heaven (C); it hath a small round church built over it. The second, towards the south, is that called the Mount of Corruption, or Offence. The third, to the northward, which is the highest of all, and stands about two furlongs from the middlemost, is that which was most commonly styled the Mount of Galilee. Here are also shewn many places mentioned in the Gospel; such as that where Christ mounted the ass; where he wept over Jerusalem, &c. These are still visited by multitudes of Christians of all sorts; though the Latins have the possession of them, and perform the particular ceremonies that belong to each respective place (D).

Mount Calvary, alias Golgotha, is another mountain in *Mount Ca-
vary.* this land, held in the greatest veneration, as the scene of our Saviour's crucifixion. It acquired those two names probably from its roundness, or resemblance to a human skull; though some have fetched the etymon farther than we dare to warrant (E); and stood anciently without the walls of the city, being the place where the criminals used to be put to death, according to the Mosaic law¹. But the Roman emperor Adrian having ordered the city to be rebuilt a little to the northward of its former situation, Mount Calvary was enclosed within the walls.

¹ Vide Hebr. ult. ver. 11.

(C) Here was formerly a magnificent church, built by the empress Helena, in memory of Christ's ascension; but all that remains of it is only a Gothic octagonal cupola, about eight yards in diameter. The Latins have here two altars; and the Greeks, Copts, and Armenians, one each, on which they say mass; but all sorts of Christians have free access to the place all the year round, upon paying a certain caphar. Every sacred place they shew upon this mountain has either a church, chapel, or oratory, to feed the devotion of pilgrims, and the indigence of the monks that reside upon the spot.

(D) Thus, for instance, on

Palm-Sunday, the monks and priests attend their superior from the place where Christ, mounted on an ass, proceeded to Jerusalem. He is dressed in his pontifical habit, mounted also on an ass, and accompanied by crowds of spectators, who cut down and strew branches before him, and make the air resound with their hosannas. Maundrell, Pococke.

(E) The common tradition was, that the name of Golgotha, which, in Syriac, signifies a *skull*, was given to this mountain, on account of Adam's head, supposed to have been buried here by Shem the son of Noah.

Constantine

In great veneration.

Constantine erected a magnificent church over it, and it has continued a place of as great veneration among the Christians, as ever the temple was among the Jews.

Mount Moriah.

Mount Moriah, on which the famed temple of Solomon was built ^m, stands south-east of Calvary, having Millo on the west, so called from the filling up of that deep valley, in order to raise it to a level with the rest. It is commonly thought that on this mount Abraham was commanded to sacrifice his son Isaac; though that notion is not without some difficulties. The Samaritans, by reading its name in Genesis ⁿ Moreh, instead of Moriah, have taken occasion to affirm, that it was on Mount Gerizzim, near Sechem and Moreh, that God directed the patriarch to make this sacrifice.

Gihon and other mountains.

Mount Gihon stood west of Jerusalem, and at a smaller distance than Calvary, viz. about two furlongs from Bethlehem's gate. It was here that Solomon was anointed king by the prophet Nathan and Zadock the high priest ^o. There was a celebrated pool of that name upon it, the water of which king Hezekiah caused to be brought by an aqueduct into the city. It is still a stately basin, one hundred and six paces long, and sixty-seven broad, lined with a wall of plaster, and well stored with water ^p (F).

We

^m 2 Chron. iii. 1.

ⁿ 1 Kings, i. 33. & seq.
xxxiii. 30.

^o Conf. Genes. xii. 6. & xii. 2.

^p Maundrell. See also 2 Chron.

(F) The other mountains in Palestine, worth mentioning, are Mount Garizzim, on which stood the Samaritan temple; and Mount Ebal, or Hebal, opposite to it; both near the city of Shechem. These two are parted only by a narrow valley of about two hundred paces; the former is very fertile, and the latter very barren. Mount Engadi, near the Lake of Sodom, or the Dead Sea, famed for its fruitful vines, precious balm, and fine palm-trees, on which account it was also called Hazazon-Thamar, or City of Palm-trees. Its name, Engadi, imports the *fountain of the goat*,

It was in one of its caverns that David spared the life of Saul when he had him in his power. It stood near the mouth of the Jordan, where it throws itself into the lake above mentioned, not far from the city of Jericho, and about three hundred furlongs east from Jerusalem. Mounts A-malek and Gahash were in the tribe of Ephraim; the last had a town and brook of its name, and was near Timnath-Serah, where Joshua was buried. Pisgah and Nebo, on the other side Jordan, whence Moses was allowed to view the Promised Land. The mountains of Gilboa, famed for

We shall conclude this article of the mountains with observing, that those in the kingdom of Judah mostly stand southward, towards the land of Edom ; but those of the kingdom of Israel are interspersed within the country.

From these we are naturally led down to the valleys ; but we shall forbear entering into too nice a disquisition of what were really such, and what might be more properly called plains, but content ourselves with mentioning some of the most celebrated : these are,

1. The Valley of Blessing, in the Hebrew, the Valley of Berakhah, in the tribe of Judah, on the west side of the lake of Sodom (F), and in the wilderness of Tekoah ^{Valley of Blessing, &c.}.
2. The Vale of Siddim, or Hassidim, famed for the overthrow of Chedorlaomer and his confederate kings ^z, and for the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah (G), which were here consumed with fire from heaven, as we have related elsewhere.
3. The Valley of Shaveh, or Royal Valley, and King's Dale ; named Shaveh from a city of that name that stood in it. This is the place where the king of Sodom met victorious Abraham, after the defeat of the confederate kings.
4. The Vale of Salt, famed for the overthrow of the Edomites by David (H) and Amaziah ^y.
5. The valley of Jesreel, or Esdraclon, or the

^x See *2 Chron.* xx. 26.
^{viii.} 13. ^z *Kings.* xiv. 7.

^x *Genes.* xiv. 2. & seq.

^y *2 Sam.*

the defeat of Saul and Jonathan, stood, according to Eusebius and St. Jerom, about six miles from Beth-Shean, or Scythopolis. Lastly, the mountain of Gilead, so called from the monuments reared upon it by Jacob and Laban, stands to the eastward of the Jordan, and parted the two tribes and half, on that side, from Arabia Deserta. It extends from Lebanon, on the north, to the kingdom of the Amorites, which was ceded to the tribe of Reuben ; so that it must have a length of above seventy leagues from north to south. This mountain, or

rather chain of hills, was much celebrated for its excellent balm (^t).

(F) So styled from a signal victory which God granted to the good king Jehoshaphat over the combined forces of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites.

(G) This valley is also called the Woody Valley, the Valley of Pitch, Lime, and Salt, and is the place which forms now the lake Asphaltites.

(H) It is commonly placed in the land of Edom, east of the lake of Sodom, between Tadmor and Bozrah (^z).

(1) Vide Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. ix. voce Galand. & Jeremiah. *Judg.* *Josh.* *Numb.* *Euseb.* in

(z) See Calmet, in *voc.* *Savie.*

Large or Great Field, in which stood the city of the same name, famed for the death of Jezebel, the idolatrous wife of Ahab. The town stood about ten miles distant from Scythopolis. 6. The Valley of Mamre, or Mambre, so called from the owner of it, an Amorite, in alliance with Abraham, and for the oak of that name under which the patriarch dwelt (K). 7. The vale of Rephaim, or of the Titans and giants (L), whose situation, near the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, makes it doubtful in which of those two it was. Joshua, however, mentions it as one of the boundaries of the former, and it plainly appears to have been pretty near the city of Jerusalem. 8. The Vale of Jehoshaphat is mentioned but once in Scripture^z; and is, by some, placed in Jerusalem^a, and by others in the neighbourhood of that city^b. Some there are who think it the same with the Valley of Berakhah, mentioned a little higher; and that it had both names on account of the victory gained by Jehoshaphat in that valley^c. 9. The Valley of Hinnom, near the walls of the city of Jerusalem, infamous for the superstitions and bloody rites performed there in ancient times. 10. The Valley of Zeboim, so named from one of the four cities which perished with Sodom^d, near the Dead Sea. The town, however, seems to have been rebuilt some where in the neighbourhood, since we find it mentioned after the return from the Babylonish captivity^e. 11. The Valley of Achor, near Jericho, so called from the trouble which Achan brought on the Israelitish host by his sacrilege; and for his being put to death in this place^f. 12. The Valley of Bochim, or of the mourners, or weepers, so denominated from the universal mourning and weeping which the Israelites made there, on account of the dreadful message they received from God, for their disobedience to his com-

^y Josh. xv. 8. xviii. 16. ^z Joel iii. 2 and 32. ^a Beda de Loc. Biocard. & al. plur. ^b Cyril. Alex. in Joel iii. ^c Aben-
ezra, & al. ^d 1 Sam. xiii. 18. & al. ^e Nehem. xi. 34.
^f Josh. vii. 20—26.

(K) This oak, or as some versions render it, terebinth-tree, stood about fifteen miles from Hebron, and twenty-five from Jerusalem; and was reported to, and held in great veneration, not only by the Jews, but by the Christians, on account of Abram's en-

tertaining the three heavenly visitors under it.

(L) This valley was famed by Joshua, and, in the reigns of David and his successors, under the name of Rephaim, which it had from a race of giants, ancient inhabitants of Canaan.

mands,

mands, with regard to the nations they had invaded^c. It is commonly supposed to have been at some small distance from Jerusalem. 13. The last worth mentioning is the Valley of Elah (M), famous for the defeat and death of Goliath by David, and for the victory which the Israelites obtained against the Philistines^d.

There were likewise several noted plains in this country, particularly that through the midst of which the river Jordan runs; which is computed about one hundred and fifty miles in length, extending northward, according to Josephus, from the city of Scythopolis, on the sea of Tiberias, quite to the Asphaltite lake^e. A great part of this large tract is denominated in the New Testament, "the land," or region, "about Jordan;" otherwise "the wilderness of Jordan"^f. There is another styled "the great plain of Efdraelon, or great plain, and valley of Jezreel, the fields of Efdrela, and the plain of Legion^g;" the first of which names it acquired from the capital city Jezreel, or Efdraelon, and extended from Scythopolis to Mount Carmel^h. Besides these two, which are the most remarkable plains in all Palestine, we may add, that the whole coast from Mount Carmel down to the southernmost borders of it, towards Idumæa, is plain level ground, excepting here and there some small and gentle hills, or sandy heaps. This great extent, however, was not all known or called by the same name after the second templeⁱ; for the northern part of it, from Joppa to Cæsarea, and no farther, was called Sharon, Saron, or Sarona, very fertile in pasture grounds; in which, Mr. Reland thinks^k, the Gadites fed their numerous herds and flocks. The southern part of it was called Sephelah, or the Plain, and extended westward and southward of

^c Judg. ii. 1, & seq. ^d 1 Sam. xvii. 2 & seq. ^e Antiq. lib. vi. cap. ii. ^f Comp. Matt. iii. 5. Mark i. 4. and Luke iii. 3. ^g Vide Reland, ubi supra, cap. 55. ^h Euseb. in Voc. Jezreel & Efdrela. ⁱ Joseph. Bel. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 2. ^k Reland, ubi supra.

(M) The word Elah is, by the Septuagint and Vulgate, rendered a *terebinth-tree*, and this the Valley of the Terebinth. Others translate it an oak. We omit the description of many other vallies mentioned

in Scripture; such as that of Eshcol, or of the bunch of grapes, lying south of the Promised Land; those of Ajalon, Sorec, Jephthael, Gad, &c. so named from their chief cities.

*Jericho,
and rose of
Jericho.*

Eleutheropolis ε. The plain of Jericho, though rather a part of the Great Plain, properly so called, is likewise much celebrated in Scripture for its fine palm-trees, and its balm-shrub, as well as for its famed rose and rose-tree, with which the whole plain was said to be almost covered. Several wonderful virtues are, without any foundation, attributed to it by authors, and by the inhabitants of those plains; one property of it, however, is certain, even after it is dry and withered, if put into water, it will blow, and appear in full bloom; and, being taken out, contract again, at any season in the year (N). Other plains here are too inconsiderable to be mentioned.

Deserts.

We find a great many deserts and wildernesses in this country, mentioned in the sacred books; which are not, however, to be understood as places quite barren, destitute, or uninhabited: divers of these wildernesses contained cities and villages rich and well peopled; indeed, almost every city had some desert, according to the Scripture idiom, belonging to it, for pasture; so that the word commonly meant no more than a land, or tract, that bore neither corn, wine, nor oil, but was left to the spontaneous production of nature (O). Accordingly we find in the desert of Judah, where the Baptist preached, no less than six cities, besides villages; namely, Bethabarah, Middin, Secanah, Nibshan, the city of Salt, and that of Engadi. We have not room to dwell on a description of all those deserts, but shall only mention some

§ Reland, ubi supra.

(N) The shrub that bears it is somewhat like our alder, and shoots its flowers in great bunches, which, at first, are of a reddish colour, but, by degrees, grow whiter. It is not peculiar, however, to this plain, there being likewise found great quantities in Arabia. Some later writers, however, tell us, that the palm-trees are now much more scarce, and the fruit short of what they were; and the rose-tree we are mentioning scarce

to be seen in all that plain (r).

(O) Mr. Reland hath fully shewn, that the Hebrew word *midbar*, which the Greeks rendered *ημερος*, and the Latins, *desertum* and *solitudo*, bear no analogy to each other; and that the former were set aside for feeding of flocks, whilst the cultivated lands were styled plains, vallies, and those that excelled in fecundity, were distinguished by some proper epithets, or even names of that import.

(r) Shaw. Pococke.

of

of the most noted ; namely, Arnon, in which runs the river of that name through the land of Gilead ; Ziph, where David hid himself ; Cadesh, near Cadeh-Barneah, on the south side of Judah, mentioned as the place where Moses and Aaron were punished for smiting the rock, and where their sister died ; the desert of Mahon, or Maon, on the borders of Judah, on the south of Jesimon. Hither also did David retire from the fury of Saul. Those of Tekoah, Bezer, Bozor or Bozra, Gibeon or Gabaa, and others of less note, were likewise denominated from the cities they belonged to, and have nothing worth farther notice, except that the last of these is mentioned by Josephus, as well as all the mountainous tract from Jericho to Scythopolis, as quite barren and uninhabited ; including under the same character, most of the space along the Jordan, from the sea of Tiberias to the Asphaltite lake. The great number of these deserts, in a country of such inconsiderable extent, render the account of its fertility and population very extraordinary.

Palestine also produced some woods or forests, mentioned in holy writ, such as those of Hareth in the tribe of Judah, to which David withdrew from Saul ; of Ephraim, where Absalom received the due reward of his unnatural rebellion. This stood on the other side of Jordan, not far from Mahanaim, where David abode while the battle was fought ; that of Lebanon, where Solomon built a sumptuous palace, so called, in all probability, on account of the many stately trees with which it was shaded (P) ; the forest of Beth-el, supposed to have stood near the city of that name, whence the two she-bears came, and devoured the children that insulted the prophet Elisha. Others, of less note, we pass over, to come to the seas, lakes, and rivers of the country¹.

We begin with the seas ; of which there are commonly reckoned five (Q) ; viz. the Mediterranean, called *Seas.*

¹ Vide Sam. Kings, & Bib. Sacr. *passim.*

(P) Some authors have placed this palace in the mountains of Lebanon, properly so called ; whereas it is much more probable, that it stood in or near Jerusalem ; witness the three hundred golden shields which were carried before that monarch, expressly said to have been constantly kept in the hall of this palace.

(Q) The Hebrews gave the name of *yam*, or *sea*, not only to those properly so called, as the Mediterranean and Red Sea, but also to lakes, and other large pools. They even bestowed that name on some large rivers, such as the Nile, Euphrates, Tigris, &c.

by the sacred writers the Great Sea. 2. The Dead Sea, or Lake of Sodom. 3. The Sea of Tiberias. 4. The Samachonite Sea, or Lake. And, 5. The Sea of Jazer^s; which last was but a small lake near the city of that name; so that only the first of them^t deserved the appellation. The Dead Sea, called also, from its situation, the East Sea, the Salt Sea, the Sea of Sndom, the Sea of the Desert, and Sea of the Plain, by the sacred writings; and, by other authors, the Asphaltite Lake, on account of the vast quantities of that bitumen, which is thrown up by its waves, and cast upon the shore (Z). Many particulars have been said and written of this famous lake, such as that it arose from the submersion of the vale of Siddim, where once stood, as is commonly reported, the three cities which perished in the miraculous conflagration, with those of Sodom and Gomorrah (A); that the waters of it are so impregnated with salt, sulphur, and bitumen, that nothing would sink or live in it; and that it cast such stench and smoke, that the very birds died in attempting to fly over it. We likewise read of apples that grew about it, fair without, but bitter to the taste and filled with ashes, considered as a farther monument of God's indignation. Mention has also been made of the ruins of the five cities still to be seen in clear weather: all these surprising circumstances, though so long received

^s Jerem. xlviij. 32.

(Z) The name of Dead Sea is not to be found in the sacred writings, but hath been given to it, because no creature will live in it, on account of its excessive saltiness, or rather bituminous quality; for the Hebrews rank sulphur, nitre, and bitumen, under the general name of salt. However, some late travellers have found cause to suspect the common report; one of them having observed two or three shells of fish among the pebbles on the shore, supposed to have been thrown up by the waves, at two hours distance from the mouth of the Jordan. The

Arabians gather the bitumen, and put it to all the uses of common pitch.

(A) Thence called Pentapolis. Strabo, however, on the authority of an ancient and received tradition, reckoned up thirteen of them, of which Sodom was the capital; and adds, that they were overthrown by a violent earthquake, occasioned by subterraneous fire, that threw up this great and sulphureous lake, in which all those cities were swallowed up. Josephus assures us likewise, that, on the overthrow of Sodom, this vale became the Lake Asphaltites,

among

among Christians, have been exploded by the testimony of very credible witnesses: therefore we must give them up as pious inventions, unless we will suppose the face and nature of all these things to have been entirely changed (B). With respect to the situation of the Pentapolis, on the same spot where the lake now lies, Mr. Reland is the first that hath attempted to confute it from Scripture. As to the constant smoke ascending from the lake, its changing the colour of its waters three times a day, so confidently affirmed by Josephus, and other ancients, and confirmed by Prince Radziville, and other moderns^h, who pretend to have been eye-witnesses of this phænomenon, it is now vanished and dispelled by others of more modern date, and, at least, of equal candour. The water, though clear, is so impregnated with salt, that those that dive in it, come out covered with a kind of brineⁱ. One remarkable property of this lake, is, that though it receives the Jordan, the brooks of Jabok, Kishon, Arnon, and other springs, which rush down from the adjacent mountains, yet it never overflows. The common opinion is, that it has some subterraneous vent, either into the Mediterranean or the Red Sea^k: but, there is no necessity for having recourse to this supposition, inasmuch as it may be kept within bounds, like the Mediterranean and Caspian Seas, by the sole expence of evaporation. It is inclosed on the east and west with exceeding high mountains; on the north, the plain of Jericho; or, if we take in both sides of the Jordan, the Great Plain, properly so called, on the fourth, extends beyond the reach of the eye. Josephus gives this lake five hundred and eighty furlongs in length, from the mouth of the Jordan to the town of Segor on the opposite end, that is, about twenty-two leagues, and about an hundred and fifty furlongs or five leagues, in its largest breadth^l; but our modern accounts make it no more than twenty-four miles in length, and six or seven in breadth. On the west side of it is a kind of promontory, where they pretend to shew the remains of Lot's metamorphosed wife. Josephus says,

No dis-charge of its waters.

^h Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 5. Radz. ubi supra. ⁱ Galen. Descript. Medicam. Salust. cap. 19. Pococke. ^k Reland, ubi supra. ^l Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2. De Bell. lib. iv. cap. 14.

(B) With respect to its salt, about the shore, which they the Arabs make quantities of it fill with that water, and leave from that lake, in large pits to be crystallised by the sun.

it was still standing in his time ; but, when prince Radziville inquired after it, they told him, there was no such salt pillar or statue to be seen in all that part. However, they have found means, about a century after him, to recover, as they pretended to assure Mr. Maundrell, a block or stump of it, which may in time grow up, with a little art, to its ancient bulk¹.

*Sea of Ti-
berias.*

The sea of Tiberias, or Galilee (C), is, in most respects, quite opposite to that of Sodom, being highly commended by the Jewish historian, amongst other things, for the sweetnes, coolnes, and excellency of its water, and the abundance and variety of fine fish. The river Jordan runs quite through it, and supplies it with fresh water : and here it was that St. Peter, Andrew, John, and James, exercised their profession of fishermen. Josephus gives it an hundred furlongs in length, and about forty in breadth.

Of Samachon.

3. The lake of Samachon, or Amacon, near the city of Dan, and the spring-head of the Jordan, which runs quite through it, lies about an hundred furlongs north of that of Tiberias. We do not find it once mentioned in the Old Testament, either by that, or any other appellation, by which one may conclude it to have been known to the sacred historians. Its length is computed near sixty furlongs, or about seven miles ; and its breadth, thirty furlongs, or three miles and an half. But Pococke assures us, it is now no more than four in breadth, when broadest, and in other places not above two. As to the lake, it is famed only for the thickness of its water, from which it is supposed to have had its name. Josephus adds, that the whole territory about it was full of marshes ; and that the city of Hazor, where reigned Sabin, one of the kings of Canaan, was seated upon it, as that of Seleucia hath since been. We shall now describe the rivers.

Rivers.

Of these the Jordan is the most considerable, and indeed the only stream that deserves the name. The others, though often mentioned under that title, are but brooks, or rivulets, in comparison of that or the Nile, or the Eu-

¹ Maundrel, ubi supra.

(C) It had several other names in the sacred writings ; such as Cinnereth, Cinneroth, or sea and lake of Kinnereth, or Kinneroth ; the lake or wa-

ter of Genezareth, or Genezar. The name of the sea of Galilee was given to it on account of its being almost surrounded with that province.

phrates. These are the Arnon, Jabbok, and Cherith, on the other side Jordan; the Sorek, Kishon, Bosor, Belus, the brook of Jezreel, which falls into the Jordan near Scythopolis, the Nahar-el-farat, and some others of less note (D).

Jordan hath its source at the famed lake of Phiala, *Jordan de-scribed.* about ten miles north of that of Samachon: this origin was not fully proved, till Philip the tetrarch made the experiment of throwing some straw or chaff into the lake which came out at the Panion, or Paneas, where the river emerges out of the earth, after having run about one hundred and twenty furlongs under ground. This Phiala or Phial, a name commonly given to all other reservoirs of that kind, is situate in a most delightful country, so excellently well adapted for commerce, that marts and fairs are held in the places adjacent all the summer long, by the neighbouring inhabitants^k. The origin of the *Name.* name Jordan is variously deduced (E); but its stream was looked

* *Sanch. apud Reland. ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 41.*

(D) The Arnon hath its source among the mountains of Gilead, and runs, at first, from north to south; thence turning from east to west, falls into the Dead Sea. The Jabbok springs from the same mountains, and falls into the Jordan a little above the sea of Tiberias. This river divided the country of the Ammonites from that of Gaulonitis, and the kingdom of Bashan. The head of the Cherith, famed only for the prophet Elijah's retreat, is not known; but it falls into the Jordan a little below Beth-Shean, or Scythopolis. The Sorek runs through the valley of the same name in the tribe of Dan. Kishon, or Cisson, runs through the vale of Jezreel, south of Mount Tabor, whence it falls into the sea at the port of Acco, or Acre, otherwise Ptolemais. It is a pretty large river, and

receives many springs from Mount Carmel, and the plain adjacent. Bosor, or Bezor, parts the tribes of Judah and Simeon, and discharges itself into the Mediterranean between Gaza, or rather Majuma, and Anthedon. It is also called the river or torrent of the desert. Belus, Bel, Beleus, a small river of Galilee, discharges itself into the Mediterranean about two furlongs from Ptolemais. The last river worth mentioning, is called Nahar-el-farat, or Nehel-frat, that is, the River of the Mouse, which hath its source about a league to the north-east of Jerusalem.

(E) Jordan, in Hebrew, *Jarden*, is derived from *jarad*, *descendit*, or *jarden*, *descensus*, from its rapid descent through that country. The Arabs call it Arden, or Harden, or *Or-dounon*; the Persians, Aerdun; and

looked upon as so considerable, in reference to the rest we have lately described, that it is sometimes styled by way of emphasis, *The River!*

Couſe.

The course of the Jordan is mostly southward, bending a few degrees towards the west. After a run of about ten or twelve miles, it passes quite through the Samachonite lake, whence, after a course of about eighteen or twenty miles more, exclusive of its windings, it enters into the sea of Tiberias on the north side, and comes out again on the south side, at a small distance from the city of that name. Thence it proceeds still south-westward, through a plain and desert of about sixty miles, and falls into the Asphaltite lake. Its course is very rapid, though its bed is very deep. As to its breadth, Pococke compares it to the Thames at Windsor; Shaw gives it only thirty yards in breadth; but observes, that its depth makes sufficient amends, it being three yards deep, even at the very brink. Its banks appear different, according to the places it runs through, some very beautiful, others choaked up with high and thick reeds, canes, and trees; such as willows and tamarisks, which afford harbour for lions, and other wild beasts.

Overflowings.

It is said to have overflowed its banks constantly about the time of the early harvest, or soon after Easter, contrary to the nature of other rivers, which commonly swell most during the winter. This inundation hath been ascribed to its having a subterraneous communication with the Nile. But the most probable cause is, the melting of the snows about that time, and the early rain, which falls in great abundance. However, our modern travellers assure us, that it is no longer subject to these overflows, having, as they suppose, by the rapidity of its current, worn its channel deeper than formerly, or, perhaps, diverted some of its waters another way. The water of it is commonly very turbid, occasioned by its rapidity, but said to be very wholesome, and incorruptible; superstition hath even invested it with the property of washing away the sins of mankind (F). All that need be added,

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 1. lib. viii. cap. 3.

and the Nubian geographer, or the sharif Edrisi, gives it the name of Zacchar; which, in Arabic, signifies *tumid, swelling, overflowing.*

(F) Dr. Pococke, who, among others, mentions this particularity, adds, that not only men, but women are ambitious of reaping the benefit

added, with regard to this famed river, is, that the plain on both sides, from the sea of Tiberias quite to the Asphaltite or Dead Sea, is extremely dry, fultry, and unwholesome during the heat of the summer, and every where barren, except that part which lies near, and is watered by that river^k. Having specified the principal seas, lakes, and rivers of Palestine, we shall now give a short account of its most remarkable rarities.

Among those of the natural kind, we may justly reckon the petrifications resembling citrons, melons, olives, peaches, and other fruit, found about Mount Carmel, which imitate those vegetable productions, both within and without; and we are further told, that the melons, when opened, emit an agreeable smell^l (G). Here also are found a kind of oysters, and other fish, and even bunches of grapes, of the same consistence. Little round stones, exactly resembling peas, are found on a spot of ground near Rachel's tomb, not far from Bethlehem, which they pretend to have been the effect of a miracle wrought by the Virgin Mary. The sand of the river Belus was not only excellent for making glass, but is reported to have, by some accident, ministered the hint of that noble invention. On the same road is a fountain, called the Apostle's Fountain; and a little farther, the

Petrified fruits, &c.

Peas-stones.

^x Joseph. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 18.
vant, vol. iv. p. 308. 410 edit.

^l Le Bruyn Voy. au Lev-

nefit of these salutiferous waters, by bathing and swimming in it, not without great hazard. The Latin priests erect altars along the banks, where they say mass to the devout pilgrims.

(G) Dr. Shaw says the greatest part of the mountain of Carmel, and of those in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, are made up of a kind of white chalky strata, in the former of which they gather a great many stones, which, being in the form of olives, melons, peaches, &c. are commonly imposed upon pilgrims as antidotes

against several distempers. The olives, the lapides Judaici of the shops, have been much celebrated as an approved medicine against the gravel and stone. The little round calculi, commonly called the Virgin Mary's peas; the chalky stone of the grotto near Bethlehem, and called her milk; the waters of Jordan and Siloam; the oil of Zacone; the roses of Jericho; beads made of the olive-stones of Gethsemane; with various curiosities of the like nature, are the presents which pilgrims usually receive in return for their charity,

*A wild de-
sert.* desert to which our Saviour retired, and was tempted by the devil; a most barren, rugged, and dismal solitude, in which appears a very craggy mountain, called Quadrantana, or Quarantania, of difficult and dangerous ascent, which is said to be that on which the tempter shewed him all the kingdoms of the world. On the top are two chapels, and in the neighbourhood, a great many hideous caves and holes in the rock, formerly the solitary retreat of Christian anchorites^m, and probably, likewise, of the more ancient Essenes.

*Hot wa-
ters.*

Het and medicinal waters, of several sorts, may be likewise ranked under this class; and of these there was variety. It may be observed, in general, that the Hebrew names *hamim*, *hamath*, and *hamim*, which the Greek and Vulgate write *emmanus*, *amutha*, *hamata*, *amath*, and *amatibus*, always signify such places as had these hot waters; and of them we find several in Palestine, whose waters were famed for curing a variety of diseases, some by bathing, others by drinking. The superstitious Jews were such admirers of some of them, as to imagine that their virtue was miraculous; though Josephus owns it to be natural. Those in particular of that Emmaus, about twenty-two leagues from Lydda, on the sea-side, and since called Nicopolis, of such efficacy against most distempers, that the Christians attributed it to our Saviour's having washed his feet in them. Julian, the apostate, caused their source to be stopped, out of hatred to our religion.

*Saline ef-
fluorescences.*

Among other natural rarities are reckoned, 1. The saline efflorescences observed, at the distance of some few leagues from the Dead Sea, like those which are mentioned to be near Aleppo, after an inundation; a plain indication, that the whole plain must be, in an extraordinary manner, impregnated with that mineral. 2. The hillocks, with which the plain, about an hour's distance from the Dead Sea, is here and there covered, not unlike those places in England where there have been some limekilns, but which are here pretended to be the pits where the kings of Sodom and Gomorah were overthrown by the four kings. 3. The celebrated fruit called, by the Arabs, *zachone* (H), in the plain of Jericho, which grows

on

^m Radzevil, Peregr. p. 99.

(H) Dr. Pococke, who saw holly; it hath very strong it, and calls it *zoccum*, styles it thorns, and a leaf something a tree, and describes it thus: like that of the barberry-tree; The bark is like that of the it bears a green nut; the skin or

on a kind of thorny bush, with small leaves, and both in shape and colour resembles a small unripe walnut. The Arabs bray the kernels of it in a mortar, and throw the pulp into scalding water, on the surface of which the oil rises; which being skimmed off, they apply inwardly for bruises, and outwardly for wounds; and prefer it, in both cases, even to the balm of Gilead. On the same plain grows the famed wood-olive, the outward coat of which is green, like that of the common olive; but being taken off, discovers a nut of a woody substance, ribbed lengthwise, of the thickness of an almond-shell. The kernel within is like that of a pistachio, and without of a chestnut-brown, but insipid. Much of the same nature is that sort of tree which the monks of the convent in St. John's Desert shew, and pretend to be the right locust-tree, on whose fruit the Baptist lived; on which account, Radziville calls them by no better name than monuments of the ignorance of the middle times (1). Dr. Pococke says they are called caroub, and bear a fruit like a bean, but flatter, in which are some small seeds; the shell of it, when dry, is eaten, and has an agreeable taste; and it is on these that the Baptist fed, as they there pretend. As for the dudoins, or, as our version renders that word, the mandrakes, mentioned in Genesis; the kikaion, or gourd

or flesh over it is very thin, and the nut ribbed; hath a thick shell, and a very small kernel. They grind the whole, and press an oil out of it, as they do out of olives, and call it a balsam. I take it to be the myrobalanum mentioned by Josephus, as growing about Jericho; especially as it answers to the fruit described by Pliny, as the produce of that part of Arabia which was between Judaea and Egypt (1).

(1) It is, indeed, the common opinion, that the ἄκριδες, or locusts, which the Baptist fed upon, were the same which we call by that name, and not the fruit above meant; and in most parts of Asia and Africa

where they come, some years, in such quantities, that they darken the sun, it is common for people to eat them, and even to preserve them in salt or pickle. That this kind of food was of very ancient date, may be inferred from the permission that is given for eating it in the Levitical law, where a particular distinction is made between reptiles with and without wings; the former of which might be eaten. The common way of dressing them, was by plucking off the legs and wings, and boiling them over a blaze, in a pan full of holes; or else to lay them in heaps, and then kindle a fire about them.

(1) *Observ. on Palestin.* vol. ii. p. 32.

of Jonah, and some others of the same doubtful nature, we may perhaps have occasion to speak of them in the course of this history.

*Ruins of
Acra.*

*Its cath-
edral,
and other
antiquities.*

Among the artificial curiosities we may rank, 1. The ruins of Ptolemais, or St. John d'Acra, or Acra, from its ancient Hebrew name Acco, or Accho (K). Whoever considers these ruins with attention, would be almost induced to conclude that the city consisted only of castles, without the intermixture of private houses. It had two walls, well flanked with towers, and other bulwarks; and each wall had a ditch, lined with stone, and many private posterns beneath; but now that huge wall, and all its arches, are overthrown, and its fragments appear like so many huge rocks upon the foundationⁿ. In the fields, without these stupendous rocks, are seen scattered up and down, great stone balls, at least thirteen or fourteen inches in diameter, formerly used in battering the city, before the use of cannon was known^o. The ruins within those broken walls carry still some tokens of their ancient magnificence. Here are the remains of a cathedral formerly dedicated to St. Andrew; a noble Gothic structure, with a portico. In the vaults of the church of St. John, the titular saint of the city, there is a relief of St. John's head in a charger. The convents of the Knights Hospitallers may be still distinguished, as well as the palace of their grand master, exhibiting a large and noble stair-case, and part of a stately chapel, or church, the walls of which are still entire. We shall conclude this article with the curious pyramidal hill, about half a mile east of the town, which is so improved by art, that its steepness renders it altogether inaccessible, except on the south-west side; so that from its situation and form, it appears to have been a mound, or camp, of the besiegers, about half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile

ⁿ Sandys, lib. iii. p. 159.

^o Maundrell, ubi supra, p. 54.

(K) This town is, among several others, mentioned in the book of Judges, as being in the tribe of Asher, but so strong, that they could not drive out the old inhabitants; so that it seems to have retained its ancient name among the natives, seeing the Arabs do still call it Akka. The

name of Ptolemais was since given it from one of the Ptolemies of Egypt; and that of Acra, probably, from its fortifications and importance; whence the knights of St. John of Jerusalem did afterwards give it that of St. John d'Acra.

broad.

— broad. On this hill the basha commonly pitches his pavilion, when he takes this town in his circuit.

2. The remains of Sebaste, or the ancient Samaria, though long ago laid in ruins, and great part of it turned into ploughed land, still retain some marks of its ancient grandeur, and of those noble edifices with which king Herod caused it to be adorned (L), particularly towards the north side, where is a large square piazza, encompassed with marble pillars, some standing, some lying, together with the fragments of strong walls at some distance. But the most considerable object is the church, said to have been built by the empress Helena, over the place where St. John the Baptist was beheaded, or buried ; the dome of which, together with some other parts, adorned with fine marble columns, capitals, and curious Mosaic work, prove it to have been a very noble fabric (M).

3. Jacob's well is still shewed, and reverenced by travellers for its antiquity ; but by Christians much more, on account of Christ's condescending to hold a conference with the Samaritan woman. It stands, indeed, at present too far for the people of Samaria to have fetched their water from it ; but it must be remembered, that the city, which Josephus tells us was no less than twenty furlongs in compass, stretched itself farther this way than the ruins now appear. The well is at present covered with an old stone vault ; it is all hewn out of the solid rock, about three yards in diameter, and thirty-five in depth, five of which Mr. Maundrell found full of water.

4. The pools of Solomon, so called because that monarch is supposed to have caused them to be made, in order to supply not only his palaces and gardens, but even the city of Jerusalem, with water, appear still, by what remains of them, to have been a work of immense cost and labour (N). Such also are the sealed fountains, *The pools of Solomon.*
Sealed fountains, which

(L) This city was enlarged and beautified by Herod, and called by him Sebaste, and Augusta, in honour of the emperor Augustus, his good friend and patron.

(M) The remains of this church are now divided into two parts, one of which belongs to the Christians, the other to the Turks ; which

last is paved with marble, and hath a chapel under ground, where are three tombs, surrounded with low walls ; in which, it is pretended, the Baptist lies buried, between the prophets Elisha and Obadiah.

(N) These stupendous works, which were the delight, and supposed the contrivance, of that famed monarch, are alluded

which lie opposite to them, towards the north-west corner of the same hill, in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem : these pools are three in a row, one over the other, so disposed, that the water of the uppermost may descend into the second, and from the second into the third. They are all three quadrangular, and all of an equal breadth, viz. about ninety paces ; but in length they differ, the first of them being one hundred and sixty paces, the second two hundred, and the third two hundred and twenty ; all three are of a considerable depth, well walled and plastered, and contain a large quantity of water. About one hundred and twenty paces distant from them is the spring which supplies them, and which the friars pretend to be the sealed fountain spoken of in the Canticles.

Aqueduct.

The aqueduct is built on a foundation of stones, and the water runs in earthen pipes, about ten inches in diameter. These are cased with two stones, hewn so as to fit them, which are likewise covered over with other rough stones, well cemented together ; and the hole is so sunk into the ground on the side of the hills, that in many places no part of it is to be seen⁴. This work formerly extended five or six leagues, and appears, by the strength and contrivance of it, to have been designed to last as long as the world. However, all these precautions have not been able to prevent its being in a great measure destroyed by the violent hands of the Arabs, who make no scruple to break all before them whenever they are in want of water. So that there are only some fragments of it here and there to be found, though enough to convince us, that, upon the whole, it must have been a very expensive and stupendous work. As for the gardens, if any such there were, they have long since been destroyed ; and the spot, at present, appears but little adapted to such noble plantations (O). To these we may add,

Pools of Bethesda, &c.

5. The famed pools of Bethesda and Gihon, the former at Jerusalem, one hundred and twenty paces long, forty broad, and, at least, eight deep, but now without water ;

⁴ Vide Maundrell, Pococke, Thevenot.

alluded to in his book of Ecclesiastes ; where, among other instances of his grandeur and magnificence, he reckons up his gardens and vineyards, his fountains, conduits, &c.

(O) The ground, it seems,

appears, at present, so rocky and barren, that Mr. Maundrell thinks Solomon displayed his wealth more than his wisdom, if he made choice of it for the purpose supposed.

the

the other about a quarter of a mile without Bethlehem gate westward, a stately ruin, one hundred and six paces long, and sixty-seven broad, lined with wall and plaiter, and still well stored with water.

6. In the city of Bethlehem, besides a great many holy places, such is the stable, and the very manger where the divine Infant was laid, they shew a grotto cut wholly out of a chalky rock, in which, they pretend, the blessed Virgin concealed herself and child from the fury of Herod; and where some of her milk, having fallen on the ground, gave not only an uniform whiteness to the whole place, but likewise a miraculous virtue, to encrease the milk of women who suckle (D). At Nazareth is a stately church under-ground, built, as is reported, on the very cave where the Virgin Mary received the angel's hail; and where, just at the section of the crofs, are erected two pillars of granite, each a little above two feet in diameter, and about three feet distant from each other. These are supposed to stand where the angel and the Virgin stood at the time of the annunciation. Near this are seen some noble remains of a much larger church, supposed, from the architecture of it, to have been built by the empress Helena, or about her time. Among other fragments, here are several capitals and bases, and other pieces of ancient work in a tolerably good taste; and over a door there is an old alt-relief of Judith's cutting off the head of Holophernes^e. But the greatest curiosity in this way is, the great church, built by the same empress, over our Saviour's sepulchre, and, from thence, called the church of the Holy sepulchre.

The 7th class of artificial rarities in this country, and the last worth mentioning, is, that of the sepulchral monuments that are scattered all over it, and out of which we shall only select some of the most remarkable, referring our readers, for the rest, to the travellers quoted throughout this section. 1. That of the Virgin Mary near Jerusalem, in the valley of Jehosaphat, into which

*Antiquities
of Bethle-
hem;**and Nazar-
eth.**Tomb of
the Virgin
Mary.*

• Fococke, ubi supra, p. 63.

(D) These legends are swallowed, not only by the superstitious Latins, and Greeks, but by the very Turks and Arabs; insomuch that lumps of that chalk are broken off in

great quantities, and carried to Jerusalem, where, being impressed with the seal of the city, they are conveyed thence into Europe, and other parts.

there is a descent by a magnificent flight of forty-seven steps. It hath, on the right-hand, the sepulchre of St. Anna, the mother; and on the left, that of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin; some add that of Jechoiakim, her father. In all these are altars erected for priests, of all sorts, to say mass; and the whole is cut out of the solid rock. 2. That of king Jeshoshaphat, divided into several apartments; in one of which is his tomb, adorned with a stately portico and entablature. 3. That of Absalom, commonly called his pillar, or place, because he reared it during his life, and to perpetuate his memory, as he had no male issue. Josephus styles it a marble pillar, and says, it stood about two furlongs from Jerusalem. This structure is about twenty cubits square, adorned below with four columns of the Ionic order, with their capitals and entablatures, to each front. From the height of twenty to forty feet, it is somewhat less, and quite plain, except of a small fillet at the upper end; and from forty to the top it changes into a round, which grows gradually into a point, the whole cut out of the solid rock. There is a room within, considerably higher than the level of the ground without, on the sides of which are niches, probably to receive coffins, or bodies. 4. A little farther westward, is the tomb of Zechariah, the son of Barachiah, whom the Jews slew between the temple and the altar, as is commonly supposed. This fabric is all cut out of the natural rock, eighteen feet high, and as many square, and adorned with Ionic columns. The whole ends in a pointed top, like a diamond. Dr. Pococke observes rightly, that there is something very particular in the execution of the Ionic order, which appears rather of modern date, and may have been added afterwards.

Royal sepulchres.

But the most curious, august, and elaborate piece of antiquity of this kind, are the grots styled the sepulchres of the kings, without the walls of Jerusalem, north of Bezetha. Why they are styled the royal sepulchres, and to what kings they belonged, is not exactly known; though there is not the least question to be made of their being real depositaries of the dead, as appears from the coffins which are still remaining. The whole appears a work of such vast expence and labour, that it may be justly enough pronounced a royal work; and, if really the sepulchres of the ancient Jewish monarchs, they may be deemed the most authentic remains of the old royal splendor, that are to be met with in or about Jerusalem.

They

They are all cut out of the solid marble rock. On the east side is the entrance, ten feet deep into the stone, leading into several spacious and elaborate apartments; the first of which is a large stately court, about one hundred and twenty feet square, neatly cut and polished, out of the same marble quarry. On the left, or south side of it is a noble gallery, or portico, with a kind of architrave in front, supported by columns, all cut out of the same rock. It was once adorned with festoons, and other architecture, but these are now almost defaced; and on the left of the portico is the descent into the sepulchres, into which one enters by creeping on the ground, through a narrow passage, which leads into the first apartments.

*Noble apart-
ments within.*

This is a large handsome room, about seven or eight yards square, so very neatly and exactly formed, that it may be justly styled a fine chamber hollowed out of one solid piece of marble. From three of the sides of this chamber, you may pass into a great number of others, all of the same fabric, but of different sizes; and from these into others, still less, and within another, of an oblong square, some of which are divided into two; the innermost of which are deeper than the rest, by a descent of six or seven steps. In every one of these rooms, the first excepted, are stone coffins placed in niches, carved on the sides of the chambers, which were formerly covered with handsome semicircular lids, adorned with flowers, garlands, &c. but most of them are now broken to pieces. But what appears most surprising is, that, on the doors leading from one chamber to another, the door-cases, hinges, pivots, &c. are all of the same stone with the rest; for the doors appear to have been cut of the very piece to which they hang, and not wrought elsewhere, or from any other block. Maundrell, however, observes, that the only door now left hanging, which is two feet and a half wide, five feet and a half long, and five inches thick, did not touch its lintel, by at least two inches; so that he believes it might have been easily lifted up, and unhinged. He took notice, besides, that those which had been thrown down, had their hinges at the upper-end twice as long as those at the bottom; a circumstance which plainly discovers the whole contrivance.

*Rooms,
niches, cof-
fins.*

*Extraordi-
nary doors.*

We might add to these a good number of supernatural particulars, highly revered by the monks, and other devotees, as well as by travellers; but as they are, for the greatest part, founded upon imposture, we shall only single out two or three of the most remarkable; namely,

*Miraculous
rarities.*

the impression of our Saviour's foot, or feet, in the rock, on the mountain from which he ascended into heaven; the cleft said to have been made on the same mountain by the miraculous earthquake that happened at our Saviour's crucifixion. It is inclosed in the great church of St. Sepulchre, about a fpan wide, and two deep; then the rock closes, and opens again below, and runs down, to an unknown depth, in the earth. The Akeldama, or Field of Blood, formerly the Potter's Field, and since styled Campo Santo, or Holy Field, purchased with the price of Judas's treason, for the burial of strangers, is said to have acquired such virtue, that its earth will consume a dead body, in twenty-four hours, to the very bones. But some more accurate observers have found reason to be convinced, that, if it ever had such a virtue, it hath lost it in the sequel. We shall close this article with two other instances of the superstition that reigns in these regions of holy pilgrimages; and which, being peculiar to the Turks, will convince our readers that they are no less credulous, and fond of wonders, than the Greeks and Latins. The first is a sort of pillar jutting out of the city wall, over-against the valley of Jehosaphat, of which, they tell you, among many other wonders, that it is the place whereon their prophet shall sit in judgment at the last day, whilst all the children of Adam shall be gathered below, in the valley, to receive their everlasting doom from his mouth. The other is the wall which they have caused to be reared to stop the entrance into the temple-gate, in consequence of a prophecy, that goes current among them, that their expulsion out of that land, and final extirpation, will come in at that gate * (N).

We shall say nothing here of the topical rarities which are shewn to, and visited by all strangers; there being scarce any place or transaction mentioned, either in the Old or New Testament, but they shew you the very spot of ground where the one stood and the other happened, even to those which are mentioned in the parabolic way;

* Maundrell, ubi supra, p. 103, & seq. Thevenot, part i. chap. 50.

(N) This last particular is confirmed by most travellers; who add, that, on the same account, and from that same superstitious dread, they shut up all the other gates of the city every Friday, which is their sabbath, till after morning service is over; it being on that day and time, that their final expulsion is expected to be accomplished.

such

Cleft in the rock.

Field of Blood.

Turkish superstition.

such as the house of Dives, and the stye or place where Lazarus was laid (O); and many others of the like nature; for which we shall refer those that are curious in such kind of things, to the authors often quoted through this section.

Having finishell our general description of the Holy Land, we shall now take a short view of the several lots and countries assigned to the twelve tribes, beginning with those of the two tribes and a half seated beyond the Jordan, as being the first conquest they made in their way to the Land of Promise. Then we shall proceed to the other nine and a half on this side of that river, styled, more properly, the Holy, or Promised Land; and these we shall describe, not according to their seniority, or dignity, but as they lie in our way, from north to south. Lastly, we shall give the topical description of those countries contiguous to Judæa, whose inhabitants were either intermixed with, or bordering upon the Jews, and whose history hath been exhibited in the foregoing chapters (P).

The

(O) They pretend to shew the identical olive-tree to which our Saviour was tied, whilst his enemies were looking out for fresh accusations and false witnesses, in order to condemn him with some appearance of justice: the place where he fainted under his cross, and left the print of his face on a napkin, or handkerchief, with which a woman, whom they have styled St. Veronica, came to wipe the sweat off his brows: the gallery where Pilate brought him forth to the Jews bedecked with the ensigns of mock-royalty; the ragged purple, the reed, and crown of thorns.

(P) It will not be amiss to give our readers a short sketch of this country, as it lay before the Israelites took possession of it, at least so far as relates to those seven nations which were then in actual possession of the Promised Land, properly so called.

They were descended from Ham, or Cham, the youngest son of Noah, who is supposed to have come, with his eleven sons, soon after the dispersion of Babel. Five of them we have already seen settled in Phœnix and Syria; viz. Heth, Jebus, Hemor, Gergashi, and Hevi; and who, with their father Canaan, became the heads of so many nations. Sena was another, whose settlement we are in the dark about; only some authors, from the affinity of the names, suppose the desert of Sin, and Mount Sinai, to be the place, and to have been so called from him. The Hithites, or Hittites, inhabited about Hebron, quite up to Beersheba, and the brook Be-for, reckoned by Moses the south limits of Canaan. The Jebusites, or descendants of Jebus, dwelt near them on the north, as far as the city of Jebus, since called Jerusalem,

The Two Tribes and Half beyond Jordan.

We have had occasion, in some former chapters, to mention frequent embassies sent by Moses to the kings of Edom, Moab, and those of the Amorites and Baathan, for leave to pass through their country into the land of Canaan; and that, upon their being refused by them all, they were expressly forbid to commit any hostilities against the former, but ordered to force a passage through the territories of the two latter, which they did, with such success, as to make themselves masters of both their kingdoms. These were settled by the two tribes of Reuben and Gad, with half of Manasseh. That of Reuben, which was the eldest, had the southern part of the new conquest, extending from the north-east coasts of the Dead Sea, along the eastern banks of the Jordan; divided on the south from Midian, by the river Arnon; on the north, from the tribe of Gad, by another small river; and hemmed in on the east, partly by the Moabites, and partly by the Ammonites; whilst the Jordan parted it on the west from Canaan, properly so called. It reached from $31^{\circ} 40'$ to $32^{\circ} 25'$ of latitude, and from 36° to 37° of east longitude; and was every where fertile in corn, wine, fruits, and especially in pasture grounds. It exhibited three celebrated mountains, viz. Nebo, Pisgah, and Peor

The lot of Reuben.

The Amorites possessed the country on the east side of Jordan, between the river Arnon on the south-east, and Mount Gileal on the north, afterwards the lot of Reuben and Gad. The Gergashites lay next above the Amorites, on the east side of the sea of Tiberias, and their land was afterwards possessed by the half tribe of Manasseh. The Hivites descended from Hevi, dwelt northward, under Mount Libanus. The Perizzites, who make one of the seven nations of the Canaanites, are supposed by Heylin, and others, to be the descendants of Sena, above mentioned; and, it is

very likely, since we read nothing of their abode in cities, &c. that they lived dispersed, and in tents, like the Scythians, roving on both sides the Jordan, on the hills and plains; and that they were called by that name from the Hebrew *pharatz*, which signifies *to disperse*. The Canaanites dwelt in the midland of all, and were surrounded by the rest. This is, as near as can be concluded from the sacred writings, the situation of those seven nations which are said to have been doomed to destruction for their idolatry and wickedness when the Israelites first invaded their country (1).

(1) Vide Gen. Josh. Joseph. Reland. Cellar. Calmet.

or Phegor, which were, probably, all three, parts of the same chain. The chief towns in it were Heslibon the capital, Jaza, Bamoth Baal, Beth-Peor, Medaba, Me-phath-Abilah, Edom or Adam, Shittim, Livia, Bethabarah, Macheron, Bezer, Bozer or Bozrah, Lasa or Laish, since Callirhoc, Cedmoth or Kedemoth or Jethsan, and Bethjesimoth. We know so little of these cities, and of their true situation, that we shall say nothing farther of them; and only observe, in general, that those which have the Hebrew word *beth* before them, which signifies either *house* or *temple* (as Beth-Peor, Beth-Shemesh), were properly so named from some particular deity, except it may be that of Bethabarah, which signifies either a fording-place, or the office where any kind of custom or tribute was paid.

On the north side of Reuben was seated the tribe of Gad, having likewise the Jordan on the west, the Ammonites on the east, and the half tribe of Manasseh on the north, reaching from $32^{\circ} 5'$ to $32^{\circ} 50'$ of latitude, and from $36^{\circ} 15'$ to almost 37° east longitude. It was no less rich and fertile than the former, especially in pasture grounds. Its chief towns were Mahanaim and Pe-nuel, both so named by Jacob, Succoth, where he built his booths, Mispha, or Mispah-Rabba, the metropolis of Bashan, since called Ribboth, and more lately Philadelphia, Ramoth Gilead, or High Lands of Gilead, Rogelim, the native place of good old Barzillai, Thishbi, Sharon, Sophar, Armon, Mageph, Debbir or Dabbir, Ashteroth, Jazer or Jahsor, Dibbon, Aroer, Beth-Haran, and Eion or Ennon, the place where John baptized; which last was on the east bank of Jordan, between that and Salim, about eight miles south of Scythopolis.

Northward of Gad was seated the half tribe of Manasseh, having that on the south, the Jordan and Semachonite lake on the west, the hills of Bashan and Hermon on the east, and part of the Lebanon on the north. This territory, which was almost as large as the other two, extended from $32^{\circ} 36'$ to $33^{\circ} 30'$ of latitude, and was more properly called, afterwards, Upper Galilee, or the Galilee of the Gentiles; of which more in the next article. It had several large territories, and considerable cities; those of the former sorts were known by the names of Gilead, Batanea, Gaulonitis, Auranitis, Machonitis, Gesur, Auran or Amram, and Argob; all of them so called from their capitals. Gaulonitis extended from Perea quite to Lebanon. Its capital, once a famed city, was given to

Cities.

of Gad.

Cities.

Half Ma-nasseh.

the Levitical tribe, of the family of Gershom, and was made a city of refuge. It was the birth-place of the famed Judas Galilæus, or Gaulonites, chief of the Herodian sect. Gilead was so called from the son of Machir, and grandson of Manasseh. We have already spoken of the mountains of that name. Batanea was properly the land or kingdom of Bashan, bounded by Gilead and the Ammonites on the east, by the brook Jabbok on the south, by Mount Hermon on the north, and by the Jordan on the west; the canton of Argob was part of it, and both were famed for their stately oaks, and herds of cattle. Auranitis, or Auran, was another fertile canton, situate between the upper spring of Jordan and the country of Jeshur. Others place it along the sea of Tiberias. We are told, that the Syrians and Arabs called that coast by this name; and Josephus makes it the same with Iturea. Machonitis, or Maachonitis, so denominated from its capital Maachah, was a small canton, near the head of the Jordan, on the east side of it, in the way to Damascus. It was the utmost border north of this half tribe; and we find that the Manassites forbore to destroy the old inhabitants, and lived in friendship with them; the same is said of the Jeshurites, who lived in the next canton to Maachonitis.

Cities.

The cities of this half tribe were Bofra, or Bozrah, Selscha, Maachah or Maacati, Gershon, Ashtaroth, Adrach or Hadrach-kedar, or the tents of Kedar, Sueta, Gamala, Esdrai, Gilead, Pella, Abel, Abel-Maachah or Abel-Beth-Maachah, Jabesh-Gilead, Corazin or Corozaim, Julias, Bethsaida, near the desert of its name, Girafa or Girgesha, Hippo, Gadara, and Ephron, besides a good number of others of lesser note¹.

*The Nine Tribes and Half on this side of the Jordan.**Tribes.*

Crossing the Jordan, from the half tribe of Manasseh, we last described, we enter into the province of Lower Galilee, which lay on the farthest northern verge of Ju-dæa (Q); and in which we find the tribes of Asher, Zebulun,

¹ Gen. Josh. Sam. Joseph. Reland. Palest. Illustr.

(Q) The province of Galilee was divided into Upper and Lower, the former beyond, and the latter on this side Jordan. The former, surnamed also Galilee of the Gentiles, probably, because inhabited by most of that sort, whom the Manassites had spared, and lived intermingled with, or

bulun, Naphtali, and Issachar, settled by lot. It was very fertile and champaign, except on the northern side towards Syria ; produced excellent corn, wine, oil, fruits of all sorts, with little labour ; and was, in its flourishing state, so full of towns and villages, that Josephus, who was made governor of it, tells us, the least of them contained fifteen thousand souls ; but whether or no he hath spoken within compass, there is reason sufficient to believe that the country was really very rich and populous, and its inhabitants of a stout and warlike disposition, and very zealous for the Jewish religion. It had, in particular, a spacious valley, so very rich, that it was styled, by way of emphasis, "the Fat Valley ;" since better known by that of St. George, from a fort or castle built on it, and dedicated to that saint.

The tribe of Asher was seated on the north-west corner of the province, adjoining to the north side of Phoenice, having the Mediterranean on the west, Zebulun on the south, and Naphtali on the east. It contained some considerable cities near the sea, though no sea-port of any note. It was so fruitful in corn, wine, and oil, of the best kinds, that it fully answered the blessing which dying Jacob gave to it : "that the bread of it should be fat, and that it should yield royal dainties." It was in this tribe that the lands of Mispha and Cabul lay, which Solomon gave to Hiram king of Tyre, who, being displeased with it, bestowed upon it that contemptible name. The chief towns of it were Elkath or Alcath, Cana the Greater, Gabala Rahab, Aphek, Hacok, Giscalah, Beth-Shemesh, Achsaph, Beth-Dagon, Acca, Accoa, Acras or Ptolemais, lately described, with a good number of inferior places.

The tribe of Naphtali lay on the east of Asher, between it and the Jordan, over-against the half tribe of Manasseh. It was very fertile, having on the north the spring-heads of the Jordan, formerly mentioned, and extended along the western banks of it, from Mount Lebanon down to the sea of Tiberias. The chief towns were these : Dan,

rather, perhaps, because it lay together mountainous. There contiguous to the heathen nations. This, we are now upon, was styled the Lower, on account of its situation, and flat country, in comparison with the other, which was alto-

gether mountainous. There has been, however, no small controversy, whether Galilee did really extend beyond Jordan, and whether it contained any part of the kingdom of Bashan,

formerly

Cities.

formerly called Laish and Lashem, taken by a colony of the Danites, who gave it the name of their tribe (R); Beerim, Emath, and Arbites, each a capital of a considerable territory; Heliopolis, anciently Hir-Cheresh, or the City of the Sun, and since, Balbek, Allodim, Amath-dor or Amathar, Hir-Lajathaim or Kirjathaim, Ablala, Merom, near the lake of its name, Harozeth or Arazoth, Hazor, tents or camp of Heber, where the Kenites dwelt, Maskeloth, Migdudel, Kadesh-Naphthali, Sepher or Cirjath-Sepher, supposed, from its name, an ancient university, or City of Books, Beth-Shemesch, different from that in Asher, Carthan, Hamman, so called from its hot waters, Mons Christi, and Capernaum (S).

*Tribe of Zebulun.**Cities.*

On the south of Asher and Naphthali, was seated the tribe of Zebulun or Zabulon, having the Mediterranean on the west, the sea of Galilee on the east; parted on the north from Asher by the river Jephthael, and on the south, from Issachar, by that of Kishon; and by its vicinity to the sea, the number of its ports, and extent of its commerce, it exactly verified the blessings given to the tribe both by Jacob and Moses. The cities of it were Zabulun the capital (T), Bethsaida, Magdalon, Jotapa, Joppa, Cinnereth, since Tiberias, on the lake of that name, Cartha, Bethulia, Rimmon, Dothaim, Damna, Somerom, Tabor, both the city and Mount, Sapha, Sappa or Siporis, Nazareth, Cana the Lesser, commonly Cana

(R) This city became afterwards infamous for the calf set up by Jeroboam, which was resorted to by all the revolted tribes on this side; and, as it stood on the utmost verge of Judea, as Beersheba did on the opposite, it gave rise to the common proverb "from Dan to Beersheba." When the Romans took it, they gave it the name of Panæas, and bestowed it on Philip the son of Herod, who called it Cæsarea Philippi.

(S) This last was situate on the north side of the sea of Tiberias, at some distance west from the mouth of the Jordan; but though we are

told it stood till the seventh or eighth century, as appears from the travels of Adamnamus and Villibaldus, yet the true situation of it is quite lost.

(T) It stood on the Mediterranean, near the mouth of the Jephthael, and was once styled Zabulon Andron, or of Men, on account of its extraordinary populousness. It was adorned with fine buildings, after the manner of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, and much admired on that account by Cælius, who nevertheless took, plundered, and burnt it to the ground.

of Galilee, Iconium, and Sicaminum or Porphyreon (U), and Heiphah or Ceipha.

The last tribe in Lower Galilee was that of Issachar, bounded like the former by the Mediterranean on the west, by Zebulon on the north, by the Jordan on the east, which parted it from that of Gad, and on the south by the other half of Manasseh. Its most remarkable places were the Mounts Carmel, and Gilboah, and the Valley of Jezreel, already described. The great plain of Megiddo, called also the plain of Galilee, and now Saba, from a castle built upon it, and famed, like that of Jezreel, for the many battles fought upon it; as well as for the abundance of corn, wine, oil, &c. it produced. The chief towns were Tarichea, Cession, Issachar, Camoth, Enghanaim, Rabbeth, Cadesh, Aphek, Enhadda, Shunem or Suna, the place where the hospitable Shunamite lodged the prophet Elijah, Endor, where the pythoneses entertained king Saul, Naim, where Christ raised the poor widow's son, Beth-Shemesh, Jezreel, or Efdrelon, or Esdraelon, and Castrum Peregrinorum (X).

South of Zebulon lay the other half-tribe of Manasseh; and south of this, that of Ephraim, afterwards known by the name of Samaria. The territories of these two tribes, though contiguous, varied pretty much, some parts being mountainous and rocky, barren, and even desert; whilst others were pleasant, fertile, and well inhabited. That of Manasseh was hemmed in, north and south, by Issachar and Ephraim, and on the east, and west, by the Jordan and Mediterranean. It exhibited a variety of plains, mountains, vallies, springs, and a good

(U) Its ancient name was Heipa, which we take notice of because the Greeks and Latins, having changed it into Cepha and Capha, some have conceived a notion, that it was so called from the rocky ground which they suppose it to be built upon, or surrounded with. The names of Sycamino and Porphyreon were probably given to it, the first from the sycamore-trees, which grew about it; and the latter from the shell-fish which was taken on its coast, and which they

used in dying purple. It is situate at the foot of Mount Carmel, to the north of it, on the gulph of Ptolemais or Acco, and is only parted from it by its fair, and spacious haven, so that those two cities stand but at about fifteen miles distance from each other.

(X) Amongst them was that of Tarichea, seated on the banks of the sea of Galilee, about eight miles south of Tiberias, of great strength, and famed for the defence it made against Vespasian.

number of stately cities; among which were Beth-Shean, or Scytopolis, Salem, Aner, Bezech, Abel-Meholah, Castrum Alexandrinum, Tirshah or Tersa, Acrabata, Thiebez, Thanac or Tanac, Gath-Rimmon, Maccoth, Ennon, Megiddo, Gilgal, Dor or Dora, Cæsarea Palestina, and Antipatris.

*Ephraim.**Cities.*

The tribe of Ephraim took up the south side of Samaria, and extended, like that of Manasseh, from the Mediterranean on the west, to the Jordan on the east; bounded on the south, by the territory of Benjamin, and part of Dan. Here, likewise, some parts were rocky and mountainous, though covered with trees, and good pasture, and the low lands exceedingly rich, fruitful, and even luxuriant. The cities and towns, numerous, large and well peopled; among which were Saren or Sarona, Lydda or Diospolis, Elon, Ramathaim or Arimathca, Bethoron, Gazer or Gasera, Timnath-Serah, Pharaton or Pirathon, Castrum Hyrcanium, Sichem or Sechem, since Neapolis, Samaria, since Sebastæ, Jecchman, Taphnah, Dog, Doch, or Dagon, Najoth, Gath Rimmon, Michmash, since Byra, and Shilo or Sio. These were the chief places in the tribe of Ephraim.

*Judea, properly so called.**Judea pro-
per.*

This canton, which contained the tribes of Benjamin, Judah, Dan, and Simeon, was situate on the most southern side of the whole, having Samaria or Ephraim on the north, the Mediterranean on the west, Idumæa and Egypt on the south, and the Jordan and the Dead Sea on the east. The climate was much warmer than that of the other two, being mostly under the thirty-second degree of latitude; but well refreshed with cooling winds from the seas and mountains. The face of the country was beautifully variegated with plains, hills, vallies, and some deserts, most of them well watered with pleasant streams and rivulets, which ran down from the mountains; so that, in the whole, it was as fertile in corn, wine, oil, fruits, and pasture grounds, as any of the rest.

*Tribe of
Benjamin.*

1. The tribe of Benjamin lay contiguous to Samaria on the north, to Judah on the south, and to Dan on the west, which last parted it from the Mediterranean. It had not many cities and towns; but this want was amply compensated by its containing the most considerable, and the metropolis of all, the celebrated city of Jerusalem,

* See Josephus, Reland, &c.

The centre of the Jewish worship and religion, the seat of all the Jewish monarchs and pontiffs, and of the famed sanhedrim, or grand court and council of the nation. The other cities were Jericho, Gibeon, Beth-el, Gibeah, Cities. Hai, Gilgal, Anathoth, Neb, or Nebo; to which we may add the two noted villages of Bethany and Gethsemane.

Jerusalem (Y), in its most flourishing state, was divided into four parts, each inclosed with its own walls; namely, the old city of Jebus, which stood on Mount Zion, where the prophets dwelt, and where David built a magnificent castle and palace, which became the residence, both of himself and successors; on which account it was emphatically called, "the City of David (Z)." The lower city, called also, the "Daughter of Zion," being built after it; on which stood the two magnificent palaces, which Solomon built for himself and his queen; that of the Maccabean princes; and the stately amphitheatre raised by Herod, capable of containing eighty thousand spectators; the strong citadel by Antiochus, to command the temple, but since razed by Simon the Maccabee, who recovered the city from the Syrians; and lastly, a second citadel, built by Herod, upon a high and craggy rock, called by him Antonia. The new city, mostly inhabited by tradesmen, artificers, and merchants; and, Mount Moriah, on which appeared the celebrated temple of Solomon, described in the sixth and seventh chapters of the second book of Kings; destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, rebuilt by the Jews on their return from Babylon, and afterwards renewed, augmented, adorned, and enriched by Herod.

Without pretending to give a particular description of this renowned edifice, concerning which different writers have so widely differed in opinion, we shall confine our present account of it to such particulars only, as are agreed on all hands, and founded on the authority of the Scripture. It is generally allowed, 1. That there were no less than one hundred and sixty-three thousand three hundred men employed in the work. 2. That, notwithstanding

(Y) The name signifies in the Hebrew, *the vision, inheritance, or possession of peace.*

(Z) This stately building was greatly enlarged and beautified by Solomon; but being destroyed, with the rest of the

city and temple, by Nebuchadnezzar, was never thoroughly rebuilt, till the reign of Herod the Great, who raised it to a most sumptuous and elegant structure, and inscribed it to Agrippa and Cæsar.

standing

*Dimen-
sions, &c.*

standing that prodigious number of hands, it took up seven whole years in building. 3. That the height of it amounted to one hundred and twenty cubits, or eighty-two yards; and the courts round it were about half as high. 4. That the front on the east side was sustained by ramparts of square stone, of vast bulk, built up from the valley below, thrice hundred cubits high; the height of which being added to that of the edifice, amounted to four hundred and twenty cubits. To this if we add, 5. Sixty cubits, the height of the principal tower above all the rest, the total will be four hundred and eighty cubits, which, reckoning at two feet to a cubit (A), amount to nine hundred and sixty feet; but according to the length of that measure, as others reckon it, viz. at two feet and a half, it will reach to one hundred and twenty feet; a prodigious height this from the ground, and such as might well make Josephus say, that the very design of it was insufficient to have turned the brain of any but Solomon. 6. Those ramparts, which were raised in this manner, to fill up the prodigious chasm made by the deep valley below, and to make the area of a sufficient breadth and length for the edifice, were one thousand cubits in length at the bottom, and eight hundred at the top, and the breadth of them one hundred more. 7. The huge buttresses which supported the ramparts, were of the same height, square at the top, and fifty cubits broad, and jutted out one hundred and fifty cubits at the bottom. 8. The stones of which they were built, were, according to Josephus, forty cubits long, twelve thick, and eight high, all of marble, and so exquisitely joined, that they seemed one continued piece, or rather polished rock. 9. According to the same Jewish historian, there were one thousand four hundred and fifty-three columns of Parian marble, and twice that number of pilasters, of such thickness, that three men could hardly embrace them, their height and capitals proportionable, and of the Co-

(A) This Hebraic measure is very differently settled by authors, viz. by bishop Cumberland and others, to twenty inches and an half, by others at eighteen. Capellus and others think the Jews had two cubits, one sacred, the other common; the first of thirty-six, the other of eighteen inches:

this they prove from sundry dimensions, which Moses gives to the Levitical territory round their cities; viz. in one verse at one thousand cubits, and, in the very next at two thousand; the former being supposed the sacred, and the second the common.

inthian order. But it is likely, Josephus hath given us these two last articles from the temple of Herod, there being nothing like them mentioned by the sacred historians, but a great deal about the prodigious cedars of Lebanon, used in that edifice, the excellent workmanship of them, adapted to^w their several ends and designs, together with their gildings, and other curious ornaments (B). It is affirmed in the text ^a, that all the materials of this stupendous fabric were finished and adapted to their several ends, before they were brought to Jerusalem, that is, the stones in their quarries, and the cedars in Lebanon; so that there was no noise of ax, hammer, or any tool, heard in rearing the edifice. The variety of fortune to which both city and temple were exposed, will be specified in the sequel of this history. Mean while, as we have taken notice of the most remarkable places, mountains, vallies, &c. in Judea, under a former article, we shall conclude this with an account of its present deplorable condition, under the Turks. As for other towns of note in the tribe of Benjamin, the reader may see all that is worth notice concerning them, in the note (C).

This

" Kings, vi. 7.

(B) The sensible reader will require better authority than that of Josephus, to confirm the truth of these dimensions, which seem to be the effect of Jewish exaggeration divested of all probability. But, we shall give a more accurate description of the temple, in the sequel of the Jewish history.

(C) 1. Nob, Nobc, Noba, Nomba, a sacerdotal city at the farthest end westward of this tribe, and the place where the ark some time rested, after the taking of Shiloh by the Philistines, so totally ruined by king Saul, on account of the small assistance which the high-priest Abimelech had given the fugitive David, that St. Jerom tells us, it still lay in ruins in his time, which were then to be seen at some small distance from Diopolis.

2. Gibeon, Gabaon, so styled from its being advantageously situate on an eminence, about forty or fifty furlongs, or six or eight miles north from Jerusalem.

3. Gibeah, or Gibeath-Saul, so called for being the birth-place of that monarch, and to distinguish it from Gibeath-Phineas, in the tribe of Ephraim, stood seven or eight miles north from Jerusalem, and as many north-west from Gilead.

4. Gilgal, Galgal, Galgatha, situate on the banks of the Jordan, where the Israelites crossed at their entrance into the Promised Land, famed for the monument which Joshua reared there, in memory of that miraculous passage.

5. Beth-el, anciently Luz, but so styled by Jacob in memory

This once stately and opulent metropolis is at present called by the Turks, Cudsembaric and Coudsherriff, and reduced to a poor thinly inhabited town, of at most three miles in circuit. It stands in $31^{\circ} 48'$ of north latitude, and $35^{\circ} 34'$ of east longitude, on a rocky mountain surrounded on all sides, except on the north, with steep ascents, and deep valleys below; and these again environed with other hills at some distance (D). The soil, for want of cultivation, is now become stony, sandy, and barren; yet in some places, produces corn, wine, and oil; especially in the neighbourhood of the city. There was a period indeed, after its total destruction by Titus Vespasian, at which it was likely to have recovered its former grandeur; when the emperor Adrian built a new city, almost upon the spot of the old town, which

*Rebuilt by
Adrian.*

memory of his signal vision there, that word signifying, *the house of God*. It stood on the west of Ai, a Canaanitish city taken immediately after Jericho, about twelve miles north from Jerusalem.

6. Anathoth, a sacerdotal city, situate between Gilgal and Jerusalem, the birth-place of Jeremiah, and inheritance of many of the Jewish pontiffs.

7. Bethany, a famed village on the road between Jericho and Jerusalem, the dwelling-place of Lazarus, and his two sisters.

8. Gethsemane, which signifies an *oil press*, was a village on the Mount of Olives, and perhaps so called, because of the pressing of that oil there. It is chiefly noted for a garden, to which our Saviour was wont to resort at night with his disciples, and where he was betrayed by Judas, and led away bound.

9. Ai, by the Septuagint Aai, by Josephus Aina, and by others Ajah, was situate

west of Beth-el, and at a small distance north-west from Jericho.

The last, and most considerable city in this tribe, next to Jerusalem, was Jericho, about six miles west from the Jordan, and twenty-two almost east from Jerusalem. It was situate in a spacious plain, producing all sorts of fruits, especially palm-trees, and styled from thence the "City of Palms." It was adorned with a magnificent palace, and other edifices built by Herod; but of all its ancient splendor nothing now remains; the place being dwindled into a poor village, except some arched parts of an old conduit, supposed to have been made to convey the water into the city, and parts adjacent (1).

(D) The natural situation of Jerusalem bounded by those precipices, seems to prove that the city could never be much more extensive than it is at present.

(1) Joseph. Antiq. Pococke.

he called *Aelia Capitolina*, and adorned with walls, and other noble edifices, permitting the Christians to settle and live in it. But this was a short gleam of good fortune; for, when the pious empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, came to visit this theatre of the world's redemption, she found it in such a forlorn and ruinous condition, as raised her pity into a noble zeal of restoring it to its ancient lustre. To this end, she caused, with a great deal of cost and labour, all the rubbish that had been thrown upon those places where our Saviour had suffered, to be removed: and, in the prosecution of this work, they are said to have found the cross on which he died.

*Before -
the empress
Helena.*

Mount Calvary being thus cleared, she caused a magnificent church to be built upon it, to comprehend as many of the scenes of his sufferings, as could be conveniently inclosed. This stately edifice is still standing, and kept in good repair, by the offerings of a constant concourse of pilgrims, who annually resort to it, as well as the contributions of several Christian princes.

The walls of it are of stone, the roof of cedar; the east end incloses Mount Calvary, and the west comprehends the holy sepulchre. The former is covered with a noble cupola, supported by sixteen massive columns, which were crusted with marble. The centre of it is open on the top just over the sepulchre, and above the high altar at the east end is another stately dome. The nave of the church constitutes the choir; and in the inside aisles are the places where the most remarkable circumstances of Christ's passion were transacted, together with the tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin, the two first Christian kings of Jerusalem. An ascent of twenty-two steps, leads to a chapel, where that part of Calvary is shewn, on which Christ was crucified, and the very hole in the rock, in which his cross was fixed. The altar hath three crosses on it, and is richly adorned, with other costly embellishments, particularly with forty-six silver lamps of immense value, that hang before it, and are kept constantly burning. Adjoining to this, is another small chapel, fronting the body of the church. At the west end is that of the sepulchre, which is hewn out of the solid rock, and hath a small dome or lantern, supported by pillars of porphyry. The cloister round the sepulchre, is divided into sundry chapels, appropriated to the several sects of Christians, who reside there, such as Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssines, and Georgines.

*The great
church of
St. Sepul-
chre.*

On the north-west, are the apartments of the Latins, who have the care of the church, and are forced to reside constantly in it, the Turks keeping the keys of it, and not suffering any of them to go out, but obliging them to receive their provisions through a wicket.

Ceremonies performed at Easter. Easter is the time at which the chief ceremonies are performed within this place, and which chiefly consist in representations of Christ's passion, crucifixion, death, and resurrection. At this solemnity every pilgrim, paying a certain fee, is admitted in to assist at the solemn procession, and other ceremonies; of these there is commonly a vast concourse; some of them choose to enter on the eve of Good-Friday, and to stay till Easter-Monday*.

A mark-temple built. The last particular we shall take notice of under this article, is an edifice erected on Mount Moriah, on the south-east part of the city, called Solomon's temple, standing on or near the spot where the ancient temple stood. But, as we are well assured, that the old temple was totally destroyed by the Romans, it is not easy to guess when, or by whom this modern building was reared (I). The entrance into it is at the east end, under an octagon, adorned with a cupola, roof, and lantern; and forward, towards the west, is a fair strait aisle, like that of a church, the whole surrounded with a spacious square court, walled on every side. The extent of this place, according to Mr. Maundrell, is five hundred and seventy common paces long, and three hundred and seventy broad. In the midst of it, where the Jewish Sanctum Sanctorum is said to have stood, is erected a Turkish mosque, neither considerable for its magnitude nor structure; which, nevertheless, makes a stately figure, by the sole advantage of its situation. This place, Maundrell tells us, is held in such veneration by the Turks, that a stranger cannot go near it, without being in danger of forfeiting his life, or religion. It lies over-against the Mount of Olives, and is parted from it by the Vale of Jehoshaphat; and one may easily judge what an immense

Reverenced by the Turks.

* Vide Pococke, Shaw, Maundrell, Radziville, Thevenot, Sandy, & le Bruyn.

(I) The existence of this building seems to invalidate the truth of the miracle wrought in the days of Julian the Apostate, where the workmen employed to dig upon the foun-

dation of Solomon's temple, were destroyed by subterraneous fire, that the prophecy might be verified, which implied that the temple should never be rebuilt.

labour it must have cost to level such a spacious area upon so strong and rocky a mountain. Dr. Pococke, who hath taken a more particular view of that edifice, much extols the beauty of the prospect, as well as the materials and workmanship. The colonnades are of the Corinthian order, finely wrought, and the arches turned over them; being, as he supposes, the porticoes leading to the inside of the building, which, he thinks, was formerly a Christian church.

The city is now under the government of a sangiac, *Present go
vernment of the city* whose residence is in a house said to have been that of Pontius Pilate, over-against the castle of Antonia, built by Herod the Great. There they shew the stairs by which Jesus ascended to the gallery where the governor exposeth him to the people; at least they shew a new flight of them: for, as to the old steps, called scala santa, they are said to have been carried to Rome. Many of those stately churches, built in memory of some remarkable gospel-tranaction, have been since turned into mosques, into some of which money will procure an entrance. Both friars, and other Christians, are kept so poor, by the tyranny of the government, that the chief support and trade of the place consists in providing strangers with food, and other accommodations, and selling them beads, relics, and other religious trinkets; for which they are obliged to pay considerable sums to the sangiac, as well as to his officers: these are seldom so well contented with their usual dues, but that they frequently extort some fresh contributions, especially from the Franciscans, whose convent is the common receptacle for all pilgrims. For this accommodation, they have considerable allowances from the pope, and other crowned heads; besides the usual presents which strangers generally make them at their departure.

The Tribe of Judah.

This canton extended south of Benjamin about twenty-seven miles, quite to the mountains of Seir, or Edom, *The tribe of Judah.* which were the frontiers between it and Idumæa. It was bounded on the east by the Dead Sea, and on the west by the tribes of Dan and Simeon, both which lay between it and the Mediterranean. Judah was reckoned the largest and most populous tribe of all the twelve, and the inhabitants were the stoutest, and most valiant. It was, moreover, the chief and royal tribe, from which the kingdom was denominated, as hath been already hinted. The land was beautifully variegated with

Cities.

fertile plains, hills, dales, lakes, and fountains. It produced great plenty of corn, wine, oil, fruits and pasture, except where it lay contiguous to Idumæa. It was properly in the territory of Judah that the Canaanites dwelt; and here it was, likewise, that Abraham and his descendants sojourned, till their going down into Egypt. The principal places in this tribe were, Libna, Makkedah, Azecha, Beth-Zor, or Bethsora, Emmaus, Nicopolis, Bezech, Bethlehem, Tekoa, Engadi, Odalla, Keylah, Hebron, Jether, Jerimoth, Taphnah, Kirjath-Jearim, Maon, Holon, Gozen, Gelo, Cabzael, Hazor or Chaddor, and Massada; the most remarkable of which the reader will find described in the note^b (K).

The

^b De his vid. Reland. ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 18. & seq. Cellarium, Joseph. & al.

(K) At the head of all these we may justly place the royal city of Bethlehem, not only on account of its being the birth-place of king David, and from him emphatically styled the City of David, but much more so, as it was appointed by Providence to be the birth-place of the Saviour of the world, though at present reduced to a poor village. It is situate on a hill, in a fertile and delightful plain, about five or six miles, according to Josephus and Eusebius, but seven or eight, according to more modern travellers, south of Jerusalem. It is still held in great esteem, both for the magnificent church which the pious empress Helena caused to be built over the grott where the Divine Infant was born, and for the great concourse of pilgrims, who yearly repair to it.

Hebron, now called El-kahil, the ancient seat of David before he had taken Jerusalem, stands on a ridge of mountains, which overlook a most delicious valley twenty miles south of

that metropolis. The old city hath long lain in ruins, but near to them stands a village, in which is still a handsome church, built by the same pious empress, over the cave where Abraham and Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, and Leah, lie buried. The Turks have turned it into a mosque, and the place is much revered by them, as well as by the Jews and Christians.

Makkedah, a royal city, near which the five Amoritish kings were put to death by Joshua, was once a very strong city, and placed, by Eusebius, about eight miles from Eleutheropolis.

Lebna, a strong city, situate in a narrow neck of land in this tribe, which ran northwards between those of Dan and Benjamin.

Azecha, another strong place, both by situation, and its stout walls; seated in the same north-west corner with Lebna and Makkedah, in the valley of Terebinth, where David slew Goliath.

Bethzor,

The Tribe of Dan.

South-west of the tribe of Judah, between it and the Mediterranean, lay the two last tribes we have still to speak of, namely, Dan and Simeon; beyond which were still seated, along the sea-coast, the ancient Philistines, once masters of the whole from the confines of Phœnicia, on the north, to those of Idumæa on the south. The cities along this coast were so strong and populous, that the Danites could not presently wrest them from their

*Tribe of Dan.**Philistine cities.*

Bethzor, or Bethsora, so called from its situation upon a high rock, was a very stout fortress, especially about the time of the Maccabees; but had formerly been fortified by King Rehoboam, to keep the Danites in awe. The author of the second book of Maccabees places Bethsora within five furlongs of Jerusalem: but that is a palpable error; for it could not then have been in the tribe of Judah: but Eusebius assures us, it was twenty miles from it, on the road to Hebron.

Eminaus, in Hebrew, *Cham-min*, from its hot and salutiferous waters, famed for our Saviour's appearance to two of his disciples, stood, as the evangelist tells us, about sixty furlongs, or eight miles, south-west from Jerusalem.

Tekoah, Tecua, situate on the side of a hill about nine miles from Bethlehem, between Bethsora and Engadi.

Eogadi, or *the fountain of the goat*, formerly Hazazon Thamar, or *the city of palm-trees*, is situate on the top of a high and steep rock near the Dead Sea, surrounded with a territory much famed for great

quantities of palms, and other odiferous trees: though it be likewise often called a wilderness, on account of the mountains and woods that surrounded the town. Both this of Engadi, and that of Tekoah, are full of large caverns, some of which the reader may see described in the authors lately quoted.

Ziph, from which the neighbouring desert hath its name, stood on a high hill, about eight miles east of Hebron, according to St. Jerom, and was still a considerable town in his time.

Maon, another strong city, which gave name to the neighbouring wilderness, stood on a barren eminence, at a little distance to the south-west of the Dead Sea.

The last place worth notice, in this tribe, was the famed fortress of Massada, built by Judas Maccabeus, and often mentioned by Josephus as impregnable. It stood a few miles south of Engadi, and west of the Dead Sea, on a high craggy rock, inaccessible on all sides but one, and that very difficult and steep (1).

(1) Joseph. de Bell. Jôsh. Sam.

brave inhabitants, but were forced to gain them by degrees, as they could, and at last to leave them in quiet possession of six of the most considerable ; viz. Gath, Accaron, Ashdod, Ascalon, Gaza, and Majuma, together with the territories belonging to them ; whilst they contented themselves with those which lay north^o of them, up to Joppa.

Dan's Boundaries.

The lot of Dan was bounded on the north by Ephraim, on the west by the Philistines and the Mediterranean ; on the south by Simeon, and on the east by Judah and Benjamin. Its greatest length, from north to south, did not exceed forty miles ; it was exceeding narrow on the north side, and not above twenty-five broad on the south. But what it wanted in room was, in a great measure, made up by the fertility of the soil, and the industry and bravery of its inhabitants, some of whom, rather than be confined within their narrow limits, ventured so far as the city of Laish, in the utmost verge north of Palestine, after new settlements. The country abounded with corn, wine, oil, fruits, and all other necessaries. Here was the famed valley called Nahal Ecol, or *of the grapes* ; whence the spies sent by Moses brought such noble specimens of its fertility to the Israelitish camp. Dan had, besides, a good number of cities within its small extent, the chief of which were Joppa, Jamnia, Casphin, Thimnah, Beth-Shemesh, Ajalon, Lachish, Modin, Eltek, Lehi, Gibbethon, and Zora or Sora^b. Of these we shall describe here only the two former, which were maritime, and refer the others to the note (B).

Joppa,

^b See Reland, Joseph. Cellar. & al.

(B) Casphin was a small, but well-fortified town, seated on a small lake about six miles eastward of Jamnia, famed in the time of the Maccabitical wars. About five or six miles south of it, and west from Diopolis, on the road to Eleutheropolis stood the Levitical city of Gath-Rimmon, or Geth-Rimmon, given by the tribe of Dan to the family of Cohath. Its name signifies the *press of pomegranates*, and it is likely they made some

quantities of wine from that noble fruit. Beth-Shemesh, another Levitical city, about six or seven miles south of Gath-Rimmon, near the sea-coast. There were several other cities of the same name ; and no wonder, that word signifying *the house, or temple of the sun*. Every place that had such a temple, affected to call it by that name, as the Greeks did by that of Heliopolis, which implies the same thing. Ajalon stood near the borders of

Joppa, Japha, now Jaffa, once a considerable sea-port *Joppa.* on the Mediterranean, and the only port which the Jews had on that sea, was seated on a high hill, which commanded a full prospect of the sea on one side, and of a fertile country on the other. It had the town of Jamnia on the south, *Cælarea Palæstina* on the north, and Rama, or Ramula on the east; and it is often mentioned both in the Old and New Testament. This city was so entirely ruined, during the holy war, that it had scarcely any buildings left standing but the old castle, which is situate on an eminence above it, and another near the sea-side. At present, the town is rebuilt towards the sea with good stone houses, and drives a considerable trade, particularly in the Rama and Jerusalem soap. There are likewise great quantities of rice, corn, and other commodities, brought hither from Egypt, and exported hence into other countries. On the west side of the haven is a copious spring which supplies the town, and refreshes all the passengers that travel this way. *Its traffic port, &c.*

of Judah, and was given to the sacerdotal family of Cohath. There were four cities of that name; one in the tribe of Benjamin, about three miles east from Beth-el; a second in that of Ephraim, two miles from Sechem, on the road to Jerusalem; a third in the tribe of Zebulun, whose situation is uncertain; and the fourth in this of Dan, between Timnah and Beth-Shemesh, lately mentioned. Lachish, in the frontiers of Judah, to which Sennacherib laid siege when he sent that haughty message to Hezekiah, was still a small town, about seven miles south from Eleutheropolis, in Eusebius and St. Jerom's time. Modin, famed for being the birth and burying-place of the Maccabean princes, was seated on a hill at a small distance from the sea. Their tombs, which were very magnificent,

could be seen at such a distance off at sea, as to serve for a landmark, and were still standing in St. Jerom's time, not far from the city of Diospolis; but the town was dwindled into a village. Lehi, the place where Samson slew a thousand Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass, was near Eltek, or Eltaka, a sacerdotal city, given to the sons of Cohath. Gibbethon, or Gabbathon, probably the same with Gabbatha, a Levitical city on the frontiers of Judah, twelve miles from Eleutheropolis, where they shewed the tomb of the prophet Habakkuk. Lastly, the famed city of Zorah, or Sorah, the birth-place of Samson, which stood in a spacious plain near the frontiers of Dan and Judah, ten miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Nicopolis.

Jamnia.

Jamnia, Jamni, Jamnes, Jemne or Jemmais, situate, on the same coast, between Joppa and Azotus, in a pleasant champain country, is not mentioned by any of those names in the Hebrew text; but we meet with that of Jabne among those which king Uzziah took from the Philistines, which is, without doubt⁴ the very same. Josephus tells us, it was given from the tribe of Judah to that of Dan. The second book of Maccabees, places it about two hundred and forty furlongs west of Jerusalem. It was made an episcopal see, under that of Cæfarea, in the early times of Christianity; but, at present, has nothing worthy our farther notice; we shall, therefore pass into the next and last canton of Palestine; namely:

*The Tribe of Simeon.**Tribe of Simeon.*

Dispersed out of their lot.

This tribe was confined to a very small lot on the most southern corner of Judæa, bounded by Dan on the north, the little river Sichor on the south, which parted it from Idumæa, by Judah on the east, and by a small neck of land towards the Mediterranean on the west. The greatest part of it was so mountainous, sandy, and barren, especially that which lay on the south side of the river Bezor which ran across it, and on the north of which they had but a very narrow slip of fertile land. They were so harassed by the Philistines on one side, and the Idumæans on the other, that, finding neither room nor sustenance sufficient, nor any quietness in their inheritance, they were obliged to seek their fortune among other tribes, from the very beginning hiring themselves out to assist their brethren in the conquest of their lots, for the sake of having some share of the conquest. Others dispersed themselves among every tribe, where, it seems, they served as scribes, notaries, and schoolmasters; so truly was their father Jacob's curse verified on them, as well as on the tribe of Levi (C), on account of their bloody massacre of the Shechemites: "Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their revenge, for it was inhuman: I will disperse them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel".

* Gen. xlvi. 5, & seq.

(C) As the Simeonites were forced to disperse themselves among the other tribes, for want of room and sustenance, so were the Levites, they be-

ing debarred from having any lot or inheritance among the rest, and obliged to live on the tythes and offerings of the other tribes,

Their

Their towns were few, and none of them very considerable, but rather answerable to the thinness and poverty of the inhabitants. The chief of them were Ziklag or Siceleg, Hain or Aen, Hormah, Debir, anciently Kirjath-Sepher, Gerar, alias Gezarah, Beersheba, Anthedon, and Rhinocolura^b. The two last, which lay near the sea-coast, were, indeed, the most considerable; but, it is a question, whether the Simeonites ever got possession of either; if they were then in being. However that be, the reader may see the former seven described, with the rest, in the following note (D). As for those of Anthe-

Few towns.

^b Vide Reland, *ubi supra*, p. 151.

(D) Ziklag, by the Septuagint and Vulgate called Siceleg, given by Achish to king David, during his abode among the Philistines. It is, by Eusebius, placed in the most southern frontier of the land of Canaan. Hain, Ain, Aen, was given by Judah to Simeon, who assisted him in the conquest of his lot. There were many towns of that name, it signifying a fountain; on which account they were distinguished by the addition of some other, as Ain-Shemesh, Ain-Gannin, &c. Eusebius calls this we are speaking of, Beth-Ain, and Beth-Anin, and places it about four miles from Hebron. Hormah, a royal city, so called by Joshua, who devoted it to destruction. Debir, Dabir, anciently Kirjath-Sepher, or the City of Books, and thence supposed an university, was inhabited by a gigantic race called Anakim, from Anak their progenitor. It stood at some small distance from Hebron, and fell to the lot of Judah, who took it, and put its monarch to death. Gerar, or Gezarah, the royal residence of the Kings of that name, surnamed

Abimelech, famed for their justice and generous hospitality to Abraham and Isaac; at which time it was the boundary of the Canaanites, situate on the river Bezor, about seven miles south-west of Debir, and six east of Beersheba. This last, called also Bersabe, and Barsheba, had its name from the well on which Abraham and Isaac ratified their alliance, by an oath, with Abimelech above named. The city was situate on the southernmost verge of all Judea, as Dan was on the most northern; from which came the proverb, "From Dan to Beersheba." At present it is a poor village, adjoining to a large, sandy, and barren desert, altogether uninhabited, except towards the sea-coast, on which stand the two famed cities of Anthedon and Rhinocolura above mentioned. Beersheba was given by Joshua to the Simeonites, and stood about twenty miles south of Hebron, and seven west of Gerar, both of them about three days journey from Jerusalem. Our modern maps now place them about thirty-three miles south-west of that metropolis (1).

(1) *Judg. Num. Josh. Jerom. & Euseb. loc. Hebr. sub voc.*

don and Rhinocolura, they will come in order after the six Philistine cities, which lay on the same coast; so that we have now finished our course through all the twelve tribes, and have nothing left to speak of but the five Philistines satrapies, and the two towns above mentioned, before we come to the geography of those nations that inhabited round the Israelitish provinces.

The five Philistine satrapies described.

The five Philistine satrapies.

These were situated along the Mediterranean coast, between that and the tribes of Simeon, Dan, and part of Benjamin, extending from the sea-port of Jamnia to the mouth of the river Bezor. How far their territories extended inland it is not easy to guess; but upon the whole, they were confined within very narrow limits; for, though they have been able to raise very considerable armies against the Israelites, the far greater part of them seem to have consisted of auxiliaries from Edom or Idumæa. Their names, as they lay from north to south, were these:

1. Gath; 2. Accaron, or Ecrone; 3. Ashdod, or Azotus; 4. Ascalon; and, 5. Gaza, with its sea-port, called Portus Gazæ, and Majuma: of all these we can only say, in general, that they appear to have been strong, rich, and populous.

Gath.

1. Gath, or Geth, the birth-place of the famed Goliath, was first conquered by David, fortified by his grandson Rehoboam, and retaken by Uzziah and Hezekiah. It stood about five or six miles south of Jamnia, about fourteen south of Joppa, and thirty-two west of Jerusalem, under the 35th degree of east longitude, and 31 deg. 56 min. of north latitude. It recovered its liberty and lustre in the time of the prophets Amos and Micah, but was afterwards demolished by Hazael king of Syria; after that period it remained of little consideration, till the time of the holy war, when Fulk, king of Jerusalem, built a castle on its ruins¹.

Ecrone.

2. Ecrone, or Accaron, situate about ten miles south of Gath, fell, at first, to the lot of Judah; was given to the tribe of Dan, and appears to have been a very strong considerable city. According to our latest maps, it stood in 31 deg. 55 min. north latitude, and 34 deg. 57 min. east longitude, about thirty-four miles west from Jerusalem.

¹ See the *Holy War*, and Maundrell.

3. Azoth, Ashdod, or Azotus, situated about fourteen or fifteen miles south of Ekron, between that and Ascalon, was a celebrated sea-port on the Mediterranean. It fell at first to the lot of Judah, but continued a considerable time in the hands of its ancient owners: it was in this city that the idol Dagon fell in pieces before the ark. So strong a place it was, if we may believe Herodotus, that it sustained a siege of twenty-nine years, the longest that ever was heard of, under Psammetichus, the powerful king of Egypt.

4. Ascalon, another maritime town, and satrapy, about eight or nine miles south of Ashdod, lying between it and Gaza, was esteemed the strongest of all on the Philistine coast; nevertheless, the tribe of Judah, to whose lot it fell, made themselves masters of it soon after the death of Joshua. Josephus places it about three hundred and twenty furlongs west of Jerusalem. It is still in being, though dwindled into a village. Origen mentions, in his time, some famed wells near it, said to have been dug by Abraham^{*}; some profane authors speak of a small lake full of fishes, consecrated to the goddess Derceto[†]; on which account the Ascalonians forbore to eat them, as they also abstained from pigeons, because supposed to be under her protection. This city was made an episcopal see from the earliest ages of Christianity, and, during the holy war, had been adorned with many stately edifices; all which have been since ruined by the Saracens and Turks. It was the native place of Herod the Great, who was thence surnamed Ascalonites. It stands in $31^{\circ} 16'$ north latitude, and $34^{\circ} 10'$ east longitude.

The last satrapy was Gaza, about fifteen miles south of Ascalon, four or five north of the river Bezor, and at a small distance from the Mediterranean. It was situate on an eminence, surrounded with the most-beautiful and fertile valleys, watered by the above mentioned river, and a number of other springs, and, at a farther distance, encompassed, on the inland side, with hills highly cultivated. The city itself was strong, both from its situation, and in consequence of the strong walls and stately towers that surrounded it, built after the Philistine manner. It was, however, taken by Caleb, then chief of the tribe of Judah; but soon after regained by the ancient inhabitants, and held by them till Samson carried off the gates of it in the night. It often shifted masters, and

^{*} Euseb. Onomast. [†] Diod. Sicul. lib. i. Lucian, de Deo Syr. passed

passed from the Jews to the Chaldeans, Persians, and Egyptians, till it was sacked by Alexander the Great. It was a second time destroyed by the Maccabees, and we hear no more of it till St. Luke speaks of it as a ruined place (H). Some geographers make it a sea-port, mistaking it for New Gaza, or Majuma^a; others place it some miles from the sea. Arrian says it stood only twenty furlongs, or two miles and a half, from the sea, and not twenty miles, as Calmet hath written by mistake.

It stands between two and three miles from the sea, and exhibits many noble monuments of antiquity; such as rows of stately marble columns, with all their ornaments; and a great number of sepulchres, each tomb consisting of one entire stone, finely wrought. Near the city stands a round castle, flanked with four square towers, in good repair. Over-against it is the scraglio, where the basha's wives and their attendants are kept; and a little above it are the remains of an old Roman castle, the materials of which are still so firm, that the hammer can make no impression on them. The Greeks have here a handsome church, the roof of which is large and bold, supported by two rows of stately marble pillars of the Corinthian order. That of the Armenians is little inferior to it, where they shew the spot where stood the ancient temple which Samson pulled down, and which is now reduced to a heap of rubbish. The castle is the residence of the fangiac, or governor, who hath about three hundred towns or villages under his jurisdiction^b. The territory about it is still pleasant and delightful; but beyond it, quite to the river of Egypt, the ground is more barren, inhabited by wild Arabs, who are under no regular government^c.

*Majuma,
or New.
Gaza.*

Majuma, or New Gaza, was the ancient sea-port to the former, and a place of some note on that account; but much more so in the reign of Constantine the Great, who gave it the name of Constantia, from his son Constantius, and endowed it with many singular privileges, of which it was afterwards stripped by Julian the apostate. Majuma stood near the mouth of the river Bezor, about ten miles south of Ascalon, and as many north-west of Anthedon,

¶ Thevenot.

¶ Pococke.

(H) We are indeed told by Josephus, that it was rebuilt so, it must have been destroyed by Gabinius, during his wars again.

in $31^{\circ} 41'$ north latitude, and $34^{\circ} 50'$ east longitude. It has still some curious antiquities remaining, but it is not easy to say whether they belonged originally to New or Old Gaza⁹.

South of Majuma stood the two maritime cities lately mentioned of Anthedon and Rhinocolura. The former was a small sea-port on the Mediterranean, but destroyed by Alexander Junneus, one of the Maccabite monarchs, and since rebuilt by Herod, and called by him Agrippius, in honour of his steadfast friend Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus¹⁰. It stood between Gaza on the north, and Rhinocolura on the south, about fifteen miles from the former, and twenty from the latter¹¹.

Rhinocolura, or, as others, though improperly, write *Rhinoculura*,¹² was the last city of this coast, seated on ^{ra.} the northern side of the river of Egypt, which parted that kingdom from the tribe of Simeon (K). It was likewise indifferently placed, by ancient writers, in Palestine, Syria, and even in Egypt, having, at different times, belonged to all these countries¹³; but what name it was called by whilst under the Jews, or, indeed, till the fabulous Greeks gave it the above mentioned appellation, is nowhere to be found. It very early became a bishoprick under the metropolitan of Pelusium in Egypt, and, since, a strong fortress during the holy war, though it changed its name into that of Pharamica, and was of singular use to prevent the Turkish auxiliaries from coming out of Egypt into Palestine. It is now an inconsiderable place, and the territory about it a mere wilderness (L).

It

⁹ See *La Martiniere*, sub Gaza. Joseph. *Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 21.* Reland, *lib. ii. p. 439. 460.* Cœlair. *lib. iii. cap. 13.*
¹⁰ Vide Hieron. in *Isai. xix. & xxvii.*

(K) The Greek word properly signifies *slit nostrils*; and the account that is given, both of the city and name, is as follows: a numerous gang of banditti, who had for a long time infested the Persian dominions, were at length caught, and sent, with their nostrils slit, into this desert place by one of its monarchs (supposed Cambyses), where they built

this city, which was, from them, stigmatized with that name (1).

(L) It will not be amiss to mention here two cities more placed, by geographers, along this coast, and, by some, between Gaza and Rhinocolura; but, by others, between this and Egypt, viz. Laris, or Lariffa, and Raphia. The former, if we may believe

(1) *Strabo, lib. xvi.*

It now remains that we speak of those few nations which were seated round about Palestine ; most of them the seed or kindred of Abraham, at perpetual war with the Jews ; such as were the Ishmaelites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Amalekites, &c. whose history we have given in some of the foregoing chapters. In describing their several countries, we shall not rank them according to their dignity, with respect to eldership or eminence, but take them, as in course they lie in our way round those of the Israelites, beginning with Idumea, as the nearest to Judah, Simeon, and the Philistines.

Edom, or Idumæa.

*Land of
Edom, or
Idumæa.*

This country lay south of Palestine, and was part of Arabia Petræa, having Judæa on the north ; Egypt, and a branch of the Red Sea, on the west ; the rest of Arabia Petræa on the south ; and the desert of Arabia on the east. It lay mostly under the 30th degree of north latitude, and 34th of east longitude. As to its extent, it hath so often changed, that there is no stating it, without having regard to the various periods of time through which it passed. At first, Esau, or Edom, from whom it received its name, and his descendants, settled along the mountains of Seir on the east, and south of the Dead Sea, from whence they spread themselves by degrees, through the west part of Arabia Petræa, from that sea quite to the Mediterranean. In the time of Moses, Joshua, and even of the Jewish kings, they were hemmed in by the Dead Sea on one side, and the Elanitic Gulph on the other ; but, during the Jewish captivity at Babylon, they advanced farther north into Judæa, and spread themselves as far as Hebron in the tribe of Judah ; so that Strabo, and, after him, many modern geographers, have rightly enough divided it into Eastern and Southern Idumæa, with regard to its situation from Palestine ; the capital of the former of which was called Bozrah, and that of the latter Pe-

Thevenot and Baudrand, was a city of Idumæa, so called from the mount of that name, and the same with the modern mount Cæsus, situate about twelve leagues south from Gaza. Off this place Pompey received his death, and his sepulchre in it ; the former by

the command of the treacherous king of Egypt, and the latter from a generous private soldier. Here the emperor Adrian afterwards erected a stately monument in memory of that brave and unfortunate general.

treæ,

æa, or Jectael. Josephus, with regard to its different extent at different periods, distinguishes it, when at the largest, by the epithet of Great, in opposition to its more narrow boundaries; and even places Hebron among the Idumæan cities. He seems likewise to make a kind of distinction between that which he calls the Lower, and Upper Idumæa; but, upon the whole, the country is represented as hot, dry, mountainous, and, in some parts, barren; the mountains exhibiting dreadful rocks and caverns, like the southern part of Judah, which is called a desert, full of such rocky recesses and caverns, which became the lurking-places of thieves and banditti.

In the history of this country we have given an account of the various changes it hath undergone, as far as we have been able to collect from those authors that have written of it; but for many ages past, little has been said of it by geographers and travellers, except that it lies mostly waste and uncultivated. It is inhabited by wild Arabs, with whom Europeans have little or no intercourse. The country is now in possession of the Turks, though it doth not appear, that they keep any garrisons in it, except on the sea-coast, for securing the road between Egypt and Palestine. Among those castles mentioned by travellers is Larissa, to which we shall only add that of Salha, near the frontiers of Egypt, the residence of the basha of this province^b (B).

The ancient cities belonging to Idumæa, mentioned in Scripture, were Dinhabah, the seat of Bela, the son of Beor, one of the chief descendants of Esau, or Edom, and prince of that territory¹. Bozrah, Bezer, Besora, and Bostra, the capital of the Eastern Idumæa, and royal residence of Joba, the son of Zerah, duke of Edom; this city is commonly mentioned as situate in a wilderness, because it stood on the confines of Arabia Deserta. It was,

^a Thevenot, Ricaut, & aliis.

¹ Genes. xxxvi. 32.

(B) Other places where the Turks keep soldiers, are Tina, a town on the sea-shore; and Catio, a castle with a garrison; where a capher, or toll, is exacted from all merchants and passengers. This last is situate in a desert, the garrison being forced to send quite to the former for water, and

other provisions. Tor, a small sea-port and castle near the straits of Suez, where an aga commands the garrison. Near this place is a fair spacious convent of Greek monks, who give an hospitable reception to all travellers. There-

^b nevertheless,

*How di-
vided.*

*Barren
soil.*

*Present go-
vernment.*

*Ancient
cities.*

nevertheless, a considerable place ; having been made a Levitical city by Joshua, and a city of refuge ; it is likewise celebrated by ancient writers and medals ; and several of its bishops, assisted at some of the ancient councils. It stands four days journey distant from Damascus, hath a very strong castle, a gate twenty cubits high, and one of the largest basins, or reservoirs, in all the Levant. Pau, or Phau, is mentioned, also, as another royal city, the residence of Adar, the last Edomitish king mentioned by Moses. Aneth, or Anah, the royal city of Hadad ; and some others not worth naming. Besides these, we find Caparosa and Gamaris mentioned by Ptolemy as cities of Idumæa ; but of these nothing farther is known.

The Land of Amalek.

The land of Amalek. This nation, whose origin and history we have given in a former chapter, was seated in that part of Arabia Petræa which lay east of the Edomites ; having Midian or Madian on the north, with part of that of the Ishmaelites ; Arabia Petræa on the south ; the Deserta on the east ; and reaching almost as far north as the Dead, and southward as the Red Sea. But it is not to be supposed, that the inhabitants had any constant dwelling, being mostly of the wandering kind, and living in booths and tents, like the Arabs, or even in caverns, either in the rocks, or under-ground ; insomuch that we do not find one single city they had, except that which Saul is said to have besieged, and which the text doth not so much as name. As they were divided into tribes, or hordes, it is likely¹ that these places were no more than hamlets, of more or less extent ; and that the country being wide enough, they shifted their abode from one canton to another, as their convenience or fancy led them. It were therefore in vain to attempt the setting any limits to them, who, besides the vast tract of ground they had to range in, might, moreover, live intermixed, on their out-skirts, with their neighbours on each side ; accordingly, we find them, in the times of the judges, joined with the Midianites and Moabites against Israel² ; who were delivered from the former by Ehud, and from the latter by Gideon³. Mr. Reland seems to place them between the deserts of Cades and Engadi, though somewhat nearer to the Mediterranean. But the truth is, their situation and neighbours are so differently assigned in different places of

*No proper
limits.*

¹ Judg. iii. 13, vi. 3.

² Ibid. 22, &c seq. vii. passim.

Scripture,

Scripture, that they cannot be ascertained. Josephus affirms they extended from Pelusium to the Red Sea¹; and, in another place, fixes them between Gebolitis and Petra² (C).

The Land of Midian, or Midianitis.

The Midianites, the descendants of Abraham by Keturah, were seated on the north of the Amalekites; having the Dead Sea on the west, the Ishmaelites on the east, and the Moabites and Reubenites on the north; the river Arnon parting them from this last tribe³. Their country was hot, sandy, and, in many parts, quite desert; yet abounded with cattle, particularly with camels⁴; a very useful beast of burden for their caravans, with which they used to trade into Egypt, so early as the time of the patriarch Jacob. Their country, we find, likewise, divided into a kind of pentarchy in the time of the Exodus; so that the Israelites, in the war which they waged with them, are said to have slain the five kings of it; namely, of Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba; whose capitals are supposed to have been situate near the Dead Sea. But they had, besides, a famed metropolis of their progenitor's name, often mentioned in the prophetic books, and other authors; particularly in Josephus, who places one of that appellation near the Red Sea; not far from the spot where Ptolemy places that of Madiana (D). To these cities already named we may add those of Dibon-Gad, which, Eusebius says, was a large town on the river Arnon; and Almon-Diblathaim, which could not be far

*The land of Midian.**Divided into five kingdoms.**Cities.*

¹ Antiq. lib. vi. cap. II.
land, lib. i. p. 98, & seq.

² Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 2.

³ Re-
x Jerom. Comm. in Isa. lx. & in
Ezek. xxv. Euseb. Onomast. in Madian.

(C) Petra was the capital of Arabia Petrea, about one hundred and thirty-five miles east of Gaza, and four days' journey to the southward of Jericho; fifty miles eastward of Kadesh, near the confines of the Moabites and Midianites.

(D) This last seems, however, to be very different from the former, which we call the capital of the Midianites, though, probably, built and named by them, and the capi-

tal of a different canton of the land of Midian; viz. that to which Moses retired from the resentment of the king of Egypt, and which was different enough from the other. The former lay east of the Dead, and this near the north-east coast of the Red Sea; the capital of the one was situate on the river Arnon, the farthest boundary north; and that of the latter on the east of the Red Sea.

from it, because it was the next encampment of the Israelites from Dibon-Gad; the city of Beeroth, so called, probably, from its many wells, and some others, which are commonly placed by geographers within the Midianitish territories. No doubt but they had a great many such, as well as castles, even in those earlier times, as we may guess by the havock which the Israelites made of them in the war above mentioned^z. As to the city of Midian, it is more than probable, that they rebuilt it intime, since Eusebius and St. Jerom, who place it on the river Arnon, eastward of the Dead Sea, and south of Ar, or Areopolis, tell us, there were still some remains to be seen of it in their time.

The Land of Moab or Moabitis,

*Moabitis,
or land of
Moab.*

Cities.

So called from Moab, one of the incestuous sons of Lot, was situate, likewise, in Arabia Petreæ, on the north of Midian; having the river Arnon on the west, which divided it all the way from tribe of Reuben (E); the Ishmaelites on the east; and the land of Gilead on the north. Their country was at first inhabited by the gigantic Emims, whom they expelled in time, and made themselves masters of it, and of all the cities, which were in great number, and some of them very considerable. Josephus hath given us an account of some of the most noted and opulent; among which he hath mentioned several, which, being on the other side the river Arnon, could not properly be said to be in Moabitis, but rather in the land of the Amorites, or Reubenites; particularly Hethbon; but might have been probably, inhabited by the Moabites. The rest were, Medaba, Lemba, Oronas, Thelitho, Zara, with Aulon, Pella, and some others; all which were afterwards possessed by the Jews, in the reign of Alexander Janneus. The truth is, these limits were then in a constant fluctuation; and accordingly we read of the plains of Moab, which are also called by Moses the land of Moab, but which had been taken by Sihon, quite as far as the river above mentioned. The very Mount Nebo is by Moses placed in the land of Moab, though seated on the other side the Arnon, and, consequently, in the kingdom

^z Numb. xxxi. 10, & seq.

(E) Josephus, who rightly describes the course of that river from the mountains of Arabia, where it bath its source through this whole region, into the lake Asphaltites, or Dead Sea, says, it divided the Amorites from the Moabites.

of Sihon. From all which considerations it is plain, that these petty monarchs often infringed on each other's territories. However, that river seems to have been the most common, as well as most proper, northern boundary between those two kingdoms, as this of Moab seems to have been the southern boundary between Arabia Petraea and Deserta. Besides the cities we have already mentioned out of Josephus, we find the following mentioned in Jeremiah, as belonging to the kingdom of Moab; viz. Nebo, Kirjathaim, Misgab, whence they expelled the Emims; Heshbon, Madman, Horonaim, Luhith, Dibon, Chemosh, Aroer, Helon, Jahzah, Mephaath, Beth-Diblathaim, Beth-Gamul, Beth-Meon, Kerioth, Bozrah, Kirheresh, Jaazer, Shimbah, Eleale, Zoar, and Me-Nimrim.

The Land of the Ammonites.

These, being likewise the descendants of Lot, by his youngest daughter^a, were seated in Arabia Deserta, north-east of the Moabites; having still the same river Arnon on the west, which divided them from the land of Gilead, and the tribe of Gad. They had on the south the Ishmaelites, on the east the deserts of Arabia, and on the north the hills of Gilead and Bashan^b. This land had been formerly inhabited by a gigantic nation, styled, by Moses, Zamzummim, who fell a prey to the Ammonites, together with their country, and populous cities; particularly the famous Rabbah of the sons of Ammon, Rabbatammana, or, simply, Ammana, and since Philadelphia; in which was seen the monstrous iron bed of Og, the king of Bashan. According to the sacred historians, their territories seem anciently to have been confined by the rivers Arnon and Jabbok; but their frequent conquests on their neighbours, occasioned their boundaries to be in a constant fluctuation^c.

The Land of the Ishmaelites.

These were the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham by Hagar, his Egyptian bond-maid; seated in Arabia Deserta, eastward of the Midianites and Moabites; bounded on the north by the Ammonites; but how far they extended southward and eastward, especially in those early times, is not easy to guess. Moses only tells us, that in his time they spread themselves "from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest into Af-

^a Genes. xix.

^b Reland, lib. i. p. 113.

^c Ibid. p. 104.

Syria^a." From which description we may guess how far they extended; since Havilah, according to the generality of writers, was situate near the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, and Shur on the isthmus which divides Arabia from Egypt, now called the Isthmus of Suez^b. From thence, we doubt not but they spread themselves on those two sides so far, as to have possessed the greatest part of Arabia; whence Josephus makes no scruple to style their progenitor the founder of the Arabian nation^c. For this reason we shall say no more of them here, but refer all the rest till we come to speak of that large country. And we have only said thus much of their ancient site, as we find them to have joined with the Moabites, Amalekites, &c. in their wars against the Israelites^c.

We have now traversed the territories of the several ancient nations with whom the Israelites were engaged in war, and who were descended from Abraham and Lot: as for the other kingdoms, such as Syria, Egypt, Phœnix, &c. their geography hath been already given at the beginning of their history, to which we have nothing farther to add. There are some others mentioned in Scripture; such as Sobah, Zobah, or Aram-Zobah, of Cushan-Rishathaim, styled king of Aram, or Mesopotamia, &c. of whose situation we have so little certainty, that we shall willingly omit saying any thing farther, than that the former was, most probably, one of the cities that gave name to one of the cantons of Syria; but as it either changed its name afterwards, or was destroyed, it is not easy to guess where it was situate; though, from its being different from the Aram of Damascus, Hamath, and Rehob, we conjecture it to have been situated on the northern borders of Coœlesyria. Our modern maps place it eastward of the half-tribe of Manasseh, beyond Jordan, between the hills of Bashan on the south, and the Aram of Damascus on the north.

S E C T. II.

The Religion, Government, Laws, Customs, Learning, Art, and Commerce of the Jews.

The Jewish government was a theocracy. THE institution of the Jewish religion, and commonwealth, is by Moses, attributed wholly to God; for which reason, Josephus makes no scruple to distinguish

^a Gen. xxv. 18.

^b cap. 43.

^c Chron. v. 10. 19. 20.

^a Bochart, &c al.

^c Judg. vii. & viii. passim.

^b Antiq. lib. i.

^c Psal. lxxiii. 6.

The latter from all other governments in the world, by the name of 'Theocracy', or a government under the immediate command and direction of God: and indeed, though this theocracy has often varied under Moses, Joshua, the Judges, Kings, and High-priests; and the divine authority differently interposed during these revolutions, yet God was still looked upon as the Supreme Monarch of the Israelites. He was considered as the sole Director of every momentuous transaction; and the Dictator of the laws which Moses promulgated. Joshua, though not honoured so far as to receive the divine commands from the mouth of God, yet consulted him by the Urim upon all emergencies. The Judges were valiant and wise men, whom God made choice of to govern the people, and to deliver them, from time to time, from the thraldom, which their frequent rebellions brought upon them. Accordingly, when Gideon had delivered them from the Midianites, and the people offered the government to him, and his posterity, he modestly replied, that neither he nor his sons^b, but the Lord God, should rule over them. When, in process of time, their desire for a king was grown to such a height, that alk Samuel's expostulations could not divert them from it, though he told them, that, by so doing, they rejected the Lord from ruling over them; God was pleased to nominate Saul, and after him, David, to the regal dignity, and to make it hereditary in the posterity of the latter.

The Jewish laws contained in the five books of Moses, which they call by way of excellency, Ha-thorah, *the Law*, are blended in such a manner, with those conveyed by oral tradition (A), that the whole forms a kind of chaos or confusion. Those who are willing to be further satisfied with respect to this subject, may see the abridgment which Munster has given of them, and of the Jewish

* *Cont. Apion.* lib. ii.

• *Judg.* viii. 22, 23.

(A) To the written law the Jews add the oral, which, they pretend, was also given by God to Moses, during his abode on Mount Sinai. For they think it absurd to suppose, that he spent all that long interval of twice forty days in transcribing the written law, for which one

quarter of that time was more than sufficient. They affirm therefore, that he employed the greatest part of that time in learning the oral law by heart, which he afterwards carefully delivered by word of mouth to Aaron, Eleazar, and to his servant Joshua, who

Jewish comments, with his version of each, as he has collected them, from their Talmud, and other rabbinic works. We shall only observe, that they acknowledge no other division of these laws, but into negative and affirmative, in imitation of the Decalogue, which not only begins with three negative laws, but contains, in all, eight of that kind, and but two affirmative. Accordingly, they reckon up the negative laws to the number of three hundred and sixty-five, and the affirmative to two hundred and forty-eight ; in all six hundred and thirteen : and as they have a wonderful skill in extracting some significant mystery out of every text and subject, they have not failed to apply the first number to the days of the year, and the second to the number of parts in a human body ; and to affirm, that God designed by this application, that not a day of our life ought to pass without meditating upon his law, nor any member of our bodies be enjoyed, which is not consecrated and employed in his service. These, and such other reveries, they have drawn from their Cabbala, or oral tradition. It must be owned, however, that the sect called Caraites, always rejected it, and adhered wholly to the plain meaning of the text ; but those were few in comparison of the rest, and mortally hated by their brethren. The Caraites are all very rich, and as they are often at a loss for wives among themselves, they would gladly purchase them at any rate, from the Talmudists ; but as well as these love money, they never could yet be persuaded to give one of their daughters to any Karaite, though ever so opulent (B).

We

communicated it to the seventy elders ; from whom it passed to all the prophets ; the three last of whom, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, delivered it to the grand sanhedrim, from whom the wise men of Jerusalem and Babylonia received it. It was afterwards, say they, committed to writing by several hands in the Talmud, consisting of two parts, the Mishnah and Gemarrah ;

containing a heap of idle dreams, fables, contradictions, obscurities, improbabilities, and all manner of absurdity (1).

(B) Though the Jewish Cabbala, or oral tradition, is justly rejected by all Christians, as a mass composed of the most ridiculous notions ; yet there is another Cabbala, which has been received by some of the ancient fathers, and is to this day strenuously defended by

(1) Vide Packhurst, *Mazorah, sect. de Parashah.*

We shall endeavour to range the main body of their written laws under such distinct heads and classes, as shall give our readers a clear idea of them, abridging some, and omitting others, that are either of small consequence, or not sufficiently understood.

Laws against Idolatry, and for the pure Worship of the only true God.

Thou shalt have no other Gods before, or besides me^c. *Laws against Idolatry.*

Ye shall not prophane, nor take in vain, but hallow God's holy name^d.

Ye shall utterly destroy all the idols, altars, groves, and all other monuments of Canaanitish idolatry^e.

Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God, as ye did in the wilderness^f.

Ye shall make no image or representation of God, from the likeness of the celestial, terrestrial, or aquatic bodies^g.

Ye shall not bow down nor worship any kind of idol^h.

Whosoever enticeth another to commit idolatry, shall be stoned upon convictionⁱ.

The spoil of a city doomed to anathema shall not be saved upon any account, but be publicly burned. The inhabitants of it shall be put to the sword, and the place shall be no more rebuilt, but continue an heap of ruins for ever^k.

The silver, gold, and other precious ornaments belonging to idols, shall not be turned to advantage, but be destroyed with the utmost abhorrence^l.

Whosoever sacrificeth his seed to Moloch, whether he be an Israelite, or a sojourner in the land, shall be stoned to death^m (C).

Positive

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| ^c Exod. xx. 3. | ^d Exod. xx. 7. Levit. xvii. 32. & al. |
| ^e Deut. xii. 2, & seq. | ^f Deut. vi. 16. ^g Exod. xx. 4. |
| Deut. iv. passim. & v. 8. | ^h Exod. xx. 5. Deut. v. 9, & al. |
| ⁱ Deut. xiii. 1, & seq. | ^j Deut. xiii. 15. ^l Ibid. 25, 26. |
| ^m Levit. xx. 2. | |

many learned moderns; which they call by way of distinction, Kabbla, or *Reception*: it contains that mystical sense of the Old Testament, in which, it is pretended, the writers of the New Testament understood and explained it: which sense, they affirm, has been conveyed to

them from Moses by the prophets, not by human tradition, but by divine inspiration, as being very different from, if not directly contrary to the obvious and literal meaning.

(C) There are several more to the same purpose interspersed, and often repeated in the

Positive Laws concerning the Worship of the only true God.

*Laws concerning the
true worship of God.*

The Lord, who delivered his law from Mount Sinai, is the only God in heaven and earth.

He alone is to be loved with all the heart, mind, and strength; he only is to be feared above all things, and his name to be sanctified.

They shall engrave his laws in their hearts; diligently teach them to their children and grand-children; wear them for a sign upon their heads, as frontlets between their eyes; and write them upon the gates, posts, and other parts of their houses.

They shall circumcise their hearts as well as their flesh; and be no more rebellious to him, but serve him sincerely, cleave unto him, and swear by his name alone.

The whole law shall be read by the priests to all the people, men, women, and children, every seventh year, at the feast of Tabernacles; and the substance of it shall be learned by heart by every Israelite; and every king of Israel shall be obliged to write a copy of it with his own hand, from that which was by Moses committed to the custody of the Levites, in order to be constantly read and observed by him.

All blessings shall be thankfully acknowledged to come from God, and punishments inflicted by him submissively received, as fatherly chastisements, or trials of obedience.

The law shall be engraven upon stones, and set upon an altar; and the blessings of obedience, and curses for disobedience, shall be publicly inscribed upon the Mounts Gebal and Gerizzim, for a perpetual remembrance.

No forgiveness, or deliverance from any punishment for disobedience, shall be expected, without a deep sense and acknowledgement of the fault.

four last books of Moses, which we need not dwell longer upon. Of the same nature are also those which forbid all commerce, intercourse, contracting of affinity with idolatrous nations, and all kind of imitation of their ways; the use of familiar spirits, enchantments, observing of times and omens, divinations, resorting to wiz-

ards and necromancers, under pain of death; as also the rounding of the corners, or temples of the head, and marring the corners of their beards, cutting their flesh, or making any marks upon it for the sake of the dead; and lastly, the promiscuous use of apparel in either sex, in imitation of the Canaanites,

Burnt,

Burnt-offerings, sacrifices, tythes, vows, firstlings of the flock, and free-will-offerings shall be brought and sacrificed at no other place but that which the Lord shall appoint'.

Laws Positive and Negative, concerning the Sabbath, Passover, and other Festivals, Holidays, and Fast.

The sabbath, or seventh day, shall be kept holy (D).
No servile work shall be done in it, by master, servant, slave, stranger, or cattle. There shall no fire be kindled on that day, nor any thing bought or sold. No person shall be put to death for any crime whatsoever. No travelling shall be allowed on the sabbath (E).

Laws concerning the sabbath.

The
f. Bib. Sacr. Exod. Deuteron.

(D) The Jewish doctors have stretched this abstinence from work to the most superstitious degree. They extend it not only to every business that tends to the getting of food and raiment, such as plowing, sowing, reaping, threshing, &c. which amount to thirty-nine negative precepts, but to many other things: and hence arise other negative precepts, which are as appendices to the former: grass must not be walked upon, lest it be bruised; a horse must not be rid, lest he be galled; it is not lawful to ride in a coach or cart, though a heathen drive it. No singing, dancing, playing upon instruments, or any kind of noise, is allowed, though it were to quiet a cross child. No cause is to be tried, no accompts made or cast up, or marriages solemnized; no discourse about buying and selling, or any other worldly matter, much less loose and profane talk, is to be suffered. The positive precepts concerning the sabbath runs much in the same

strain. On that day every one is obliged, according to his circumstances, to put on clean linen, to wear better cloaths than ordinary, to eat flesh, fish, or fowl, to drink wine, and to feed at least once in six hours. Care also is to be taken, that a clean table-cloth be laid, and the victuals set upon it, the beds made, and the lamps lighted, before the commencement of the sabbath, which begins and ends with them on or about sun-set, according to the saying in Genesis, "the evening and the morning were the first day."

(E) Though the text expressly says, that they shall not stir out of their place, yet it could mean no other than a prohibition of going out to gather manna; for it is plain, they were obliged to repair to the tabernacle from all parts of the camp, and afterwards to the temple from all quarters of Jerusalem: however, the Jews understand it, of going out about worldly business, or for pleasure, and indeed upon any account,

The sabbath-breaker shall be stoned. With several others; either to the same purpose, or of less moment.

Laws relating to the Three grand Festivals, the Passover, the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Tabernacles.

*The three
grand festi-
vals.*

Three times a year shall all the male children appear before the Lord their God, at the place by him appointed, namely, at the Feast of Unleavened Bread, or Passover; at the Feast of the Weeks, or Pentecost; and at the Feast of Tabernacles. They shall not come empty-handed before him; but every man shall offer unto the Lord according to the ability wherewith he hath blessed him (F).

Of the Passover.

*Passover, or
Pashover.*

This grand festival was instituted in memory of their deliverance out of their Egyptian bondage. The laws relating to it, are to the following purpose.

It shall be of perpetual obligation both to the Israelites, and to all circumcised proselytes.

No circumcised person, whether of the seed of Abraham, or admitted into the commonwealth by circumcision, unless hindered by sickness, journeying, or some legal impurity, shall omit the annual celebration of it, under the penalty of being cut off from his people.

account, beyond what they call a sabbath day's journey; this distance is determined at two thousand cubits. And though they differ among themselves about the length of that measure, some making it much longer than others, yet they agree, that the safest way is, not to exceed two thousand moderate paces; and this seems to be pretty near the distance between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives, which St. Luke calls a sabbath-day's journey: however, he that exceeded that distance, was not judged a violator of the sabbath, but came off with a beating; whereas the breaker of it was to be stoned to death.

(F) The Talmud however exempts from this obligation, 1st, The women who were to take care of their families, unless their husbands permitted them to go with them, as in the case of Hannah, and the Virgin Mary. 2dly, Boys under twelve years of age, who were not subject to the law, or called Bene-hathorah, that is, *the sons or disciples of the law.* 3dly, All old men above sixty. 4thly, All the sick and impotent, lunatics, &c. And lastly, All that lived at such a distance from the tabernacle, and afterwards from the temple, or were any otherwise so weak, that they could not perform the journey on foot.

* No servant or stranger shall eat of it unless he become circumcised.

The feast (G) shall begin on the eve of the fourteenth day of the month Abif, or, as the original expresses it, between the two evenings; at which time the paschal lamb shall be killed, and the festival continued, till the one and twentieth day of the same month at evening.

The first and last day shall be kept holy and free from all servile work, even as the sabbath, except only, that on the former vi^tuals may be dressed, but not on the latter. These two days shall likewise be solemnized by a holy convocation (H).

No leaven of any kind shall be used, or even kept in the house, during those seven days; whosoever useth any leaven on those days shall be cut off from Israel.

On the first day of the Passover shall be offered a burnt-sacrifice of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with some inferior offerings; and on the second day of the feast shall be offered, besides the usual sacrifices, a sheaf of the first fruit of that year's harvest; no new corn shall be eaten, in any way, before the first sheaf has been presented unto the Lordⁿ (I). Some other ordinances

Exod. Levit. Numb.

(G) This festival is called in the original *Pesach*, from the verb *pāsach*, which signifies *to pass by*, or *leap over*; and not from the Greek πάσχω, *to suffer*, as if it had been prophetic of Christ's suffering at that feast, as some ancient fathers have imagined, for want of understanding Hebrew. The month Abif, afterwards called Nisan, answers to March and April.

(H) The five intermediate days are to be spent in mirth and lawful recreations: they enjoin all, especially the women, to wear the gayest apparel, to eat flesh, fish, and fowl, and to drink wine. Weddings are forbid during this and the other two grand festivals,

lest the joy that attends the former should make them forget the occasion of the latter. However, they all agree, that women may shave and wash themselves, or even their cloaths, upon some occasions. There is a strange injunction that obliges every man and woman, though they be so poor as to live by alms, to drink at least four cups of wine on the first night of the Passover, whilst they are rehearsing the wonders wrought by God in Egypt, and at the Red Sea, with some more of the like nature, not worth repeating.

(I) As for this sheaf, it was to be of barley, because it is ripe about this time in that country. It was reaped on the

ordinances of less moment, about this, and other festivals, are interspersed in the Pentateuch, which we therefore omit.

The Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost.

The feast of Weeks.

This feast was instituted in memory of the law given upon Mount Sinai, fifty days after the exod, and to oblige the people to appear before the Lord, to offer the first-fruits of their harvest, viz. two loaves of the new wheat, which was then ripe, as an acknowledgement of his absolute right and dominion over them, and their land, and of their dependence upon him.

Seven weeks, or fifty days, were to be reckoned from the sixteenth day of the month Nisan, which was the second of the Passover, and the fiftieth day was to be the first day of the festival (K).

The sacrifices ordained upon this day, besides the two loaves, consisted of seven lambs of the first year, one young bullock, and two rams, for a burnt-offering ; to-

the evening of the 15th day of Nisan, and was to be offered up in the name of the whole nation. As soon as the evening of the first day of the Passover was come, at which time the second began, and in which some kind of works might be done, the beth-din, or great council, assembled, and deputed three men to go and gather the sheaf, with a kind of solemnity, at which great crowds from the neighbouring cities flocked to Jerusalem, within whose territories it was to be gathered. These deputies asked three times whether the sun was set, and were as often answered, by the by-slanders, in the affirmative. They then asked three times leave to reap the sheaf; and it was no sooner granted, than they entered into three different fields, with sickles in their hands, and ga-

thered, each a distinct parcel, which they put into three different boxes, and brought to the temple. Here they were threshed, winnowed, and parched, and a homer, which contains about three pints, was filled with them, and presented to the priest, who poured a quantity of oil, and threw some incense upon it; and having raised it up to the Lord, towards the four points of the compass, threw some part of it upon the fire of the altar, and the rest he kept for himself. After this ceremony it was lawful for every man to begin his harvest (1).

(K) It is therefore called in the original Chag Shebugnoth, or *the feast of weeks*, from the seven weeks which were reckoned from the Passover; as from the fifty days the Greeks gave it the name of Pentecost.

(1) Vide Marmon,

gether with their usual meat and drink-offerings, and likewise a kid for a sin-offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering. No servile work was to be done on that day, save that viands might be dressed, and a holy convocation was to be called, as on other solemn festivals.

The Feast of the Tabernacles.

This festival was ordained in memory of the forty years abode of the Israelites in the wilderness; for which reason it is called the Feast of the Tabernacles or Tents (L), not only because they lived in tents, or booths, during all that time, but because it was to be celebrated in such kinds of booths, made of the branches of several sorts of trees, such as willows, palms, olives, and the like, and erected in the most decent and convenient manner.

*The feast
of Taber-
nacles.*

This feast was the third great festival, equal in solemnity to the other two, except in what related particularly to the Passover. It began on the eve of the fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Tisri, which was the first of the civil year, and answered to part of our September, by which time all the harvest being finished and brought in, they returned their solemn thanks to God. It lasted seven days, the first and last of which were kept with the greatest precision; the people repairing to the tabernacle or temple with palms and other branches in their hands, marching round the altar, and singing the praises of God. It was likewise celebrated by sacrifices peculiar to the solemnity, and by a cessation from all servile works except cookery.

The people were obliged to dwell in those booths all the seven days, unless prevented by some lawful impediment.

The sacrifices peculiar to this feast were: on the first day, thirteen bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of a year old, all without blemish, which were offered up in a burnt-offering, with their usual meat and drink-offerings, consisting of a certain quantity of flour mingled with oil, and some wine. To these was likewise added, a kid for a sin-offering, which was offered up in the name of the whole people of Israel; besides the usual morning and

Exod. Levit. Numbers.

(L) The original calls it the Greeks gave it the name Chag haSukoth, *the feast of the booths*; from which even-

evening sacrifices, which were never to be intermitted, and those which any one might offer out of devotion: On the second they offered twelve bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs, with their concomitant offering of flour and wine, and a kid, as on the first day; and thus on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh they offered the same sacrifices, only lessening every day one bullock; so on this last day they sacrificed but seven. On the eighth, or last day, the most solemn of all, on which they were to hold a solemn assembly, and to abstain from all servile work, they offered but one bullock, one ram, and seven lambs, besides the goat for a sin-offering, and the usual and voluntary sacrifices; which last rose or fell according as their harvest had been more or less plentiful. Lastly, on this day, the first-fruits of those things which were of later growth, were brought up, and offered to God; and these came, sometimes, in such numbers, that they were forced to continue the feast one day longer^p.

The Feast of the Trumpets and New Moons.

The feast of the Trumpets.

The month of Tisri was the first of the civil, as that of Abib, or Nisan, was of the sacred year: this feast was appointed to be kept on the first and second day of that month. It was ushered in by the sound of the trumpets, kept holy, free from all servile work, and distinguished from other new moons by particular sacrifices.

As the Scripture no where gives the reason of this festival, authors are much divided about it; the Jews in general believe it was instituted in memory of the creation, which happened on that month; though some rabbies think that it was also in memory of Isaac's deliverance, and of the ram, that was caught by the horns, and substituted in room of him. Some of the fathers are of opinion it was in memory of the law given upon Mount Sinai, at which time the trumpet and thunder were heard; others, from some of the ceremonies observed by the Jews, by way of preparation, have fancied that it was instituted in order to put mankind in mind of the general resurrection, which was to be ushered in by the sound of the trumpet^q(G); but the most probable reason for this feast,

^p Vide Segonium, Bertrand, Cunæum, Meyer, Goodw. & al.

^q Vide Goodw. ubi supra, § 6.

(G) The Talmudists believe one of the good, a second of that God keeps three books, the bad, and a third of those that

feast, and for proclaiming the entrance of the civil year by the sound of trumpets, seems to have been that it should be rendered the more observable, seeing all their contracts, mortgages, and bargains, as well as their sabbatic years, and jubilees, were to be regulated by it ; for which reason the trumpets ceased not to sound every where from the rising to the setting of the sun. The proper sacrifices for this solemnity were one young bullock, one ram, and seven lambs, offered up in a solemn burnt-offering, with the usual addition of flour and wine, in the name of the whole nation, besides the kid for a sin-offering, and the daily and monthly sacrifices ^r.

The New Moons.

The Israelites were commanded to observe the first day *New Moons*, of every month, or moon, and to offer, besides the usual sacrifices, a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs, with the usual quantity of flour, wine, and oil. The most solemn of all the twelve was that of the month Tisri, which was kept holy upon a particular account. The rest had nothing to distinguish them from common days, except the sacrifices above mentioned, which were accompanied with the sound of trumpets (H), making better cheer, and perhaps using some kind of devotion, or assemblies, peculiar to those days.

'Thoug

^r Vide Numb. xxix. 2, & sec.

that are neither good nor bad. The first is the book of life, the second of death ; and those that are in the third are to be transferred either to the first or second expiation day, according as they grow better or worse. Those two books have two kinds of pages, one for this life, the other for the next ; and the Jews believe that on this day their names are written for that year. Upon this account they take particular care, whatever they do the rest of the year, to be well employed about this time. Some appear at the synagogue in

white, others in their shrouds, in token of repentance ; others plunge themselves gradually into the water, confessing their sins, and smiting their breasts, as they sink lower and lower till they are over head and ears ; and lastly, others give themselves forty-nine stripes on the bare back, or procure somebody to do it for them ; and after these mortifications, and suitable prayers, they wish one another the happiness of being written down for a good year (1).

(H) The fixing the time of the new moon, for want of

(1) Vide Buxtorf; Synag. Jud. Hospin. Goodwin, Leon. de Moden, & al.

Though, in all respects, this day did not differ from any common day, they were very scrupulous in observing it; and as the space of the moon's entering and coming out of the partile conjunction of the sun, belongs one half to the old, and the other to the new month, and they had no sure way of computing it with any exactness or certainty, they observed two days, namely, the last day of the old, and the first day of the new, for greater security.

This irregularity of the moon obliged them likewise to make some transpositions of the days of the month, in order to fix the beginning of Tisri, and of the rest of the months, according to that computation. But how early these transpositions began, is what cannot easily be ascertained.

These are all the feast-days appointed by the Mosaic law. The Jews added, in process of time, several others, in memory of some great mercies, such as that of Purim, of Lots, in memory of their deliverance from Haman's cruelty, the dedication of the temple, and many more which we shall not particularize⁴.

Laws concerning the Sabbath and Jubilee Years.

*Sabbatic
year, &c.*

The sabbatic, or seventh year, and the jubilee, which happened once in seven times seven years, are also to be considered as religious solemnities. They were designed for rest and rejoicing; and as they bore a kind of analogy to the sabbath or seventh day, they may upon that account be also reckoned among their festivals.

The Mosaical law distinguishes four sorts of years: 1. The civil, according to which all political matters

* Vide Scalig. de Emend. Temp. Holpin. Orig. Fest. Buxt. Uper. &c.

astronomical tables, was done in this manner. The first men that observed, or thought they observed, the new moon, were to repair with all speed to the grand council, and give notice of it. An enquiry was then made, whether the persons were credible witnesses; and secondly, whether their report agreed with such computations as they were then able to

make; in which case the president proclaimed the new moon, saying, Mekudash, *it is consecrated*; which word was twice repeated aloud by the people; then it was ordered to be proclaimed every where by the sound of trumpet, or by other means, according to the times and places.

were

were regulated, consisting of twelve lunar months (I), beginning at the month Tisri or September. 2. The sacred, which began at the month Nisan or March, which was the seventh of the civil year, and regulated the order of all their religious ceremonies; so that the Passover, which happened in the middle of this month, might be named, the mother of all the other festivals. 3. The sabbatic, or seventh year. And, 4. The jubilee, or fiftieth year, which was kept at the end of seven weeks of years.

The ceremonies of the sabbatic year, kept every seventh year, consisted chiefly in the five following articles:

Laws concerning the seventh years.

1. In a total cessation from all manner of agriculture.

2. In leaving all the product of their ground to the poor, the orphan, and the stranger.

3. In the release of all Hebrew slaves, unless they voluntarily renounced their proffered liberty, and chose to abide with their old masters; in which case they were to be brought before the judges, and have their ears bored

(I) Scaliger and others have supposed that they had an intercalary month, once in six score years; but it is plain that the Scripture hints nothing like such an intercalation, or year of thirteen months; though without some such supposition, it is not easy to guess what they did with the six ad-

ditional hours, if they ever reckoned by solar months, according to the manner of the Egyptians. However, Moses afterwards computed the year by moons; for that is the meaning of the word וָתַּהֲ, chodesh, from וָתַּהֲ, to renew. The names of their months are these:

	Days.		
1. Tisri	30	answers to our	September. October. November. December. January. February. March. April. May. June. July. August.
2. Marcheshvan	29		
3. Chisleu	30		
4. Thebet	29		
5. Sebat	30		
6. Adar	29		
7. Nesan	30		
8. Yihar	29		
9. Sivan	30		
10. Thammuz	29		
11. Abb	30		
12. Elul	29		

To this last they added in process of time the intercalary month Ve-adar, that is,

and, or the second Adar, as that was the last of the sacred year.

in their presence, in token that they freely embraced a perpetual servitude, or at least to the year of jubilee.

4. In the remission of all debts from one Israelite to another; but strangers were excluded that benefit.'

5. It was to begin and end on the month Tisri, or September, that there might be sufficient time for gathering all the fruits of the earth of that year, and for sowing it against the next, that so the land might not lie fallow two years together. The generality of the Jews, and many Christians, both ancient and modern, have looked upon the main design of these institutions to be typical of the millennium, or thousand years rest; for as the Pentateuch consecrates the seventh day, the seventh year, and the seven times seventh year, to rest, they conclude, that the world will last six thousand years in its present state; or as R. Elias expresses it, two thousand years without the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah; after which comes the grand sabbath of one thousand years¹.

Laws relating to the Jubilee.

*Jubilee
year.*

This solemnity is the last and most considerable of those that were peculiar to the Israelites. It was celebrated every fiftieth year, and had this advantage over that of the seventh, that it released all slaves who had refused their liberty; annihilated all debts; and restored to every man all his lands, houses, wife, children, and possessions, however alienated; and every Hebrew servant, or slave, to his own tribe and family, liberty and property, how or upon what account soever he had been deprived of them during those fifty years: for this reason it was called jubilee, or yobel, because it restored every thing to its pristine state. However, it must be observed, that this privilege extended no farther than to the original Israelites, or to those who had been incorporated into their religion and commonwealth by circumcision; these, indeed, might claim the benefit of it, though they had been sold for slaves in consequence of any crime, even by the sentence of the grand sanhedrim; but as for the Gentiles, they were wholly excluded from the benefit of this institution.

During the whole twelve months all kind of agriculture was expressly forbid, the poor had the benefit of the harvest and vintage, and of all the product of that year;

¹ Vide Hospin. Goodw. Mey. Munster.

and all other things of that nature went on after the same manner as they did in the sabbatic year. The beginning of it was fixed for the seventh month Tisri, which is about the time of the autumnal equinox; but in what year, after they entered into the land of Canaan, they celebrated the first Jubilee, and whether from the beginning of every forty-ninth or fiftieth year, is not easy to determine. The Jews, indeed, begin to reckon the first of the fifty years from the fourteenth after Joshua's passing the Jordan.

The next controverted point, is whether it was celebrated on the forty-ninth or fiftieth year; a dispute which we shall not pretend to decide, nor is it indeed a point of any great importance to the history.

During the first nine days of the jubilee the slaves were exempt from doing any work for their masters, and spent that time in eating, drinking, and other diversions, their heads adorned with garlands. On the tenth day the fan-hedrim caused the trumpet to sound all over the land, upon which the slaves were instantly restored to their liberty, and the rest to their possessions^z.

Expiation-day, or Day of Atonement.

This solemnity differed from all the rest, in that they were days of joy and thanksgiving; but this, a day of fasting, humiliation, and confession of sins: but this we do not find to have been made annual by Moses, or observed by the people till after the captivity, when they became so religious, that they appointed as many fasts for the miscarriages and misfortunes that had happened to their nation before it, as filled near the fourth part of their kalendar. Those who conjecture, that this expiation-day was ordained in memory of the golden calf, limit the design of it too much, seeing it appears rather instituted to expiate the sins of the whole nation, both public and private, but more particularly those of the foregoing year.

It was to begin on the evening of the ninth day of the seventh month, and to last till the evening of the tenth; during which interval the Israelites were obliged to abstain from all labour and pleasure, and to continue in the work of mortification, under the penalty of being cut off from among their people. They were likewise to hold a

^z Vide Levitic. Maimonid.

solemn convocation, to confess their sins, and to offer a peculiar sacrifice for them by fire.

The high-priest's office on this day was still more solemn and awful. It was the only time in the whole year, on which he was permitted to enter into the most holy place; and therefore he was obliged to prepare himself for this grand ceremony in a very extraordinary manner. The Talmud adds, that he was to abstain, during seven whole days, from all matrimonial commerce, and from every thing that might cause an accidental pollution, and thereby render him unfit for this duty; secondly, his mitre, breast-plate, and other priestly ornaments, were to be set aside on that day, when he appeared cloathed in linen; his garb consisting of a linen mitre, or cap, a coat, breeches, and girdle. He was, in the third place, to offer, as soon as he entered the holy place, a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for himself and his whole house, confessing his and their sins over them. Then he was to receive from some of the heads of the assembly a couple of kids for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for the whole congregation. Two goats were set before the tabernacle, and the high-priest cast lots for them, which of the two should be sacrificed on that day, and which should be sent away. This latter was called hazazel, or scape-goat. He then entered into the holy of holies, with his censer in one hand, and a large quantity of fine incense in the other, that the smoke of it might fill the place, so as to cover the mercy-seat from sight. As soon as he had set the censer upon the altar, he came out, and dipped his fingers in the blood of the bullock, which he had offered for himself, and went and sprinkled it towards the mercy-seat eastward seven times. This ceremony being performed, he killed the goat for the people's sin-offering, and went and sprinkled the mercy-seat with the blood of it, as he had done with that of the bullock; and by these aspersions the tabernacle was purified from all the pollution it had contracted, by standing in the midst of that sinful people. During all this ceremony, that is, till the solemn atonement had been made for the sins of the priests and people, neither priests, nor any person, were permitted to come, either within the tabernacle, or even into the courts.

As soon as these ablutions were ended, and the priests and people purified, the goat, whose lot it had been to escape, was brought to the high-priest, who laid his hands upon



THE HIGH PRIEST ON THE
DAY OF EXPIATION.

upon its head, and confessed his own sins, and those of the whole nation, in words to this effect : “ O Lord, thy people, the house of Israel, have sinned, have rebelled against thee ;—and now, O Lord, I beseech thee, forgive their sins, rebellions, and backslidings, by which they have offended thee, according as it is written in the law of thy servant Moses : in that day he shall make atonement for you, he shall cleanse you, and you shall be clean from all your sins before the Lord.” The confession being ended, he delivered the scape-goat to a man appointed for the purpose, who conducted it into a desert place, and there left it to shift for itself. After this ceremony, the high-priest washed himself all over, and having put on the ephod, mitre, breast-plate, and his other priestly garments, he proceeded to offer a burnt-offering of two rams, one for himself, and the other for the people. As for the man that conducted the scape-goat, he was deemed unclean, till he had bathed himself, and washed his cloaths, as were also those who carried away the flesh, blood, and entrails of the bullock, and goat of the sin-offering, to be burned without the camp.

It was likewise on this day, that the high-priest entered the most holy place in the greatest formality, and gave the people the solemn blessing prescribed by Moses, in which he pronounced the mysterious name of God. According to the Jews, the uttering of that word had been forbidden upon any other occasion, by a particular law, ever since the stoning of a notorious blasphemer. When he came out, he went backwards, keeping his face still towards the mercy-seat, and bending towards the ground. The residue of the day was spent in prayers, and other works of mortification. These ceremonies being performed, the trumpet gave notice that the solemnity was ended ; and then they dressed themselves in white, or, at least, put on clean linen, and, after a blessing, sat down to break their fast. They seldom failed making a plentiful meal, and to rejoice that their sins were now expiated ; but above all, the high-priest expressed a more than ordinary joy, that he had gone through the solemn and dangerous office of that day, and was come alive out of the most holy place^a.

^a Vide Levit. Numb. Philo in Vit. Mos. Joseph. Talmud, Misna. Tract. Yoma.

Laws concerning other Expiations or Atonements.

Before we leave this subject of expiation, it will not be amiss to give an account of some others, which were enjoined by Moses, upon contracting any legal impurities, such as those of a woman after child-birth, of a man by touching any unclean thing, as a dead body, or an unclean person, as a leper; and secondly, by the breach of any one branch of the law, whether knowingly, or through ignorance. By these contingencies, the persons contracted a kind of legal defilement, from which they could not be cleansed, but by offering such sacrifices as the law appointed; and this purification was to be performed in the following manner. The person who had committed any trespass, whether knowingly or ignorantly, was to bring his victim or sin-offering to the door of the tabernacle. This offering was to be a bullock, or a goat, if it was for a priest, and if for a layman, a goat, sheep, kid, or lamb; if the person was too poor to afford one of these, then a couple of pigeons or turtle-doves, or even a small quantity of flour, was accepted. One or more of these, according to the nature of the trespass, were brought to the priest, by the person to be purified, who having confessed his sin, and laying his hand upon the head of the victim, killed and offered it up. The priest then took up some of the blood with his fingers, and applying it to the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings, poured the remainder at the foot of it. He then took the fat of the caul, kidneys, and rump, and burnt it upon the altar, and having prayed for the person, pronounced him pardoned and absolved from his trespass. The flesh of the victim thus offered, belonged to the priest alone; and none other was allowed to eat of it. This ceremony was somewhat more solemnly performed, when the king, high-priest, or the whole nation had committed a trespass; but in the main it was the same.

For legal pollutions, such as we mentioned above, there was added another ceremony of cleansing, namely, the ashes of the red heifer, reserved for that purpose. The ceremony of killing and burning it, as prescribed by Moses, was after this manner: the high-priest was to take care it was without spot or blemish, and that it had never been yoked. It was to be carried out of the camp, where he killed it, and made a seven-fold aspersion of the blood with his fingers towards the sanctuary; then a large fire being kindled, it was flung into it, with its skin, entrails, and

and a bundle of cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet, and burnt to ashes before his face, he himself having helped to cast her into the fire in the presence of the people. The ashes were then gathered and laid up for use, and all that had assisted in this ceremony were unclean until evening. Any person having contracted such pollution, as made him unclean seven days, was to be sprinkled with water, in which some of these ashes had been thrown, on the third and seventh day, on which last he was to be clean ; but if he neglected being sprinkled on the third, he was not to be clean till the tenth day. This law was so severe against those who were polluted by the touch of a dead body, or by coming into the tent or room where it lay, that if they offered to go to the tabernacle, before they had been thus purified, they were to be cut off, as having polluted the sanctuary. The very vessels that were in the place uncovered, as well as the place itself where the corpse lay, were likewise defiled, till sprinkled with this water of separation, as it is called in the text. Some affirm, that the heifer, which was burned by Eleazar, Aaron's son, lasted from the time of Moses to the captivity; others affirm, that there was one burnt every year, and that some of the ashes of it were sent to every city and town in Israel ^b. Whether this sacrifice was to be numbered among the burnt-offerings, which were made for the whole nation, is a dispute among the learned, both Jews and Christians.

Laws concerning some other Sacrifices, and Oblations, not mentioned under the former Heads.

As we have had occasion to mention the sacrifices that were enjoined to be offered upon every solemn festival, under the head of each, and of those which were offered by way of expiation for sin; we shall now mention a few others hitherto undescribed, reducible under the seven following heads. 1. The daily sacrifice. 2. The peace-offerings. 3. Meat and drink-offerings. 4. Offerings for cleansing. 5. First-fruits. 6. First-born. And, 7. Tithes.

The daily, or, as it is called in the original, the continual sacrifice, was performed in this manner. A certain quantity of incense being burned upon the golden altar; the priest offered two lambs of the first year, without blemish, as a continual burnt-offering for the whole nation: these were burnt every morning and evening. They

^b Numb. xix. per tot. Vide Hieron. Epist. xxvii.

offered, likewise, a certain quantity of wine and flour, mixed with oil, for a meat and drink-offering : this was called continual, because it was not to be interrupted by any other sacrifices or solemnity.

The peace-offering was either eucharistical, in acknowledgement of some mercies received from God ; or supplementary, in order to obtain some blessings from him ; or out of mere devotion, in honour to God ; or, lastly, upon account of some vow. These were all free and voluntary, there being no law that obliged the Israelites to make them ; except, where it is said, that they should not appear empty before the Lord ; but be liberal in those kinds of sacrifices, according to their faculties. The votary was to bring the victim to the door of the tabernacle, lay his hands upon the head of it, and kill it ; the priest then took some of the blood, and sprinkled it upon and round the altar, and poured the remainder upon the ground. All the fat of the offering, the kidneys, and if it was a sheep, or lamb, the rump, were burnt upon the altar : the breast and shoulder of the victim were the perquisite of the priest in waiting, and the rest belonged to the owner, who might then dress and eat it, as if it had been killed within his own gates.

The meat and drink-offerings we have already mentioned occasionally, because they used to accompany the burnt-offerings of every festival, the daily, and all other sacrifices made with fire : they consisted of a certain proportion of wine, oil, and fine flour, to every beast that was sacrificed.

Offerings for cleansing we have also spoken of above, under the head of Expiation : two more remain ; namely, that of two pigeons, which a woman was to offer for her purification, after child-bed, in case she could not afford a lamb ; or, if the pigeons were also above her circumstances, an handful of flour and oil : and that of two sparrows, which the leper offered, after his cure, for cleansing himself and his house. In both these cases, one of the birds was, instead of a lamb, for a burnt-offering ; and the other for a sin-offering : the first bird was to be killed in a clean earthen vessel, over a running water ; the priest took the other bird, with a bunch of cedar-wood, scarlet, and hyssop ; then dipping them in the blood, and sprinkling the person or house with it seven times, pronounced them clean : the living bird was let loose. Some portion of flour and oil was likewise made into cakes, and offered up to God, either of barley, or wheat-flour,

hour, some with leaven, which, consequently, came not near the altar; others without it; all of them seasoned with salt. Some were voluntary, others enjoined: some were dressed one way, and some another, according to the discretion or circumstances of the votary.

The next object under this head is the shew-bread, called, in the original, *the bread of faces*, because it was always to stand before the Lord upon the golden table in the holy place. It was to be made of the purest wheat, into twelve loaves or cakes, answering to the twelve tribes. The priests were to take care to bring fresh loaves warm every sabbath-day in the morning; at which time they took away the old bread, which was to be eaten by none but priests: each loaf was to contain two tenth-deals, or about three wine-pints of flour; and they were to be set up in two piles, six to each pile. The Jews tell us, that there were some double plates of gold between each loaf, to give them air, and prevent their growing mouldy. The loaves were without leaven, and perfumed with incense*.

As to the first-fruits, we have already spoken of those that were offered at Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Feast of Tabernacles, in the name of the whole nation: but every private man was likewise obliged to bring the first-fruits of his fields, orchards, and vine-yards, to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, as an acknowledgement, that God was the giver. Neither the time nor the quantity being prescribed by the written law, the former was left to the conveniency of the people, and the latter was determined, in some sort, by their wise men, yet so as to leave room for generosity to exert itself, more or less, according to the disposition of each person. Thus it was agreed, that they ought to offer, at least, the sixtieth part of the product; but some offered the fiftieth, and some even the fortieth part. After the building of the temple, they were all obliged to bring them thither, and the ceremony was performed as follows:

As soon as the person who came to offer them had reached the court of the priests, the Levites began to sing the thirtieth Psalm; which being finished, the person made this confession: "I do this day make a public acknowledgement before the Lord your God, that I am entered into the good land, which he sware unto our fathers that he would give us." In speaking these words, he took his

* Exod. xxv. 30. Levit. xxiv. 5, & seq.

basket off his shoulder, the priest assisting him; and whilst these two held it up, he made an end of his confession, in the remarkable words prescribed by Moses, which the reader may see in the margin (C); which being ended, the basket was set before the Lord by the side of the altar, and he offered the burnt-offering and peace-offering, which were always to accompany the first-fruits. Having paid his devotions to God, he went to feast with his acquaintance, on his share of the peace and meat-offerings: and on this occasion, he was likewise obliged to impart some portion of his good cheer to the fatherless, the widows, and the Levites: an injunction the more willingly obeyed by the rich, who sacrificed a bullock, because they were forbid to leave any fragments to the next day.

With respect to the first-born, the Mosaic law makes a three-fold distinction; namely, the first-born of men, of cattle, and of the product of the earth (D). The word

(C) “A Syrian, ready to perish, was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and so-journed there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous; and the Egyptians did evil-intreat us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our afflictions, our labour, and oppression. And the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand, and stretched-out arm, and with great terribleness, with signs, and with wonders; and brought us into this place, and has given us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. And now, behold, I have brought the first-fruits of the land, which thou, O Lord, hast given me.”

(D) We must remind our English readers, that this expression has no such harshness in the original, as it has in

ours, and other languages; because the word, which in these is rendered *first-born*, is, in the original, *bechor*, which properly implies, *the principal*, or *most excellent* of every thing or creature, in its kind, whether in a good or bad sense. Thus God expresses himself concerning David, “I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth;” where the word means nothing like first-born, in our acceptation of the word. On the other hand, a most ~~terrible~~ death is in Job called, *bechor maweth*, *the first-born of death*. And Isaiah called the poorest, or weakest of all, *bechor dallim*, *the first-born of the weak*. It is therefore probable, that this word was figuratively applied to the first-born, to imply their excellency in strength and dignity, according to Jacob’s expression to Reuben, his eldest son.

first-born of the males, must not be restrained to the eldest son ; for he may be eldest, and yet not first-born ; and therefore Moses adds, " that first opened the womb." So that it was possible among the Jews, where polygamy, and polygyny were allowed, for a man to have several first-born, and all to be redeemed at the price of five shekels, as soon as they were thirty days old ; at which time they were presented to the priest, and the mother offered the sacrifice of her purification, mentioned in a former article ; the price being paid for the child's redemption, he began then to belong to the parents, and not till then (E). How they redeemed them since the destruction of the second temple, is foreign to our present purpose ; the reader may see it in Lco de Modena, and other Hebrew rabbies ; only we may observe, that the children of the priests needed not to be redeemed, at any time.

The first-born of clean beasts, such as calves, lambs, kids, and the like, were also consecrated to God ; but with this difference, that they could not be redeemed, but were to be brought to the tabernacle, or temple, and there killed : the blood was poured at the foot of the altar, the fat burnt upon it, and the rest of the flesh was the priest's perquisite ; with this precaution, however, that if the beast had any natural or legal defects, such as blindness, lameness, the want of a limb, or other mutilation, it was not to be sacrificed : the priest took it home, and there killed and eat it ; and might invite his friends to partake of it, as of any other common meat. But if it was an unclean beast, such as an ass or a dog, the owner was at liberty either to redeem it with a lamb, or with five shekels of money, or to break its neck.

As to the first product of the trees, all that is meant by it is, that every new-planted tree was to be reckoned uncircumcised, and impure, during the first three years, when it was not lawful to gather, much less to eat the fruit. On the fourth year, all that grew upon it was the Lord's, and consequently the perquisite of the priests ;

(E) According to this law, we find the Virgin Mary redeeming her child Jesus : nevertheless, it has been much disputed, whether he was subject to this or not, though he is allowed, by all writers, to have been her first-born ; concerning which question, the reader may consult, among others, the authors quoted in the margin (1).

(1) Cyril. Hierosol. Homil. de occurſ. Dom. Vid. Cornel à Lapid. on Exod. xiii. & Auſt. ab eo citat. Origen. Tertul. Ambros. & al mult.

from whom, however, the owner might redeem it, if he thought fit, by an equivalent; but, from that time the owner was at liberty to use it^g.

The tithes, first-fruits, and redemption of the first-born, constituted the most constant and considerable income of the priests and Levites, though the first is by far the most ancient, as we shall shew in the sequel of this history. In the laws prescribed by Moses, it is ordained, that none of the firstlings of clean animals should be redeemed at any rate, but that they should be all sacrificed to the Lord; and that the first-fruits should not be bought off without paying one fifth part more than the intrinsic value^h. We need not here observe that they were given to them as an equivalent for their not having any share in the division of the land, nor any portion nor inheritance with the rest of the people.

The tithes were of four sorts; namely, 1. Those assigned to the tribe of Levi, of which (as they were not holy things) all that tribe, men and women, clean and unclean, might eat. 2. The tenths of these tithes, which were assigned to the priests, for these last did not gather the tithes themselves, but that office belonged to the Levites, who were not to touch any part of them till they had paid that proportion to the priests, and sent it to Jerusalem. 3. After a layman had paid his first tithes to the Levites, he was obliged to set aside a second tenth, or exchange it for an equivalent in money, with an addition of a fifth part above the value; and this he was obliged to bring to Jerusalem, there to make a feast, and invite, besides his friends and relations, the priests and Levites. 4. The last kind of tithes, which Moses exacted, was to be set by every third year, and consumed in feasts at home, to which the Jews were obliged to invite the Levites, the poor, fatherless, widows, and strangersⁱ.

As Jerusalem became to the Jews, what the camp had been during their abode in the wilderness; those victims, which had been ordered to be burnt out of the camp, were, after the building of the temple, burnt without the walls of the city, to avoid the inconvenience arising from the great number of animals thus slaughtered for the purposes of religion.

^g Levit. xix. 23.
^h iii. 18, 19.

ⁱ Ibid. xxvii. 30, & seq.

ⁱ Deut.

Laws concerning Vows.

Vows constituted a solemn part of the Jewish worship. How soon they began to be in use we shall see in Jacob's vowing the tenths of all his acquisitions, as he went to Padan-Aram: however, we confine ourselves to those under the Mosaic dispensation, concerning which that lawgiver made several regulations, in order to direct and enforce the performance.

*Laws concerning
vows.*

Vows were of a two-fold nature; namely: such as devoted the thing vowed, whether men, beast, money, or any part of a man's possession to the service of God; and such as devoted them to utter destruction. Under the first head, persons, who were *sui juris*, or their own masters, might vow themselves, their children, or any part of their possessions to God. We say *sui juris*, because the vow of a son or daughter, of a wife or a slave, were of no farther force than as they were approved, or disapproved, by those under whose power they were. So that a parent, husband, or master, if he heard the vow, when it was made, or when he came afterwards to be informed of it, was at liberty either to give it a sanction or disannul it; in which last case he was obliged to signify his dissent on the same day, according to the text, or in twenty-four hours, according to the Jewish doctors.

Of persons voweding themselves in this sense, we meet with no plain instance; but of their voweding their children, we have, among others, that of Samuel, who was dedicated to God by his mother's vow, ratified by her husband; and he was accordingly consecrated to God's service. However, in these cases, the law of Moses allowed of a redemption, or commutation for a sum of money, which was either greater or less, according to the age and sex of the person vowed.

The case was quite different with respect to those things which were vowed to destruction, for they could not be redeemed at any rate. That which had life was to be put to death; and that which had not, was to be destroyed by fire, or some other way (P).

What

(P) Thus, for instance, the kingdom of Arad, and the cities of the Canaanites, were under the anathema, and more particularly Jericho; and Achan, and all that he had, fell under the same curse, because

he had saved some of the plunder of that city which was to have been destroyed. As for Jephthah's vow, it was not exactly of the same nature; and authors are much divided about the manner in which it was

What curse Jonadab, the son of Rechab, had laid upon his posterity, if they did not observe his arbitrary injunctions of abstaining from wine, from planting, sowing, and the like, doth not appear; but how strict observers they were of them, we may conclude from their answer to Jeremiah, when he invited them to drink wine¹. We shall conclude this article with a short account of the Nazarites, often mentioned in the Old Testament, who were persons that either dedicated themselves, or were dedicated by their parents, to the observance of the laws of Nazaritism. These were of two sorts; namely, such as limited the obligation to some short space, as a week or a month; and those that extended it the whole life, as Samson and Samuel², who were dedicated by their parents. All that we find peculiar in their way of life was, that they were to abstain from wine, and all intoxicating liquor, and to wear their hair to its full length. As for those dedicated in the other way, they were moreover to avoid all defilement, even that of entering into a house where a dead person was; for if they chanced to be polluted by it before the term was expired, they were obliged to begin afresh. Women, as well as men, might bind themselves by this vow; and after it was accomplished, they presented themselves to the priest, who brought them to the door of the tabernacle, or temple, where they offered the sacrifices prescribed by Moses in such cases; after which ceremony he caused their heads to be shaved, and the hair to be thrown into the fire which was under the sacrifice, and then pronounced them absolved.

Those who lived at such a distance from the temple, that they could not reach it by the time their vow was expired, might shave their heads at what place soever they found themselves, when they set by the price of their

¹ Jer. xxxv. pass.

* Judg. xiii. 5. ² Sam. i. 11.

was fulfilled. The Israelites assembled at Mizpeh, vowed those to destruction that did not assist in punishing the tribe of Benjamin, for their barbarous usage of the Levite's concubine; and Saul would have sacrificed his own son Jonathan, for ignorantly incurring the curse, which he had laid

upon those that should eat or drink whilst he was in pursuit of his victory, had not the whole army strongly opposed his will. By all which instances, and many more that could be brought, it appears, that nothing less than death was the lot of the persons devoted by this kind of vow.

sacrifice,

sacrifice, in order to bring or send it to the temple by the next opportunity. This was the practice of St. Paul, who made his vow at Corinth, shaved his head at Cenchrea, and went, soon after, to Jerufalem, to accomplish it by the usual offering^k.

Laws concerning the Priests, Levites, and Nethinims.

The two last particulars to be considered, under this head of the worship of God, or, as it is commonly called, the commands of the first table, are; 1. The persons, and 2. The things, which were in a more peculiar manner consecrated to his service. Of the first were the priests, Levites, and Nethinims; of the second, the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, with all its pompous apparatus. As to the tribe of Levi, we shall see, in the sequel, how, and upon what account, it was separated from the rest, and appointed to this important office.

*Laws con-
cerning the
priests, &c.*

I. Of the Priests.

The Levitical tribe consisted of three main branches, distinguished by their principal heads, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari; but the priesthood was given solely to the family of Aaron, which was no more than a small branch of that of Kohath, whilst all the rest of it, even the sons of Moses himself, as well as the other two branches, remained in the common rank of Levites, and were only admitted to the inferior functions of the ministry.

At the head of the priesthood was the high-priest, the chief of the Jewish church, and the final judge of all controversies, whether concerning religion or the administration of common justice. This last province seems plainly implied in the directions which Moses gives the people, to have recourse to the priests in all difficulties of that nature, and to abide by their determination under pain of death^l. However, in this respect, he acted rather as a civil judge than as high-priest. The same office extended to the subaltern priests and Levites, who were commonly admitted to sit in their inferior courts of judicature; for it is plain, that the main end, for which they were to set apart, was, to bless the people in God's name, and to offer up incense, and those sacrifices to him, that were prescribed by the law, exclusive of all other tribes^m, under the severe penalties above mentioned.

^k Acts, xviii. 18.

^l Deut. xvii. 8, & seq. xix. 17. xxi. 5. xxii. 10. xxxiii. 20. Ezek. xliv. 24.

^m Numb. xiii. & al.

The laws relating to the high-priest are such as related,
1. To his office. 2. To his consecration. And, 3. To
his dress.

*The high-
priest's of-
fice.*

As to his pontifical authority, besides his having it in his power, whenever he pleased, to perform any of the functions of the inferior priests, and his being alone possessed of the divine oracle of urim and thummim; he was alone permitted to enter the holy of holies, and pronounce that solemn blessing, on the day of expiation, mentioned under that head; all which privileges were confined to him, and entailed on his son and successor, either of his own body or family. There was such a sacred character inherent in his dignity, as obliged him to the observance of several strict laws, from which the rest of the priests were exempt. It was not lawful for him to marry a widow, a repudiated woman, or an harlot; the person whom he took to his bed was to be a pure virgin, and one of his own tribe: he was forbid to put himself into mourning for the nearest relation, or to go into any house where a dead body was: he was farther obliged to abstain from matrimonial commerce during those festivals in which he was to officiate, and also from all food, and other circumstances, which might occasion any defilement. Besides all these, he was, in common with other priests, to be free from all natural defects mentioned by Moses; that is to say, he was to be neither blind, lame, maimed, crooked, or a dwarf; he was to have neither scurvy, itch, nor any disease in his skin, or defect in any of his limbs: as many as had any one of these blemishes, were absolutely excluded from all priestly functions, and from entering into the sanctuary and offering the shew-bread, only they were allowed to live upon a portion of the offerings.

*Consecra-
tion,*

The ceremony of his consecration was performed by Moses, upon his brother Aaron, with a solemnity answerable to the sacred nature of his office.

At the first institution, Aaron and his sons were consecrated at the same time, and with the same ceremonies, though the sons were to continue still in the rank of common priests. This may be the reason, why Eleazar is afterwards said to have been installed into the high-priesthood, by the sole investiture of his father's garments, without any other ceremony; from which circumstance several commentators have concluded, that the rest were

* Levitic. xxi. 10, & seq.

not to be used at the installation of any new high-priest. It is true, we can offer nothing conclusive out of the Mosaic text, to confute that notion; yet, if we believe the ancient Jews, who may be properly enough looked upon as the best judges, they will tell us, that the unction did always accompany the investiture till the destruction of the first temple, when Josiah deposited the sacred oil in so secret a place that it could never be found out after their return from the Babylonish captivity; from which time they began to content themselves with the bare investiture, without the unction. However that be, it seems reasonable to think, that Moses consecrated Aaron's two sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, at that grand ceremony, as the two branches, to which the high-priesthood was confined; as he consecrated, at the same time, all the priestly garments, the tabernacle, and all the sacred utensils of it, which were to be entirely dedicated to the service of God⁴.

The vestments of the high-priest consisted of scarlet, *His dress.* purple, silk, and fine linen, adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones; but as to the fashion of them, all that has been advanced about it, is mere conjecture; because Moses is silent on this subject. Josephus has, indeed, been more particular, in this respect; but he described them, as they were worn in his time; and how far the fashion of them might have altered, during so long a space, and such a variety of circumstances as the Jewish commonwealth underwent, is not easy to guess. The rabbies vary greatly from him, in their description of them; and St. Jerom both from him and them (T).

What

⁴ Vide Selden de Successione ad Pontificat. lib. ii. cap. 9. Basnag. Rep. Heb. lym, i. lib. ii. cap. 7. Levit. viii. 10, &c seq.

(T) They were of two sorts, one made of linen, and common to him and all the other priests; if there was any difference between them, it was, that the former was made of a finer linen, and woven in a richer manner. Those he is supposed to have worn when he went into the holy of holies, consisted of the mitre or turban, long robe, or vest, the drawers and girdle; the others peculiar to him, which he wore upon all solemn days and occasions, were so rich and magnificent, that the Jews called them *ba'ab, vestures of gold,* and Moses styles them the glory and ornament of Aaron. The first was a blue or purple robe which he put over his linen vest; this garment had no sleeves, nor any seam, according to Josephus, being woven, from

What the oracle of urim and thummim consisted in, and how it was consulted, shall be shewn in a more proper place ; and, as to its form and shape (U) we are left

to

top to bottom, with a slit to put his head through. The border of it, which reached almost to his ankles, was trimmed with a rich fringe, to which were interchangeably hung little bells and pomegranates, curiously wrought in pure gold, at equal distances one from another, that by their tinkling, his approach might be the more easily distinguished ; this vest was tied round with a rich girdle, which went twice about his body, and hung down a convenient length before him.

Over this vest was a third, called the ephod, curiously wrought with gold, and other variegated embroidery, not unlike a short coat, about two feet in length ; on the top of it, on each side, were two shoulder-pieces, to which were fastened two precious stones, set in gold, on which were engraven, the names of the twelve tribes, six upon each stone, that he might always have before his eyes, those that were committed to his pastoral care : upon the breast of it, was a vacancy of about half a cubit in length, and a proportionable breadth, on which the breast-plate was to be fastened ; this was a folded piece of the same rich embroidered tissue, on which were set twelve precious stones in gold, on each of which was engraven the name of one of the

tribes ; these were set in four rows, three in each row ; and the whole was fastened at the four corners, those at the top to each shoulder-piece by a golden hook, or, ring, at the end of a wreathed chain ; and those below to the girdle of the ephod, by two blue strings, or ribbands, which had likewise two rings and hooks ; so that the whole might be tied fast to the garment, without danger of falling off ; for these were never to be severed. The Jews tell us, that if the high-priest did, at any time, either through inadvertency, or wilfully, put on one without the other, he was to be punished for it : this ornament is therefore called the memorial, to put him in mind, how dear those tribes ought to be to him, whose names he wore over his breast : it is also called the breast-plate of judgment, because it had the divine oracle fastened to it ; at least the far greatest part of interpreters have so understood the commands of God to Moses of putting the urim and thummim to the breast-plate.

(U) The stones of the breast-plate were divided from each other by the golden partitions into which they were set, and were ranged in the following order ; to which we have added their Hebrew names, together with the tribe that was engraven upon each of them (1).

(1) Vide Exod. xxviii. 17, &c seq.

so much in the dark, that it would require a new urim and thummim to explain it; because Moses has not given us any hint about the matter. Some ancients thought there was a thirteenth stone in the breast-plate, whose extraordinary lustre, and beauty, above the rest, did signify to the high-priest God's approbation or dislike of the thing enquired about^a. And though St. Austin has plainly proved, that there was not the least foundation for such a supernumerary stone, some moderns have not scrupled to add another, in order to answer the two names of urim and thummim. An ancient father, who is followed by a great many moderns, thinks, that these two words were either engraven on a plate of gold, and fixed to a breast-plate, or embroidered, in raised work upon it^b. Most of the Jews, believe, it was the tetra grammaton, written upon a plate of gold, or some other way fixed to the breast-plate; and Le Clerc imagined that urim and thummim were the names of two kinds of precious stones, set in a gold chain, or collar, hung about the high-priest's neck, in imitation of the Egyptians, whose chief magistrate wore a gold chain, at the end of which hung the figures of Justice and Truth, engraven on some precious stone. Spencer, after de Castro, believed, that the breast-plate had two little golden figures, inclosed in a kind of purse, which gave answers viva voce to the questions of the high-priest^c: for this notion he quotes St. Jerome, and Cederenus, among the ancients; Cornelius a Lapide, and Ludovicus de Dieu, amongst the moderns, with some Jewish writers; but Pococke has condemned this as absurd and impious. Philo seems to hint something like it, only with this difference, that he says those two figures, or virtues, namely, Manifestation and Truth, were only embroidered upon it; and it must be owned, that, if there were any such figures, or symbols, it is more reasonable to suppose them, with him, to have been

^a Epiphani. Tract. de xii. Gemmis. ^b Cyril. Exposit. Symbol. ^c Spencer Dissert. de Ur. & Thum.

- | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. Odem. | Sardius. | Reuben. | 7. Lethem. | Ligure. | Gad. |
| 2. Phiterah. | Topaz. | Simeon. | 8. Shebo. | Agate. | Asher. |
| 3. Barketh. | Carbuncle. | Levi. | 9. Achiamah. | Amethyst. | Issachar. |
| 4. Nophek. | Emerald. | Judah. | | | |
| 5. Saphur. | Saphire. | Dan. | 10. Tarshish. | Beryl. | Zebulon. |
| 6. Jahalom. | Diamond. | Naph- | 11. Shohem. | Onyx. | Joseph. |
| | | tali. | 12. Yalphe. | Jasper. | Benjamin. |

only embroidered, than, with Spencer, that they were real figures, whether cast or carved; because this latter seems also contrary to the prohibition in the second commandment. But we see no need of supposing such figures, upon the authority of either; because Josephus, who was also a priest, and may be reasonably supposed to have been as well acquainted with it as Philo, doth not so much as hint any thing like such figures; but makes the oracle to consist in the supernatural brightness of the twelve stones at the time of enquiring. The most reasonable opinion seems to be that of Hottinger, who thinks, that when Moses is commanded to put into the breast-plate, the urim and thummim, which words signify *light* and *perfection*, in the plural; it means only, that he should make choice of the most perfect set of stones, and have them polished, so as to give the most consummate lustre. And this opinion seems most agreeable to what Josephus and Maimonides said of it, except the miraculous lustre, which the former attributes to them, in order to account for the oracle.

The last garment, peculiar to the high-priest, was his mitre, or bonnet. Whether, and how far, it differed in fashion from that of the common priests, Moses doth not tell us, neither is it easy to guess; though their being called by different names, and made, at least of different kinds of linen, inclines us to think, that there was some considerable difference between them, if not in shape, yet in beauty and richness (X). However, the pontifical mitre was remarkably distinguished from the common bonnet

(X) All that we can learn from Josephus, St. Jerom, Maimonides, and others, concerning this ornament, is, that it was a kind of cap not unlike an hemisphere, which, consequently, did not come down lower than the ears, and was wrapped several times about with a piece of fine cotton, or linen, of a considerable length, and tied behind the head with a blue ribband, or string, to prevent its falling off. Josephus adds, that the mitre was covered with another of

fine blue or purple, having a triple crown of gold about it, and that on the top; just in the middle, it had a kind of golden cup turned upwards, resembling the bud of a plant, which he is there very particular in describing. The Jewish priests carefully tied their bonnets on their heads, because it was deemed indecent to appear bare-headed. On the contrary, the greatest token of respect with them was, to be bare-foot; and this is the reason why we find no mention of shoes

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THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN
HIS PONTIFICAL HABIT.

~~bonnet~~ on the golden plate, on which were engraven in Hebrew, the words " Holiness to the Lord." This plate is also called in some other places, a crown, and was fastened to the top-part of the mitre by two blue ribbands, or strings.

thus concerning the Priests.

We have already taken notice, that there were descended from Aaron, the first high-priest, by his two sons Eleazar and Ithamar. Moses indeed, mentions only ^{Laws concerning} ~~priests~~ these two, as being the heads of the two main branches of the priesthood; but it were absurd to suppose, from thence, that they were the only two that officiated under their father; for we find, ^{that} ~~which~~ was already come to years of manhood, ^{the} ~~which~~ which he shewed against the Midianitish ~~selection~~; and probably there were more of age sufficient to perform the priestly functions. These being ~~successors~~ ^{successors} to the high-priest, and of a rank and office superior to the Levites, may be considered in a three-fold view, ^{especially} with regard to their consecration, office, and dress. But all these we shall not need to say much, because there was nothing of pomp or solemnity used in any of them.

Their consecration, ^{it was except that of the sons of} ~~which~~ ^{Their con} Aaron, which we mentioned in a former article, was ~~consecration~~, performed with little or no ceremony. They were first carefully examined, whether they were free from all natural defects and impurities; if so, they were introduced into the court of the tabernacle or temple, where they washed themselves in pure water, preserved there for that purpose; then being dressed in their priestly habit, they were brought to the high-priest, who presented them to the Lord, and after the usual sacrifices prescribed by Moses, that pontiff, or the priest in waiting, sanctified them, or as the original express, filled their hands; by which expression is understood, ^{their} being immediately set about some branch of the priestly function.

shoes or sandals among the though but a straw, between priestly robes, ^{being} all their feet and the ground, ^{were obliged to remove it,} obliged to perform their office bare-foot; in this particular ^{Levi their minister was oblige} they were so scrupulous, that ^{ed null (9).} if they perceived any thing,

(9) Vids Joseph. & Malenoisid.

Officer. Their office, which was severally determined by lots cast at their first coming into waiting, was, either to burn incense, morning and evening in the holy place, or to offer up the daily sacrifice; to kill, dress, and offer up the victim proper for the day; to pour the blood at the foot of the altar; to keep up a continual fire on the altar of burnt-offerings; to light the lamps; and to make and offer the shew-bread upon the golden table. Their time of waiting, was weekly from sabbath to sabbath, and quarterly, according to their classes: the age at which they were to begin to minister, was fixed by Moses at about twenty-five, or thirty years, and ended about fifty^a; but in David's time they were made to serve from the age of twenty^b. Those whom either age or infirmity disabled from ministering, were maintained by the offerings of the altar and other perquisites of the priesthood; and any Levite, that willingly offered himself to serve in the temple all his days, was admitted to the like maintenance^c (E).

^a Numb. iv. 9. viii. 24.
^b Chron. xxiii. 24. ^c Chron. xxxi. 17.

^c Deut. xviii. 6.

(E) Some other important parts of the priestly office were, the instruction of the people, judging of controversies, of leprosy, and other pollutions, causes of divorce, and the use of the waters of jealousy, of vows, and of the fitness or unfitness of victims; blowing the trumpets, in order to proclaim the sabbath, and solemn feasts; the calling of assemblies; sounding to war; encouraging the combatants; and others of the like nature, which have been occasionally spoken of already. But the most sacred part of their function was, the bearing of the ark, preserving the volumes of the law, and blessing the people in God's name. There were likewise some severe injunctions relating to their office, some of which were explicit, and some implicit. Of

the first sort were those which forbade them to make use of any strange fire, of drinking wine or any intoxicating liquors, when they came to minister. They were likewise forbidden to begin any sacerdotal function, till they had first washed their hands and feet. The implicit injunctions were, not to appear in the ministry without their priestly garments, or with any rent in their cloaths, because they were tokens of mourning, or with their hair grown to too great a length, or their heads uncovered. To these the Talmudists have added some others, such as sitting down, whilst they performed any part of their office; making use of the left hand instead of the right (because Aaron and his sons had their right ears, thumbs, and great toes, sanctified

To the Babylonish Captivity.

In David's time, the two families of Eleazar and Ithamar, were, for better order's sake, distinguished into twenty-four classes, according to the number of each family; so that the former being the more numerous, was divided into sixteen, and the latter into eight classes. These took their turns in the ministry; according as it was assigned to them by lot, which was commonly cast before the king, high-priest, and other persons of distinction, to avoid fraud and confusion. All that we shall add, is, that these classes took their names from their heads or chiefs, and continued to be called by them to the end of that commonwealth; and from this the heads of each class came afterwards to be called chief-priests.

Laws concerning the Levites.

These related either to their office, or to their private legs and income; for as to their descent, the choice of their tribe, and their consecration, we have had already occasion to mention all that is material: only with respect to the last of these, it is observable, that this ceremony was begun with sprinkling them with the water of separation, used for purifying those, who had contracted any legal impurity, with shaving their whole body, and washing all their cloaths, before they were presented by the people to the high-priest (F). As for their dress, it was the same with that of the rest of the Israelites.

Their consecration and dress.

fied by the blood of the victims), and others of less consequence (1).

(F) After David had once fixed the ark at Jerusalem, by which time they were become very numerous, he made several necessary regulations concerning their different employments, which continued till the dissolution of the Jewish polity. We have seen above, that they were distinguished into three families, namely, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. To each

of these, which he also subdivided into twenty-four classes, which were to succeed one another weekly in their turns, he appointed their several functions: to one he assigned the assisting the priests at the tabernacle, preparing flour, cakes, wine, and oil, for the sacrifices, and all other services of that kind. The second was appointed to sing and play on musical instruments, at proper periods of the divine service; and the third to keep a constant

(1) Levit. x. 11. Malach. ii. 7. Deut. xvii. 8. & seq. xix. 17. & alib. Numb. v. 13. & seq. Exod. xxviii. 21. Malach. viii. Hammikdash.

The singers king Solomon distinguished from their brethren, by their being allowed to wear a light kind of robe, or surplice, when they were upon duty^a; but the rest did not obtain that privilege, till the reign of king Agrippa, about the year of Christ 62, and about six years before the destruction of the last temple. Josephus adds^b, that the priests highly resented it; and observes, that such innovations seldom passed unpunished. It is true, he calls them singers; but it is plain, he must have been either mistaken or misquoted; unless we suppose, that he there speaks of a particular garment, to be worn by them at all times, as well as at divine service.

Their revenues.

With respect to their revenues, we have chosen to speak jointly of those of the priests and Levites, because they were intermixed together, at least in their main branches, those of the tythes, cities, and some other perquisites. As for what either of them had in particular, it is scarce worth mentioning. The Levites were excluded, by an express law of Deuteronomy, from having any share in the division of the land; and had their portion assigned them out of the tythes, offerings of the altar, and the redemption of the first-born of the Israelites, in whose stead they were substituted: but as it was necessary, that they should have some certain places of abode, as soon as they arrived in the plain of Moab, over-against Jericho, forty-eight cities were assigned them, thirteen of which were to belong to the priests, and the other thirty-five to the rest of the tribe of Levi. The only difference between them was, that the cities of the priests were, for the most part, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and consequently nearer to Jerusalem; whereas those of the Levites were distributed by lot, out of all the other tribes on either side Jordan. With respect to this privilege, which

^a Chron. v. 22.

^c Ant. lib. xx. cap. 3.

guard about the tabernacle, and afterwards about the temple. Over these classes he appointed from among them, proper officers and overseers of several ranks, according to their merit or capacities. He chose likewise men of learning and

piety, to teach and breed up the younger Levites, either to the ministry, or to expound the law to the people; besides those whom he appointed to assist at the courts of judicature of every city (2).

(*) Vide Obad. Bartener, Tract. Cholin, lib. i. sect. 6.

To the Babylonish Captivity.

Some authors extend no further than the bare enjoyment of their revenues, we may observe, that they had power to sell or mortgage them, as well as the other tribes; only with this advantageous difference on their side, that they might redeem them at any time, if they were able; and if not, they reverted to them on the year of jubilee; whereas those alienated houses of the laity, which stood in walled cities, if not redeemed within the year, were irrecoverably lost to the first owner^c.

Laws concerning the Six Cities of Refuge.

These were chosen out of those forty-two, which had been assigned to the tribe of Levi^d. They differed from the asyla of the Greeks and Romans, in that they were designed to protect innocent persons only from the rigour of the law, in cases of involuntary homicide, whereas theirs equally sheltered the guilty and innocent. There is an express command in Exodus with relation to wilful murder, that the guilty person shall be torn even from God's altar to be put to death^e; from which expression, one may naturally infer, that the tabernacle was a sanctuary to the innocent, not only during their wandering in the wilderness, but all the time of their abode in the land of Canaan; at least, the instance of Joab's taking refuge there, seems to imply as much, though his crime excluded him from the benefit of it^f. And indeed, so severe were the Jewish laws against murder, that if it was even committed in a fray, in correcting a servant, or in some other cases, which our milder laws call chance-medley, the guilty person could not pass unpunished. Where the fact was accidental and involuntary, the homicide was condemned to a kind of banishment, till the death of the high-priest for the time being; insomuch that if he ventured out of the limits of the city, it was lawful for any relation of the deceased, either to kill him, or to have him put to death by the hand of justice.

These cities were not only for the Israelites, but for all strangers that either lived among them, or came occasionally. The Jews indeed confine the benefit to those that were proselytes to their religion.

How, where, and by whom, the examination of the man-slayer was made, in order to his being admitted to, or excluded, the benefit of the city of refuge; that is,

^c Levit. xxv. 29, & seqq.
14.

^d Numb. xxxv. 6.

^e 1 Kings ii. 28.

^f Exod. xxi.

The History of the Jews

whether by the next judges of the place where the ~~fact was~~ committed, or by those of the city whither he may fled for refuge, is not certainly known. However, there seems to have been a double trial, one before the judges of the city of refuge, and one before what the text calls the congregation; by which are understood either those of the place where the fact was committed, or perhaps the great council. As soon therefore as a man had been unfortunately guilty of accidental homicide, his first business was to fly with all convenient haste to the next city of that kind. The ways leading to it were to be kept in good repair (N), that nothing might retard his speed. When he arrived at the place, he presented himself to the judges of it, declaring the occasion of his coming, and the manner of his killing the person; and according as his account appeared true or false, he was admitted to, or excluded from, their protection. If the avenger of blood, who was always the nearest relation of the deceased, came to demand justice, he and his evidence were heard, and the judges either confirmed their former sentence in favour of the man-slayer, or delivered him up to be punished. If the fact appeared to be accidental, he was to be conducted to the place where it was committed, and there tried a second time; then, if found innocent, he was reconducted to the place of refuge, with a sufficient guard, and remained free from all further prosecution; and at the death of the high-priest, he was at liberty to return to his own home. This, at least, is what the generality of interpreters conclude to have been the method of proceeding in such cases. However, as the account we have of it from Moses is far from being clear in this point, and the cities of refuge were sometimes at

(N) At every place where the road passed, a post was set up to direct them, which had the word *miklat, refuge*, engraven upon it. Every brook, or river, was to have a good bridge; all watery places were to be drained, and the surface kept smooth and hard. Once a year, at least, the magistrates of every city were obliged to visit them, and see that they were kept in good order; otherwise, in case the avenger

chanced to overtake, and kill the slayer, the magistracy of the place were judged guilty of his death. As for the cities of refuge, they were to be of a moderate extent, well furnished with water, provisions, artists, and all manner of conveniences, weapons excepted. The reason they give for excluding this last was, lest the avenger should, in a fit of anger, make use of them against the slayer.

such

to the Babylonish Captivity.

such distance from the place where the fact was committed, that the man-slayer might be easily overtaken by the prosecutor before he could reach it, we think it, at least, as reasonable to suppose, that he went and surrendered himself to the judges of the nearest place; and having cleared himself before them from the guilt of wilful murder, was, by their order, conducted safely to the next city of refuge, where the magistrates, on a further hearing of the cause, either confirmed or revoked the sentence of the former. It is true, that what we quoted out of the rabbies in the last note, about the conveniences of the roads leading to such places, would be needless in this case; but we look upon their testimony to be very dubious, and in some cases plainly erroneous. Thus the Talmud tells us^a, that those cities were to be situated by rivers, in order to be well supplied with water, and all kind of provision; that access to them was to be easy, and without ascent; and yet it rather appears that the far greater part were built upon rocks. They tell us many other particulars there, which we purposely omit, because they are still more incredible.

Besides these cities of refuge, the tabernacle, as we have partly observed above, and afterwards the temple,^{The altar a place of refuge.} had likewise the privilege of being sanctuaries, especially the altar of burnt-offering^b. The rabbies indeed tell us the latter was only for priests; but we have seen the contrary in the instance of Joab. Those, indeed, who were guilty of wilful murder, sheltered themselves there in vain, and were taken away from the altar to condign punishment. To this end proper judges were appointed there also, whose business it was to make a strict examination of the case, and either to deliver up the criminal into the hands of justice, or send the innocent, under a proper escort, to one of the cities of refuge^c.

The Nethinims constituted the last class of persons dedicated to the service of God. These were not of the children of Israel, but of the Gibeonites, who obtained a treaty of peace of the former by a stratagem. Joshua condemned them to the lowest and most laborious offices in the tabernacle under the Levites, such as drawing of water, and fetching and hewing of wood for the altar^d.

^a Gemar. Tract. Maklot.

^b Vide Philo. Legat. ad Cai.

^c Vide Maimonid. apud Hotting. in Goodw. lib. ii. cap. 5. Note 2. and Commentators in Numb. xxxv.

^d Job. ix. 23. 27.

The History of the Jews

We do not find that this name of Nethinims was given to them till after the captivity, when a small party returned with Ezra, and the rest of Israel from Babylon (O).

II. Of Things consecrated to the Service of God.

These consisted of the tabernacle, the ark, the two altars, the candlestick and its appendages, the table of shew-bread, and the court, with all the utensils there deposited. Moses has bestowed almost as many pages in describing the structure of the tabernacle, and its sumptuous furniture, as he has employed lines in his account of the creation, and yet we are left in the dark with respect to the signification of a great number of its parts and materials.

The tabernacle had many names, but was commonly called by that of Ohel, which properly signifies a tent; and such it was, but so magnificent, both in structure, materials, and utensils, as might inspire the Israelites with an awful idea of their religion. The most costly and precious materials they had brought with them from Egypt, and those other kingdoms, which they had conquered, were liberally bestowed by the people, and put into the hands of the ablest artificers, to be wrought in a manner suitable to the design.

The tabernacle was of an oblong-square figure, thirty cubits in length, ten cubits broad, and ten in height. It had two apartments within, divided by a row of four columns of shittim-wood (P), covered with massive gold,

(O) That name imports as much as *given*; and Ezra says they were given, or appointed, by David and other kings, to serve in the temple under the Levites; and in another place, that they were children of Solomon's servants. So that by this time the name was not confined to the Gibeonites, but was given also to the Canaanites, whom those princes had conquered and converted.

(P) St. Jerom says, this is

a hard smooth wood, free from knots, and of exquisite beauty and lightness; insomuch that the rich used to make screws of it for their presses: that its leaves and colour were not unlike the white thorn, but that it grew to such a height as to be sawed into boards of a considerable length, and that it was not found in the Roman empire, but only in the uncultivated parts of Arabia (1).

(1) Hieron. Comm. in Jos. iii. ad finem.

fixed in the same number of pedestals or sockets of silver. To the tops or chapters of them was fastened, by golden hooks, a rich embroidered curtain, which divided the whole breadth of the place, and distinguished the outward, called the Holy, from the inward apartment, called the Most Holy, or the Holy of Holies. The latter was but ten cubits deep, and consequently square. The other extended twenty cubits, and at the entrance, at the west end, hung a second curtain to another row of five columns, of the same fabric with the former, only the bases of these were of brass; and this concealed the inside of the holy place. The curtain, or the veil, that parted the Holy from the Most Holy place, was made of the richest stuff, both for matter and workmanship; adorned with cherubim, festoons, and other ornaments, curiously embroidered. The whole was enclosed on the north, west, and south sides, with boards of the same wood, covered also with plates of gold, and fixed below and above into sockets, or mortices, like the columns. These boards were ten cubits in length, and one and a half in breadth, fastened to one another by a five-fold row of golden rings, at equal distance, one over the other, five to each board; and through these were run five bars of gilt shittim-wood, which locked, or unlocked them on those three sides. As for the east end, it had no boards, but was sheltered by a veil, like that which divided the two apartments, except that this was only adorned with flowers, leaves, and such like embellishments, of needle-work^a (S).

^a Exod. xxvi. 36.

(S) The tabernacle had four different coverings; the two innermost of a beautiful light blue mohair striped with scarlet and purple, or crimson, and adorned with cherubim. The undermost of the other two was of rams skins, with the wool on, of scarlet dye, and the uppermost of badgers skins, of a light blue. These two last were intended to preserve the others from wind and rain; for which reason they were made to hang down to the ground on the three sides that were boarded, whilst they left the outward veil open to public view, on the west end, which was the entrance into the sacred place. The most holy place had no light but what the censer gave, when the high-priest went into it on expiation day. As for the holy place, it was enlightened by the golden candlestick, with a sufficient number of branches.

The History of the Jews

Of the Mercy-Seat and Ark of the Testimony.

*The ark
and mercy-
seat.*

These were the two chief objects deposited in the most holy place, and the former was as a lid to cover the latter; for which reason some interpreters have fancied, that this was all that was meant by the word kaphoreth. Most versions more properly render it the propitiatory, others the oracle*, and ours the mercy-seat; because God is said to have heard their prayers, to have delivered his oracles from thence, and to have dwelt between the cherubim which covered it. Besides, it is plain, that it had a more than ordinary sanctity attributed to it, and that it was looked upon as the place of God's immediate presence' (T.)

The ark was a small chest made of shittim-wood, and covered with beaten gold, having the same dimensions in length and breadth, as those of the mercy-seat; its height was equal to its breadth that is, one cubit and a half. It is called the Ark of the Covenant, and the Ark of the Testimony; the first, because it was a symbol of the covenant made between God and his people, and contained the two tables of it, the pot of manna, and Aaron's miraculous rod, which were deposited as so many witnesses against every deviation of the people. On each side were two gold rings, and through these were fastened the two bars by which it used to be carried on the priests shoulders.

* Hieron. Vulgat. &c al.

f Sam. vi. 19. n Sam. vi. & seqq.

(T) It was of pure gold; the length of it two cubits and a half, and the breadth one cubit and a half, so that it exactly fixed the dimensions of the ark. It was fitted with the cherubim that over-shadowed it, in a frame, or, as Moses calls it, a crown, not of a round, but oblong-square figure, which closed the upper part of the ark, like a rim or ogee. As to the cherubim, it is certain that they were

made of gold; but whether solid, and cast of the same piece, and in the same mould, with the mercy-seat, as some Jews and Christians render it (2), or only chased and hammered, as the original, which only expresses it by hardened gold, seems rather to intimate, is not worth disputing. They stretched out their wings on high, with their faces turned down towards the mercy-seat (3).

(a) Vide Chald. Paraph. R. Sall. Att. Montan. Tremel. & alib. in loc. ver. 18. (3) Exod. xxv. 20.

Besides

to the Babylonish Captivity.

Besides the ark and mercy-seat, there was still, in this most holy place, the volume of the law, which Moses gave the Levites to deposit by the side of the ark. As to the book itself, we must not suppose that it was the only copy, seeing it would not have been lawful for the high-priest to fetch it out and in but on expiation-day; whereas the public reading of it was to be on the feast of tabernacles. We may therefore suppose with the Jews, that there were several copies of it, and that this prototype was thus carefully preserved to prevent the rest from being corrupted. Lastly, after the ark was brought back from the Philistines, they deposited by the side of it, that little chest with the golden mice and haemorrhoids.

The utensils in the holy place were, the altar of incense, the golden candlestick, and the table of shew-bread.

The altar of perfume is sometimes called the Golden Altar, because, though it was made all of acacia-wood, yet it was so well covered over with that metal, that it looked like a solid piece of gold. It is also denominated the Inner Altar, to distinguish it from that of burnt-offerings, which stood without the tabernacle. Its use was to burn incense morning and night, and to be sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifices, which were offered for sins of ignorance, committed either by particular priests, or by the people in general. It was one cubit square, and two cubits high, so that the smoke had still eight cubits to ascend. Two bars of the same wood, covered with gold, and put through four gold rings, served to carry it about, like the ark, only these might be taken off. There was a golden crown, or ornament, like an ogee, round the top of it, and four horns on the four corners (U), likewise covered with gold.

The

(U) The word *keren* signifies either *a horn*, or *a ray of light*; from which signification, perhaps, as Cunzeus observes, those rays which shone about Moses's face, may easily have been transformed into horns; so that these, on the corners of the altars, might probably be nothing else but ornaments resembling the rays of the sun. However, those who think

them to have been in shape like the horns of an ox or ram, may as probably guess right; since any of these forms might answer the purposes for which they seem intended; namely, in this small altar for the greater ease and steadiness in moving and carrying it about; and, in the great altar, for tying the victims to them, according to the allusion of the psalmist;

The History of the Jews

The author of the second book of Maccabees tells us, that Jeremiah, seeing the captivity approaching, took this altar and the ark of God to Mount Nebo, and hid them in a cave, closing it so artfully, that it could not afterwards be found. The Talmudists affirm, that Josiah, having been admonished by the same prophets, that all the precious vessels of the sanctuary would be carried away to Babylon, deposited the holy fire, the ark, the pot of manna, Aaron's rod, and the breast-plate of urim, and this altar of sacrifice, in a subterranean place, which Solomon, from the time he was cast, had caused to be built, with such extreme care and privacy, that, at the return from the Captivity, they could never be found, nor ever will be, by any people but Jews, till the coming of the Messiah. One thing, indeed, seems reasonable to suppose, that if they had been carried to Babylon, with the rest of the sacred vessels of the temple, they would have been restored to them; but we find, on the contrary, that they were forced to make them anew at their return.

The candlestick weighed a talent of fine gold; and was made of pure beaten gold, all of a piece, without joint or solder. From its trunk or shaft proceeded six branches, three on each side, itself making the seventh in the middle, adorned with cups, knobs, and flowers, alternate and equidistant; and on the top of each was fixed a lamp, shaped like an almond, which might be taken off at occasions, and in these were put the oil and the wick, or the cotton. They had their tongs, or snuffers, to draw the cotton in or out, and snuff-dishes to receive the sparks and sift that fell from the lamps. All these were of pure gold also. It was the priest's business, in waiting every evening, at the time of incense, to go in and light them, and about the same time in the morning to put them out, to clean and replenish them with oil.

The table where we have spoken of above, as for the table on which it stood, it was made of the same wood, and covered with gold like the candlestick; one cubit long and one cubit broad, and one and a half cubits high; with

pillars; and perhaps, like *wiae* (3), which usually accompanied the flaggons of sacrifices (3).

(3) Psal. civiii. 17. Zechar. ix. 15.

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THE GOLDEN CANDLESTIC.

a golden border or crown, which may be supposed to be a kind of rim round it, like that of our tea-tables^f.

The court of the tabernacle was an oblong-square, one hundred cubits in length and fifty in breadth, enclosed on all but the east side, which had an opening of twenty cubits for the priests and Levites, and people to go in and out with their offerings. This enclosure was not designed to conceal what was done in the court, since the curtains that surrounded it were done with a kind of net or point-work, through which even the heathens might have a view of the enclosure. These curtains, which Moses, therefore, calls by a particular name, to distinguish them from those of the tabernacle, whose use was of a different nature, were supported by four rows of pillars, probably of shittim-wood, with brass pedestals or sockets, and adorned with silver fillets, or rather chapiters, for such they were^g.

The altar of the burnt-offerings was placed at the east end of the court; and one may suppose it to have stood at such a convenient distance from the tabernacle, that neither the smoke of its constant fire, nor that of the victims, which were burned upon it, might damage its outward veil. This altar is also called the Outward, to distinguish it from that of incense, which was within the sanctuary. We have already taken notice that it was made of shittim-wood, and covered over with brass. It was five cubits square, and three cubits high; and because it was portable like the other, it had four brass rings, through which the two bars were put when it was carried upon the priests shoulders. It had four horns, at the four corners, of the same wood, and covered with the same metal, but their shape is equally uncertain with those of the other altar. In the cavity of it, which may be supposed to be as capacious as the size of the altar would admit, was hung, by four brass rings, a crofs-bar grate, which reached down to the middle of the cavity, and through this the ashes fell. The grate was to be placed under that part which is generally rendered the compass of the altar; but is variously understood, in order to save the wood from being consumed within the copper-work.

It was on this altar that the sacred fire, which descended from heaven at the consecration of the tabernacle, was to be continually kept. If it be asked how this could be preserved in their marches, when this, and all other utensils, were wrapped up in several coverings, the upper-

*Altar of
burnt-offer
ings.*

^f Exod. xxv. 23, & seqq.

^g Exod. xxxviii. 28.

most of which was of badger's skins, without either burning those coverings or extinguishing the fire, we need not have recourse to miracles, as the rabbies do here and every where else. We may reasonably suppose that the carcob, or vessel, which held the fire, and was to be taken off when they decamped, was carried in such a manner, as to preserve fire enough to kindle a greater blaze, when occasion required, as on the morning and evening sacrifice.

The great laver. The brazen laver is the last considerable utensil that stood in the court of the tabernacle. It was conveniently situated, between the east end of it and the altar of burnt-offerings. Its shape and size not being mentioned by Moses, we can affirm nothing certain of either. It served for the priests to wash their hands and feet, who were expressly forbid, under severe penalties, to presume upon any part of their function till they had performed that ceremony^a; and, secondly, to wash the entrails and legs of the victims^b. Some Jews fancy that there was another reservoir of water for the last use^c; as we find it ordered in Solomon's temple, where the brazen sea was for the sole washing of the priests, whilst there were ten other lavers besides for the cleansing of the victims^d. If this was not the case here, we must suppose, that they only took the water out of the laver into some other vessels, to wash those entrails in; for it was not even lawful for a priest to wash his hands and feet in the same water. For this reason they suppose that the laver had a quantity of cocks, at which the water was set to run upon their feet first, and then upon their hands, and was received into a basin underneath^e. This fountain was to be kept continually replenished with water^f (X).

To

^a Exod. xxx. 19, & seqq. ^b Levit. xxii. 18, & seqq. ^c Kjimch. in loc. ^d 2 Chron. iv. 6. ^e Milan. ap. Arr. Montan. in loc.

(X) Moses tells us, in another chapter, that this brass laver, and its foot, were made of the looking-glasses of the women, that came in crowds to the door of the tabernacle; an expression which has given ground for various speculations; and some interpreters have

even ventured to turn brass, there mentioned, into steel, as if those ancient mirrors had been made of no other metal. For our part, we take it for granted, that they were made of other metals also, such as brass, tin, silver, and the like, and some of brass, mixed with

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THE BRASEN LAVER.

To these particulars we might add a multitude of other furniture subservient to other uses, such as kettles, pans, frying-pans, ovens, shovels, tongs, pickaxes, hatchets, cleavers, knives, forks, tables, tubs, trays, and dishes; all of which are either made of brass, or of wood covered with it; but it is sufficient to have named the most considerable. The charge of all these was committed, the most sacred articles to the priests, and the rest to the Levites, whose business it was to pack and cover them with proper cloths and skins made for that purpose, whenever they removed from one place to another.

These are the principal laws relating to the worship of God, or, as they are called, of the first table; but before we proceed to those of the second, it will be necessary to say something of those which relate to the proselytes (Y).

There

with tin or silver: the last of which, Pliny tells us, were the most esteemed; but we are apt to think, that there is an error crept into the text, or an exchange of one letter for another like it; and that it should be rendered, he made the laver and its foot of a brass like the looking-glasses of the women that crowded about the door of the tabernacle; by which is meant, that he made them either of the same metal, or that he gave them the same degree of brightness or smoothness. And, if what an ancient father tells us, be true, of the Egyptian women, that they used to go into the temple with a looking-glass in one hand and a timbrel in the other, it will still give us a greater light into the meaning of the Hebrew women wearing such an ornament when they came to the tabernacle (4).

(Y) The text distinguishes them only by the words ger,

a traveller, or sojourner; and neker, a stranger, or alien. However, we may make a three-fold distinction of them; namely, of such as continued still in their idolatry, and the religion of their fathers; such as had renounced it to worship the only true God, but remained still uncircumcised, or bound themselves, as the Jews pretend, only to the observation of the Noachid law; and lastly, those who by circumcision were bound to observe the law of Moses, and were entitled to the same privileges with the Israelites. It is true, they were not to suffer any of the first sort to live among them; but it is plain by the sequel that they became extremely remiss and negligent in this respect, and were often reproved for it by the prophets. The second sort were called gare hashahar, strangers of the gate, from the expression often used in the Pentateuch, "the

(4) Vide Exod. xxxviii. 8. Tremel. in loc. Cyril. Alexand. de Adorat. in Spirit. lib. ii. ap. Calm. sub voc. Miroir.

There was an express command of God, that, if any stranger was desirous to be admitted to eat of the Passover, he was first to be circumcised; then he was to be admitted, not only to the grand solemnity, but to all the other religious privileges, in common with the Israelites^b. Of this number was a great part of the mixed multitude, which came with them out of Egypt, and of the conquered inhabitants of Canaan. And indeed the condition of those who became circumcised was so much preferable to that of those who continued in their old religion, that the number of the former increased very much; and this increase is supposed to have put the selfish Jews upon the distinction between proselytes of the gate, and proselytes of righteousness; the former of which continuing uncircumcised, and being bound to observe only the precepts of Noah, were kept in a state not many degrees better than slavery. We find no less than a hundred and fifty-three thousand and upwards of this kind in Solomon's time, who were all employed in the most servile and laborious works^c. But because this would have proved a most effectual way to have made them embrace the Jewish religion, in hopes of bettering their condition, the Jews tell us that they admitted few, if any, especially in the happy reigns of David and Solomon, lest they should be induced to conform only from worldly ends^d (Z).

Moses made likewise some difference between nation and nation, with respect to their admission into what he terms the congregation of the Lord. The Edomites were received after the second generation, because they were

^b Exod. xii. 43. Numb. ix. 14.

^c 1 Chron. ii. 17, 18.

^d Maimon. Vide Seld. de Synedr. Buxtorf. Synagog. & alib.

stranger that is within thy gates." But when any of either sort became circumcised, they were then distinguished by the name of gare habereth, strangers or proselytes of the covenant, and gare zedek, proselytes of righteousness.

(Z) The Talmud compares those proselytes to the rust in iron, or ulcers in the body; and adds, that too much caution could not be taken in the admission of them. For this

reason they add, that they were refused three times; but if they persisted in their desire of being admitted, they were then to be circumcised before two or three sufficient witnesses; to be baptized, in order to wash away the filth of heathenism; and lastly, to offer up the usual sacrifices for sin, &c. after which they were received as servants of the God of Israel.

brethren;

brethren; and so were the Egyptians, because Israel had been a stranger in Egypt. The Moabites and Ammonites, on the contrary, were not to be admitted till after the tenth generation, as some understand the text, or, according to the letter of the original, not even after the tenth generation; because, instead of receiving the Israelites with hospitality, they hired Balaam to curse them (A). Bastards, and all illegitimate issue, were under the same exclusion (B). The Amalekites, as well as eunuchs

(A) The Jews observe, that Moses expresses himself only in the masculine, *Ainmoni*, and *Moabi*, *a man Ammonite*, or *Moabite*, to intimate, that he did not mean to exclude a woman from being admitted upon some extraordinary account. For Ruth, though a Moabitess, was, for her extraordinary piety, married to Boaz, the great grandfather of David. But this is not the only instance of their admitting persons expressly excluded by that law-giver.

(B) The original word is *mamzer*, by which the Jews generally understand, not only all kind of incestuous and adulterous issue, but likewise children begot in fornication; and even in wedlock, when either of the parents were Canaanites, or of any idolatrous nation, and unconverted. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and the canonists, take it to signify only the son of a prostitute. The truth is, the right meaning of it cannot be fixed, because it is used only in this place, and in Zechariah; but in neither is explained by the context. What has induced the Jews to understand it of incestuous, and other unlawful issue, is that the *mamzer* is mentioned just before, and put upon the same

foot with the Ammonites and Moabites, who were born in incest; but if that were the case, how came the two sons of Judah, Pharez and Zarah, whom he had by his daughter-in-law Tamar, not to be reputed spurious? If it be said he knew her not, yet it is plain she knew him; and the Jews pretend, that either in incest or adultery, though neither party be conscious, as when a woman, believing her husband long since dead, marries another, or vice versa; yet the issue of such marriage is *mamzer*, or *spurius*; so that according to this canon, those two, and their posterity, ought to have been excluded. Again, as to the children of whoredom, it is plain they have not always been rejected, since Jephtha, who was both judge and general in Israel, was the son of a concubine. We must therefore suppose, either that these were particular cases excepted, or, which is most probable, that *mamzer* signified something different from either of these; perhaps the children begot by a Hebrew upon a Canaanitish or any idolatrous woman, in order to deter them from such unlawful mixtures, by the consideration, that the issue of them must be excluded.

eunuchs of all kinds, were totally excluded ; the former, because they were under the divine anathema ; and the latter, because their condition was accounted a legal defect^k (C).

Laws of the Second Table, concerning the Jewish Government, and the Customs relating to it.

The patriarchal government becoming impracticable, by reason of its being branched into so many families ;

* Exod. xvii. 14. & seq. Vide Levit. xxi. 20.

excluded from all the privileges of the Israelitish commonwealth, both civil and religious ; but whatever it meant at first, the Jewish canonists, according to their usual rigour, have extended it, not only to all illegitimate issue, but even to that whose legitimacy is any ways doubtful (1).

(C) What is meant by "not entering into the congregation of the Lord," is not precisely known ; some understand by it, their being denied admittance into the Israelitish commonwealth by circumcision ; and others, their being only excluded from places of authority. This last opinion is the most probable, and most received among Christian interpreters. The Jews, however, understand it of contracting affinities and intermarriages with the Israelitish women ; for it was a received maxim among them, that the children followed the quality of the mother. Every proselyte of righteousness was obliged to circumcise all the males, and

baptize all the females, in his family, under the age of thirteen ; but those who were above that age might chuse whether they would submit to it, or remain in their own religion. On the other hand, those under thirteen could not be admitted to proselytism, without the consent, either of their parents, or, in case of their refusal, that of two or three judges. In this case their admission was looked upon as a new birth, and their parents were no longer esteemed as such ; insomuch, that they believed these kind of new converts received new souls after baptism. We find several other regulations concerning the prerogatives of these proselytes in the Talmud, and other Jewish writings, which we shall not dwell upon ; but shall only take notice, that their admission did so totally cancel all former ties either of blood or alliance, that even parents and their children might intermarry without committing incest (2).

(1) Seld. ubi supra, & de Jur. Nat. & Gent. lib. v. cap. 16. & Lib. de Success. Bon. lib. ii. & alib. pass. Munst. ubi supra, & Al. It. Præc. Neg. 117. (2) Vide Seld. ubi supra, & de J. N. & G. & Jac. Aiting. Disput. de Proselyt. Leo de Moden. part v. cap. 3. Calm. sub Voc. Proselyte, & al,

and the precepts of Noah, or rather the laws of nature, being, perhaps, partly forgot, and partly corrupted, during the Egyptian thralldom ; God was pleased to declare, that himself would be their king, and appoint proper vicegerents, from time to time, under whom the heads of families should govern, and administer justice, in exact conformity to his laws. Moses was declared the first vicegerent ; and "gave a law, or rather a body of laws, and an inheritance, unto the congregation of Jacob, and was king in, or over, Jeshurun, that is, over Israel (D), when the heads of the people, and the tribes were gathered together ;" that is, as we understand the original, when the divided power of the heads of tribes and families centered in one head. To him succeeded Joshua, the judges, and lastly the kings ; but still by God's appointment.

With respect to the latter, we find nothing in the whole body of the Mosaic laws, to enforce an obedience to them, except the command, " Honour thy father and thy mother ;" which alluded most likely to the patriarchal government ; and a direct prohibition against cursing the rulers of the people ; whereas there are several very express laws to restrain the kings from abusing their power, and oppressing their subjects. Of this nature are those that exclude all strangers from being raised to that dignity ; that forbid a king of Israel to multiply horses, wives (E), or riches, and to marry strange women ; that oblige him to write a copy of God's law, to read and meditate upon, and to govern himself by it, without deviating from it to the right or left ; that enjoin him to make choice of persons of wisdom and integrity to be judges over the people ; so that they had no other enforcement for the people's obedience and loyalty, than their free promise and oath of allegiance ; whilst they themselves were tied to their just and equitable government, not only by their oath, but

(D) The word Jeshurun is derived from *jašbar*, *to be righteous* ; which name is given them, not so much for their righteousness, as for that of their progenitors, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

(E) What the Jews understand by multiplying wives, is, that he shall not have above eighteen at a time, that is, two

more than David had, who is recorded to have had but fifteen ; and by multiplying horses, they understand, having more than served him, and his retinue ; but we shall shew, that if there was any such oral law, Solomon made very light of it in either case, even from the very first year of his reign.

by the most strict and severe injunctions and menaces from the Divine Being.

Nevertheless they looked upon themselves as accountable to God only; it is plain from their history, that they made no scruple of transgressing the law in numberless instances; and their power was so great, that none dared to controul them, or even reprove them, except such prophets as were commissioned by God for so doing. Their being anointed, at least in the beginning (F), by some celebrated prophets and appointed sovereigns of a nation, which the Scripture styles a royal priesthood, gave them a full power, not only in matters purely civil and military, but in ecclesiastical affairs also (G). What profound

(F) The Talmudists tell us, that the immediate heir of a king, who had been anointed, was himself proclaimed king, withoutunction, especially in the family of David; and that the ceremony was only used, when a younger son was preferred to the eldest, as in the case of Solomon. One thing is certain, that the custom of consecrating any thing to God, by this profusion of oil, is very ancient, as appears from the instance of Jacob's anointing the pillar of Beth-el. How much earlier it began, and how introduced, is impossible to guess; but it is plain, that it continued in use, during the whole Mosaic dispensation, in the dedication both of men and things to the immediate service of God. Of the first kind were the kings, priests, and prophets; and of the second, all the sacred utensils of the tabernacle (1).

(G) This is indeed denied by many divines, who think, that they never exercised any

authority in the latter, as kings of Israel, but as prophets, and inspired persons, such as were David and Solomon. But the contrary plainly appears from the reformations and regulations, which Hezekiah, Jehoshaphat, Josiah, and others made, who were neither prophets nor inspired persons. We have already taken notice, that they had power to consult the oracle or urim; and, indeed, they were commanded so to do upon all emergencies, as well as the grand council, or sanhedrim, over which they presided, whenever they pleased to assist at it (2). David, after he had been anointed king, even in Saul's time, consulted the divine oracle concerning the success of his undertaking (3). They had likewise the absolute power of life and death; and though, according to the law of Moses, no man was to be put to death, till he had been convicted before proper judges, and upon the evidence of at least two or

(1) Vide Gen. xxviii. 18, & seq.
Melakim, cap. 2.

(2) 1 Sam. xxx. 7, 8.

(3) Vide Maimon. Halak.

profound respect was paid to the regal dignity, appears both from the submissive language with which the kings were addressed¹, and the humble manner of approaching them; insomuch that even queens and prophets prostrated themselves with their faces to the ground before them, as Nathan and Bathsheba did to David².

Laws and Customs relating to Judges and Courts of Judicature.

We need not speak here of those judges, emphatically *Courts of judicature.* so called, who governed Israel from Joshua to Saul; these, as we are taught, were appointed, from time to time, by God himself, entirely governed by his laws, and in doubtful cases by his Spirit: they had the supreme authority during life, and differed in nothing from kings, but in title, pomp, and grandeur. They could make peace and war, summon the tribes to arms, and consult God by urim and thummim. The people repaired to them for judgment, and they took yearly circuits through the land, to administer justice; but whether this circuit was undertaken to afford opportunity of appeal from the judgment of inferior courts, as the dernier resort, or in order to decide doubtful cases, is not easy to determine.

But, besides these, Moses, and after him, those who directed the Israelitish commonwealth, were commanded to appoint a number of judges and magistrates in all cities, to administer justice to the people in every tribe. We find several denunciations against those, who should suffer themselves to be bribed to act contrary to the strict laws of justice; but as they were appointed by the kings, their

¹ Sam. xxv. 23, & seqq. & ver. 40, & seqq. ² Sam. xiv. pass. xxiv. 3, & alib. ⁴ Kings, i. 16, 23.

three witnesses; yet we meet with frequent instances of persons put to death by the sole will of the prince. The case may be presumed to have been the same with respect to property, by the instances of Mephibosheth, and his servant Ziba⁽⁴⁾, and others of the like nature. From that of Naboth⁽⁵⁾,

we may likewise conclude, that in some cases, the estates of persons condemned devolved to the king; but from the laws lately mentioned against oppressing the subjects, it appears rather to have been a tyrannical usurpation, than any established prerogative.

(4) 2 Sam. xix. 29.

(5) 2 Kings, xxi. passim.

virtue rose or fell, according to the character of the sovereign.

These courts were held at the gates of the cities; but how they were kept, or how many judges belonged to each, whether power was equal, or some were subordinate to others, cannot be learned from Scripture. In process of time, they became so corrupted, that the prophets were often obliged to exclaim against them. One of them having been sent to Jehoshaphat, to denounce God's heavy judgment against Israel for those abuses, that good king immediately set about making a thorough reformation, appointing new judges in every walled city, some of whom were of the tribe of Levi, and charging them, in the most pressing terms, to be more watchful and upright than their predecessors. He likewise appointed two tribunals for the city of Jerusalem; one, consisting chiefly of priests and Levites, for matters of religion; and the other, which was mostly made up of the heads of families, for matters of state. In this condition they are supposed to have continued till the captivity, abating that, as the princes became more and more wicked, so did the judges under them, till God was provoked to drive them out of the land (H). Those tribunals took cognizance of all civil

(H) Besides the grand council of seventy, to which, the Jews pretend, all other tribunals, throughout the land, were subordinate; the Talmudists tell us, there were two other courts, one consisting of three, and the other of three and twenty judges; and these were constituted in every city and town that had one hundred and twenty inhabitants, according to some, or so many families, according to others. The first of these courts was only chosen pro re nata, one arbiter by each party, and the third by the other two: their cognizance extended no farther than to small matters, such as servants wages, petty larcenies, restitution, and the like; neither could they inflict a heavier punishment

than scourging. That of twenty-three was allowed to judge of all capital causes, and to condemn criminals to death: if there arose any difference in their judgment, the cause was carried by the majority; for which reason they say, their number was to be odd; but in cases of moment, and of a dubious nature, the high-priest was to be consulted. If a man was condemned to death, he was immediately led to execution; a crier walked before him, proclaiming the crime he was to die for; to the end that, if any person knew anything towards his exculpation, he might be brought back to the judges, and have a second, and, if occasion offered, a third hearing. The same indulgence

civil and criminal cases, even where the offence was of a religious nature; such as idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, and sacrilege; for which reason the priests and Levites were

gence was allowed him, if he complained of being unjustly condemned, whilst he went to the place of execution; in which case, he was to chuse two wise men to plead for him, and, if possible, to obtain a reversal of the sentence; but if in neither case he could prove himself innocent, he was then to be forthwith executed by the witnesses; for it is here to be observed, that, if the crime was such as deserved hanging, the criminal was first to be stoned to death, and then hanged. But, before execution, he was to be exhorted to confess his crime, and to pray that his death might atone both for it and all his other sins: then they gave him a dose of wine mixed with myrrh, or frankincense, to stupify him; after which he was put to death. If he was to be hanged after it, as in cases of idolatry and blasphemy, they stayed till about an hour before sun-set, then tied his hands behind him, and hoisting him up, let him hang till just before sun-set, at which time he was taken down, and both the halter, and the gallows, or tree, were buried with him. They except, however, out of the cognizance of these courts of twenty-three, all cases, whether criminal or civil, which related to the high-priest, to a whole tribe, and to false prophets, which, they pretend, were only to be tried by the grand council. The

twenty-three judges sat in the form of a half-moon; in the centre of it was the president, whom they call nassi, or prince; having the ab betli din, or father of the senate, at his right-hand; the rest sat on each side, according to their seniority, or merit. At each end was a clerk, or secretary, who took the depositions in writing: some add a third, whose office was, to gather the votes of the court; at the feet of the judges sat their disciples in three rows or forms, whose business was, to observe every thing that was said or done; and these were chosen to succeed those on the bench, either at their death, or when they became unqualified by old age, or any other impediment. The accused person was placed upon an eminent place in the court, that he might be easily seen by all; and the witnesses stood fronting him; these were to be diligently examined, and their character enquired into; and if any flaw was found in it, they were set aside; but if any was found to give false evidence, the talion law was his portion; that is, he was condemned to the same punishment as his evidence would have brought upon the innocent. The soterim, that is, the officers or executioners, were also to attend the court constantly, with rods and leather scourges in their hands, to execute the sentence of the judges; the accused person

were appointed to assist, if not to preside in them. The next in authority to the magistrates were natural parents; to be honoured and obeyed in a most particular manner^f. St. Paul observes, that this is the first command with promise; and the punishment of disobedient and wicked children was no less severe. It was death for any person to curse or strike his parents, or even to continue in a stubborn disobedience to their commands. In this last case they had power to inflict any punishment but death upon them; and if that proved ineffectual, they might then bring and accuse them before the judges, who, upon full proof, were obliged to condemn them to death, without mercy or delay. And now we are upon the subject of punishments, it will not be improper to conclude this article with an account of those which were either appointed by the Mosaic law, or inflicted at the arbitrary will of the prince.

*Punish-
ments.*

Of the first kind were fines, by way of compensation for wrongs, theft, and fraud. Selling for slaves those who were not able to pay their debts, or make satisfaction for any injury committed. The talion law, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe," and flagellation, but the number of stripes was not to exceed forty. The capital punishments were of four kinds; stoning, burning, beheading, and strangling. Stoning was the most usual; and when the law condemned a person to death, without naming the species, this was always understood to be meant. The crimes punished by this kind of death were incest, sodomy, bestiality, ravishing a betrothed virgin, or even her defilement, though by consent; blaspheming, sabbath-breaking, witchcraft, idolatry, enticing others to

^f Exod. xx. 12. Deut. v. 16. & alib.

person was likewise allowed a counsellor to plead for him, who was called *ba hal rib*, *the master of the process*; and he stood on the right hand. After a full hearing, the votes were gathered and examined; and, according to them, the person was either absolved, or condemned, in words to this purpose; "Thou, Simeon,

art innocent;" "Thou, Judah, art guilty:" if the latter, and his crime was capital, he was immediately put into the executioner's hands, and led to execution; but if the crime was such as only deserved scourging, it was forthwith performed before the whole court (3).

(3) Vide de his Mischn. Tract. Sanhedr. cap. v. Maim. M. Kotz. & al.

idolatry, rebellion against parents, and offering one's seed to Moloch. For some of these last the criminal was likewise hanged, after he had been stoned to death. With respect to the place and manner of execution, the malefactor was carried out of the city, and after he had confessed his faults, the witnesses came and laid their hands upon his head, saying aloud, "Thy blood be upon thee," and threw the first stone; then the rest of the spectators helped to execute the sentence^g. This practice, however, must be understood of regular cases, for there were others of an irregular nature. A blasphemer, idolater, adulterer, was stoned upon the spot without further trial. But these ought rather to be looked upon as the effects of licentious fanaticism, though encouraged under the specious title of Judgment of Zeal, founded upon the action of Phinehas^h, of which we shall speak in the sequel of this history. Burning was a punishment used before Moses, as appears by Judah's condemning his daughter-in-law to the flames. The Mosaic law adjudged the daughters of priests to be burned for incontinencyⁱ; and Achan was condemned to be stoned and burnt for sacrilege^k. These are the only two instances in which that punishment is mentioned. The Jews tell us, also, of some other crimes which were punished with it, particularly some kinds of incest^l. They add, that it was two-fold; namely, burning with fire, and with melted lead poured down the criminal's throat^h.

Beheading, according to the Jewish doctors, was only inflicted on murderers and idolaters; but we find nothing like it practised before the captivity, in a judicial way (I).

But

^g Deut. xvii. 7. ^h Numb. xxv. 6. & seq.

ⁱ Levit. xxi. 9.

^k Josh. vii. 28.

^l Mof. Kotz. in Tract. Sanhedr. cap. i.

(I) The text makes no explicit intention of strangling; but the Talmudists reckon six sorts of criminals that were condemned to it; namely, those that struck their parents; men-stealers; the priests that refused to conform to the determination of the court; false prophets, or those who prophesied in the name of false gods; he that defiled another man's bed; and he that had

criminal conversation with a priest's daughter. The criminal being immersed in dung to the knees, two executioners tied a napkin about his neck, and twisted it till he was quite suffocated. All kinds of criminals were buried apart by themselves, and on the same day, together with the instruments of their death, whatever they were, to blot out as much as possible, the remembrance of

*Excommu-
nication.*

But the most dreadful of all punishments, though not capital, was excommunication, especially that which they call shematta (K), answering to the Syrian maran-atta, used by St. Paul^a, which signifies, in both tongues, *the Lord comes, or is at hand*^b. Enoch, the seventh from Adam, is supposed the author of it, because St. Jude quotes that saying of his, “Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints to execute judgment (L)”.
Laws

^a 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

^b Ver. 14

of it. Crucifixion was not a Jewish, but a Roman punishment (1).

(K) The Jews reckon three kinds, or rather degrees, of excommunication. The first they called niddui, from *nadab*, to separate, or put from one; so that this word was indifferently used to express those that were separated for any uncleanness, or crime that came within this degree of excommunication. The time of its lasting was limited to thirty days; and yet the delinquent could either shorten it, by doing penance, or lengthen it by stubbornness, even to the end of his life. In this last case his children could not be circumcised; and, if he died impenitent, the judge ordered a stone to be thrown into his coffin or bier, to shew that he deserved to have been stoned.

The second degree they called cherem anathema; and this, they pretend, was more severe than the niddui, because it excluded the person from the synagogue, and from all civil commerce, which the other did not. But Selden has proved, that there were really but two kinds of excommunication, the lesser and the greater; and that the terms

niddui, cherem, and shematta, were used indifferently. The last, however, according to them, was this shematta, proclaimed by the sound of four hundred trumpets, as practised at the cursing of Meroz by Deborah. A person so excommunicated was never received again into the congregation; and some pretend, that it was even lawful to put him to death. For this reason they derive the word from *sham*, there, and *mattah*, death. In our opinion it is derived from two Hebrew words signifying the name, and at hand; and this answers to the Syriac *maran-atta*, which bears the same sense. As for the crimes to which these excommunications were annexed, and the manner of pronouncing them, or of absolving those that had incurred them, the reader may consult Selden and Buxtorf, or the learned Hottinger. (2).

(L) The Jews fetch the origin of it both from those frequent expressions in the Mosaic writings, “That Saul shall be cut off from Israel;” and “thou shalt put away evil from the midst of thee;” and more particularly from the words in Deborah’s song,

* (1) Vide Tract. Sanhedr. ubi supra,
Poenitent. p. 49, & seq.

(2) Diff. Hist. Theol. de

“ Curse

Laws against Murder.

Moses tells us, that, from the time of the flood, murderer could not be expiated but by the death of the murderer^c, whatever might be the punishment of it before that time. God not only forbade this crime in the Decalogue^d, but appointed avengers to punish the guilty person wherever he should be found: he permitted him to be torn from the most venerable sanctuaries to condign punishment; and expressly forbade both the avenger and judges to make any composition^e (M). As soon as the judges, who lived near the place where a man was found murdered, were informed of the fact, they were to examine what town was nearest to it, and to summon the elders of that city, who were thereupon obliged to bring an heifer, that had never been yoked, and to drive her into a rough uncultivated valley, and there strike her head off; these, and the priests, were then to wash their hands over her, and to profess that their hands had not shed this blood, neither their eyes seen it done; after which ceremony, they were to pray to God not to lay it to their charge^f (N).

Laws

^c Gen. ix. 6. ^d Exod. xx. 13. xxi. 12. Deut. v. 17. Levit. xxiv. 17, & al. ^e Numb. xxxv. 31, 32. ^f Deuteronom. xxi. 1.

"Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants of it." But without enquiring into the validity of these subtle etymologies, we find a more express form of it in Ezra and Nehemiah, who excommunicated all those who refused to repudiate their strange wives, and exacted an oath from the people, to avoid all affinity and commerce with them.

(M) The only cases, therefore, in which one man might lawfully kill another, were,
1. When the avenger of blood found a man-slayer out of his place of refuge.
2. In a man's own defence.
3. In defence of a brother Israelite. And,

lastly, an infant might likewise be destroyed to preserve the life of the mother. To these the Jews add, that which they call the Right of Zeal, by which it was lawful for any number of men to fall upon a person who was caught in any abominable fact, such as blaspheming, or offering his seed to Moloch, and to kill him upon the spot. Thus the Levites went out, and killed three thousand of the worshippers of the golden calf; and Phinehas punished an abominable whoredom with death. Thus was the life of the individual left at the mercy of an ignorant and frantic multitude.

(N) Wherever we find se- vere

Laws against Adultery, and all other unlawful Commerce of Sexes. The trial of Adultery, or Waters of Jealousy; concerning Marriage and Levirate.

Against adultery.

Incest, rape, sodomy, and bestiality are forbid by other express laws, under pain of death, as well as adultery. As for fornication, though it was not made capital in some cases, yet it was forbid by several laws: the difference was, that any woman, who ventured to marry in the character of a virgin, and proved otherwise, was to be stoned; whereas, if a man deflowered a virgin, he was to pay her father fifty shekels of silver, and to marry her, without having it in his power to put her away in the sequel. Adultery was punishable with death in both parties, whether they were both married, or only the woman; but we cannot affirm the punishment of a married man to have been the same, who committed adultery with an unmarried woman; for, besides that the crime was not alike with respect to society, it is plain, that Moses was forced to indulge them in some other particulars as unjustifyable as this; such as polygamy and divorce, which are justly condemned in the Gospel. However, with respect to the wives, as there was a necessity that they should be kept under stricter ties, to prevent strange mixtures in families; so, in order to deter them from all unlawful liberties of that kind, as well as to prevent those that were innocent from being unjustly suspected, and ill-treated by their jealous husbands, recourse was had to the Waters of Jealousy, with the promise of a constant miracle, by which the guilty should be punished in a very dreadful manner, and the innocent cleared with applause.

Waters of jealousy.

When a man had conceived a mistrust of his wife's continuity, he was to bring an offering for her, peculiar to this case; namely, a cake made of barley-meal, without oil or incense, and to put it into the hands of the priest; at the same time he brought his wife also, and declared what grounds he had for suspecting her; the priest then

were laws enacted against particular crimes, we may presume those crimes prevailed to an uncommon degree. The Israelites were cruel; and it was

necessary, therefore, to enact such laws, for the purpose of society, as might, in some measure, supply their natural want of humanity.

took

took the accused woman before the Lord, either to the tabernacle or temple, uncovered her head, and put the offering into her hand, whilst he himself took some holy water, impregnated with wormwood, or some such bitter herbs, into which he put some of the dust of the floor, or pavement, together with the words of the curse, written at full length, importing, that if she had been guilty of defiling her marriage-bed, those waters should swell and burst her belly, and rot her thigh; but if she was innocent, they should have no power to hurt her. These words he first read to her aloud, and, if she persisted to go on with the trial, she answered Amen. He was then to blot out the words of the curse in the bitter water, for they were written with a kind of ink which could easily be washed away; then he gave her the water to drink, whilst he took the offering, or cake of jealousy, out of her hand, and waved it to the Lord, and burnt part of it upon the altar; if she was guilty, it was supposed that the water would burst her belly, and rot her thigh, and that she would immediately expire. When no such effects ensued, she was declared innocent, and the husband cherished her the more, for having given him such an eminent proof of her chastity^(O). This ceremony might have been instituted only in terrorem, and yet prove very effectual, both in keeping the wives within the bounds of conjugal fidelity, and the husbands from too lightly suspecting them of a breach of it; especially when corroborated by another circumstance, which the Jews mention, that these waters could have no effect upon the wife, how guilty soever, if the husband had likewise been guilty of transgressing the laws of wedlock^f. Whether the Israelites had seen any such custom in Egypt, or in any other nation, which they thought it expedient to imitate in this particular, we will not affirm; but it is plain, that almost every country, on the face of the earth, has since, had a kind of trial, or ordeal, not only for cases of incontinency, but almost for every crime.

Moses contented himself with restraining the Israelites *Marriage*, from marrying within certain degrees of consanguinity,

^e Numb. v. 24, & seq.

^f Seld. de Synadr. & Uxor. Heb. Buxtorf, Munk. in Numb. v. Basnag. Rep. Heb. lib. i. cap. 12.

(O) This is all that we find in the Mosaic law. The Talmudists have added several other circumstances relating to this ceremony, which we should be loth to warrant.

which had, till then, been permitted, to prevent their taking wives from among the idolatrous nations, with whom they lived. This was the reason which Abraham gave for chusing a wife for Isaac from his own kindred^a: and his descendants followed his example, till they became exceedingly multiplied. By the law of Moses, the degrees of consanguinity within which no individual could marry, were these: a father or mother; father, or mother-in-law; the brother or sister of one's father or mother; a grandson or grand-daughter; an uncle or aunt; a son or daughter-in-law; two brothers or sisters by the mother side; because the Jews looked upon this consanguinity to be greater than the paternal degree, perhaps from a belief, that the mother contributed most to the generation of the child^b; a brother or sister-in-law; the husband or wife of an uncle or aunt; the father and son, or mother and daughter, either together or one after the death of the other^c. The breach of any of these institutions was deemed incestuous, and punished with death. As for the other laws relating to matrimony, they seem to be taken from the practice of the patriarchs (P).

The same remark may be made on the law called the Levirate, which obliged a man, whose brother died without issue, to marry his widow, and to raise up seed to his

^a Gen. xxiv. 3, & seq. ^b Phil. de Spec. Leg. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. ^c Levit. xviii. 6, & seq.

(P) The Jews did not content themselves with the small allowance of two wives, as we may infer from the examples of David, and Solomon, and many others: but it must be observed, that they made a distinction between the wives of the first rank, and those of the second. The first they called *nishim*; and the others *pilgashim*; which last, though most various reader by the word *concubines*, *barlots*, and *prostitutes*; yet, in none of those places of Scripture, where that word occurs, which are about thirty-six, is any such sinister sense implied.

However, there is a two-fold difference between these, and wives of the first rank: first, with respect to the manner of taking them; namely, the latter with the usual ceremonies, and the former without; and, secondly, with respect to their authority, and the honour paid to them and their children. Maimonides tells us,^d from the Talmud, that a man might have as many wives as he could maintain, even to an hundred; and that it was not in their power to hinder him, provided he had riches and strength sufficient for them all.

brother;

brother; for this is no more than what we find had been the practice in Judah's time. However, Moses doth here leave it, in some measure, to a man's choice, whether he will comply with the law, or not; and, in case of a refusal, the widow could only summon him before the judges of the place, where, if he persisted, she untied his shoe, and spit in his face, and said, "Thus shall it be done unto the man, that refuses to build up his brother's house or family;" after which disgrace, he was branded with the appellative of "the man whose shoe was unloosed." To this number we may also add another law, which obliged the husband to pay down a competent dowry for the wife, or, as the Jews termed it in their contracts, to pay the price or equivalent of her virginity^s (Q). From these and such instances, we may likewise conclude, what was their way of courtship, or rather of contracting and celebrating their marriages. The former was transacted by the parents and relations, on both sides; and when the matter was agreed, the bridegroom was introduced to his bride; presents were exchanged on all sides; the contract was signed before witnesses; and, after consummation, the bride tarried some time with her relations; she was afterwards sent to her husband's habitation, with singing and dances, to the sound of several instruments. It was customary with the parents, to contract these marriages, whilst their children were very young; and this practice was called espousing; after which both parties continued with their parents till they were of age to consummate. As for the daughters, whether they were espoused or not, they were kept very strict, and secluded

^s Maimon. in Ishoth. cap. iii. sect. 1.

(Q) Thus Abraham sent his steward with considerable riches to present his future daughter-in-law, and her relations: Jacob purchased his two wives at the price of fourteen years servitude; and when Hamor came to ask his daughter for his son Sechem, he bid him raise the price of her dowry as high as he pleased. David likewise modestly con-

fessing his inability to pay a dowry answerable to Saul's daughter, the king acquitted him for an hundred prepuces of the Philistines; and the prophet Hosea bought a wife for fifteen pieces of silver, and a small quantity of barley: so that a man might be truly said to have purchased, as well as to marry a wife (1).

(1) Vide Gen. xxiv, paſſim. Sam. xviii. 22, & seq. Hos. iii. 2.

from the sight of men ; though this custom seems rather to have been adopted, after the misfortune of Jacob's daughter, than borrowed from their neighbours, who made no scruple to send theirs to feed and water their flocks, as we find in the instance of Laban's sister and daughters, as well as those of Jethro among the Midianites^b. From this sequestration of the unmarried damsels, they were denominated, Hidden or Concealed. There was likewise another law, which forbade heiresses to marry out of their own tribe, from which the rest were exempted ; but a man was left to his liberty to marry, not only in any of the twelve tribes, but even out of them, provided it was with nations that used circumcision¹ ; such as the Midianites, Ishmaelites, Edomites, Moabites, and Egyptians (R).

We do not find, that marriage was accompanied with any religious ceremony ; such as going to the tabernacle or temple, offering sacrifices ; or even that it was performed by, or before a priest : only, from the examples of Isaac with Rebecca, of Boaz with Ruth, and of Tobias with Sarah, we may conclude, that the parents and the rest of the company, did pray for the prosperity of the new-married couple.

Plurality of wives was no great charge or incumbrance on the Jews, considering their simple way of living : domestic affairs were the province of the women ; whilst that of the husband was the business of the fields and vineyards : dressing viands, the care of children, spinning, carding, and weaving, are often mentioned in Scripture, as the occupation of women ; whilst their husbands chose the more laborious works.

Divorce, which was permitted to the Jews, had never been practised by any of the patriarchs, whatever it might have been by other nations. The law, relating to it, is

^a Gen. xxiv. 55, & seq.

^b Numb. xxxvi. passim.

(R) Accordingly we find that Moses married a Midianite ; Boaz a Moabite ; Maachah, Absalom's mother, was the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur ; Amasa was the son of Jether, an Ishmaelite, by Abigail, David's sister ; and Solomon, in the beginning of

his reign, married Pharaoh's daughter. Whenever, therefore, we find him, and other kings, blamed for marrying strange women, we must understand it of those nations that were idolatrous and uncircumcised.

expressed

expressed to this effect¹: “ When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass, that she finds no favour in his eyes, because he has found in her some uncleanness; then let him write her a bill of divorce, and give it into her hand, and send her out of his house. And when she is departed,—she may go and be another man’s wife; and if her second husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorce,—or if he chance to die,—her former husband shall not take her again to be his wife, after she is defiled; for that is an abomination to the Lord.” The question is here, What is meant by the words, “ if he find any uncleanness, turpitude, or nakedness, in her?” The Jews are divided in their opinion about it: the Christians are altogether as uncertain; some confining it to adultery, and others to all enormous crimes, such as idolatry, and apostasy; which last the Scriptures often call fornication, and is the word made use of by our Saviour for adultery. Nevertheless, we cannot believe any of these cases to be meant by the words of Moses; because, as these were all capital crimes, it would have been ridiculous to have ordained a divorce against such as were to be put to death. We think rather, that it meant some involuntary uncleanness, whether natural or contracted, which rendered her loathsome in his eyes, or unfit for the nuptial intercourse² (S).

Laws

¹ Deut. xxiv. 1, & seq. ² Vide Joseph. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 8. & lib. de Vit. sua ad finem. & Phil. de Special. Legib. præc. 6, & 7.

(S) The form of the bill of divorce was to this effect: “ Such a day, month, and year, I, such an one, of such a place, upon, or near such a river, do, of my own free consent and choice, repudiate thee, such an one, my late wife, banish thee from me, and restore thee to thy own liberty; and thou mayest henceforth go whither, and marry whom thou wilt: and this is thy bill of divorce, and writing of expulsion, according to the law of Moses and Israel.” Signed by two witnesses; and delivered in the presence of as many, at least. From this time, the wife was as much at her liberty, as if she had been a widow; only in both cases, she was obliged to stay, at least, ninety days, before she was married to another, lest she should prove pregnant by the last (2). Touching the controversy, whether women might likewise divorce their husbands upon the same ground, we do not find any such indulgence

(2) Vide Mos. Kotz. fol. 133. & Mos. *Egypt.* part. ii. fol. 59. Seld. Buxtorf, & Goodw.

Laws against Theft.

As to theft, it must be observed, that the Jews understood the words in the Decalogue, "Thou shalt not steal," of men-stealing; and thought that the other sort of theft was implied in the last precept, "Thou shalt not covet;" but we shall include them under the same head.

The stealing of a man was the only capital theft under the law of Moses (T). And whether the stolen persons had been sold, or were still in the possession of the thief, he was to be put to death¹. All other theft was punished by restitution, and the addition of a fine, according to the nature of the theft; only the man, that broke into a house in the night to rob, might be with impunity killed, though not in the day-time. He that stole an ox, was to restore five oxen; if a sheep or a goat, four sheep or four goats; but if he had neither killed nor sold them, but they were found alive with him, he was only to pay two for one. In case the thief had not wherewith to make satisfaction according to the law, it was lawful for the prosecutor, if an Israelite, to sell him; but not, if he was a proselyte of any kind; neither could the former sell him to any but an Israelite. If he had a wife and children, they might likewise be sold with him, till satisfaction was made to the offended; at least it seems to have been so understood and practised by the Jews, in cases of debt, though Moses mentions none here but the thief.

¹ Exod. xxi. 16.

granted to them by Moses, unless in the case of a virgin betrothed by her parents before she was twelve years of age, who might then refuse to ratify the contract, which her parents had made, without giving any other reason, than that she did not like the person designed for her: but this cannot be called a divorce, because there is no marriage in the case. Josephus therefore thinks, that a divorce was so far from being permitted to women, that if the husband forsook her, it was not lawful

for her to marry another, till she had first obtained a divorce from him. He adds, that Salome, sister of Herod the Great, was the first who took upon her to repudiate her husband, whose example was soon followed by others, mentioned by the same author (3).

(T) The Jews however confine it to the stealing of an Israelite. As for the stealing of strangers, the offender was not to be put to death, according to them, but only to make restitution.

(3) Jos. Ant. lib. xv. cap. 13. xviii. 7 xx. 15. & in Vit. sua.

When

To the Babylonian Captivity.

When a man was suspected of theft, and the prosecutor had not sufficient proof against him, he might bring him before the judges, and have both him, and those whom he thought his accomplices, examined upon oath. If they could be afterwards proved forsworn, they were put to death, not for the theft, but for the perjury. The same law reached also to the receiver, or concealer of stolen goods, knowing them to be such^m; for so they understood the words, "He shall bear his iniquity."

All kind of usury, whether of money, grain, apparel, *Uſury.* &c. was likewise forbid by the law of Moses, from one Israelite to another; in which cases, the usurer might be compelled, by the judges, to refund his extortion. They were commanded on the contrary, whenever a brother was waxed poor, to supportⁿ and assist him with such things as he needed, without proposing to themselves any other advantage by so doing, than the blessing of God^o: but of strangers, that is, of the Gentiles, they were permitted to take usury; yet so as not to oppress them by too great extortion (*U*). *All kind of oppression.*

Laws against bearing false Witness.

The foundation of these is in that of the Decalogue, *False witness.* "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."^p The judges were bound to abide by the testimony of two or three witnesses, especially in capital cases, a single evidence not being sufficient to condemn any man^q.

Laws against coveting another's Property.

The tenth precept of the Decalogue, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, wife, &c." is justly esteem-

^m Levit. v. 1. ⁿ Exod. xxiii. 25, & seq. Levit. xxv. 36, & seq. Deut. xxiii. 19. ^o Exod. xx. 16. xxiii. 2. Deut. v. 20. ^p Deut. xvii. 6.

(*U*). Oppressing of servants and hirelings; defrauding, or even detaining their wages, though but one night, denying them necessary food, and respite; private mischiefs, such as misleading the blind, or even another's cattle; removing of land-marks; digging of pits, and leaving them uncovered; were likewise reck-

oned enormous crimes, cognizable by the judges, who were empowered to cause suitable satisfaction to be made. Taking things in pledge from the indigent, of which they stood in constant need; such as their garments, bed-cloaths, the nether or upper mill-stone, was no less forbidden.

ed, by the Jewish doctors, the prop and foundation of all the other laws of the second-table; and he that observes this, is in no danger of breaking the rest. Whether the ancient Jews understood it in that strict and refined sense which the Gospel implies, or only of such overt-acts as tended to the procuring of any thing by unlawful means, is not easy to determine. The Talmudists, however, condemn by it, the very desire formed and indulged in the heart, though it doth not proceed to action^p.

An Abridgement of some other mixed Laws relating to Food, Raiment, Planting, Sowing, Decency, and Cleanliness; and of such Diseases as excluded Men from common Society.

gaining
itself
of
blood.

Of all the food prohibited by the Mosaic law, blood may be reckoned in the first place, that prohibition being as old as the deluge. We find it expressly forbidden by Moses, in several places, not only to the Israelites, but to the strangers that lived among them, even under pain of death. It seems to have been put on the level with sacrificing one's seed to Moloch; for, it is said that God will set his face against him that transgresses in either case; which expression is not used in any other prohibition. The reason given for this interdiction, is that the blood (which is also the life) of the victim, makes atonement for sin^q; pursuant to which declaration, the tabernacle, with all its utensils, was at first purified with it; the covenant between God and the people was ratified with blood; and without blood there could be no remission of sin^r.

unclean
beasts.

Next to the blood, was forbidden likewise the flesh of a considerable number of beasts, fowls, fishes, and reptiles, which were deemed unclean. This distinction, however, of clean and unclean, can hardly be supposed to have its origin from the Mosaic law, and to have been used proleptically, when the historian mentions it even before the flood^s. We shall not, however, enter into a nice scrutiny about the animals thus forbidden; but refer the curious to the learned Bochart's elaborate treatise on that subject^t; and mention only the general rule, which Moses has given to distinguish the clean from the unclean, which the reader may see in the following note (X).

With

^p Vide Præc. Neg. 158. ^q Levit. xvii. 11. ^r Heb. ix. 22.
& alib. passim. ^s Gen. vii. 2. ^t Hierozoic. passim.

(X) Of beasts, whatever the hoof, was to be reckoned chewed the cud, and divided clean; and whatever had not both

With respect to the article of raiment, Moses has left no positive laws, except that which belonged to the priests, of which we have spoken elsewhere; and where he orders the people to wear blue fringes to the borders of their garments, for a remembrance, that they were now no longer to live after their own will, but after the commands of God. The two most remarkable of the negative kind, are those that forbid the promiscuous habit of both sexes, and the weaving of two different stuffs, such as linen and woollen, in the same garment¹. The first is supposed to have been designed to prevent the shameful abuses which might attend such disguises; and the se-

nb. xv. 38, 39. Deut. xxii.

born theree quaunciations, as the swine, which divideth the hoof, but doth not chew the cud; or the camel, hare, rabbit, which chew the cud, and do not part the hoof, was forbidden as unclean. Of fowl, all carnivorous birds, such as the eagle, vulture, and the like; all that had four feet, and yet flew, as the bat. Of fishes, all that had fins and scales were lawful, and all that wanted either, were forbidden. Of insects, all that had wings to raise themselves from the earth might be eaten; but whatever only crawled oo the earth, was uoclean. Lastly, the fat of the clean beasts was forbidden, not because it was unclean, much less because it is hard of digestion, which is the reason some authors give for the prohibition of this and blood, and swioe's flesh, seeing their laborious life, and healthy constitution, rendered the Israelites more capable to digest them, than many among us, and other nations, who lead an

indolent life, and yet can eat of them all without any inconvenience: but the reason is given in the text, namely, because in all sacrifices, the fat was to be burnt upon the altar, as appertaining unto God (3). The flesh of beasts torn in pieces, or that died of themselves, was likewise forbidden (4).

All that needs to be farther added, with respect to unclean animals, is, that though the touch of them, while alive, was not defiling, yet that of their carcases was; insomuch that even the vessels and liquors, into which their blood fell, were made unclean by it; the liquors were to be thrown away, the vessels purified, and the person who touched them, was to wash himself, and be unclean until evening. A well, however, a fountain, or any large receptacle of water, was not defiled by the blood or carcasse, but only the person who took the unclean creature out of them (5).

(3) Levit. iii. 14, & seq.
xi. 33, & seqq.

(4) Exod. xxii. 31.

(5) Levit.

cond

cond to preserve uniformity and order (Y). This last sumptuary law seems to have been made with some economical view for the encouragement of manufacture.

But of all the diseases mentioned in the last note, the leprosy was reckoned the most defiling (Z); for which rea-

(Y) It is equally difficult to assign any good reason for thus being prohibited to sow different seeds, or plant divers kinds of trees in the same field; or plow with a mixture of cattle, such as an ox or an ass. Cleanliness and decency, as being obvious requisites in hot climates, are enjoined by Moses under severe penalties. All matrimonial commerce was forbid for a certain time after child-birth, during the monthly periods, or after any accidental weakness of that kind; in men, nocturnal pollutions, running sores: and whatever was touched by any person so defiled, whether chair, bed, table, or any other utensil, was also deemed unclean, and defiled all those that touched them; and all were to be purified according to the law.

(Z) Moses distinguishes three sorts of leprosy, namely, of the body, garments, and houses. The first is a cuticular disease, not unlike an inveterate scich or scurvy. The leprosy of the garments is supposed to have been owing to some defect in the management of the wool, skins, and tufts, of which they were made; those manufactures being then very imperfect. The heat of the climate might contribute towards it. The

marks of this kind of leprosy were spots, either of a reddish or greenish hue, which appeared upon the garments, whether of linen, woollen, or of skins. In these cases they were to be brought to the priests, and according as they appeared to them, were either burnt, or washed and cleaned; or the spots cut out, and the rest declared clean and wholesome.

As to the leprosy of houses, it was of different kinds; either a sort of vermin that bred in the cement; or a kind of rust or scurf, that spread itself along the walls. In these cases, the priests were directed to shut the houses up for a week; and it is probable, they made some kind of fumigation, during that time, though no mention is made of it; else we cannot see, how the bare shutting it up, could contribute to the cure. If upon the opening it again, they found the marks gone, they pronounced it clean; if not, they caused them to be scraped off every where, and the house to be shut up another seven days; and if that second fumigation did not work the cure, they ordered it to be demolished, and such materials of it only to be preserved, as were free from the infection [sic].

(4) Vide Levit. xiii. 47. & seqq. & xiv. pcc xxi. Vide Journal des Savans, 1701. Calmet, prefixed to his Comments on Levit.

son those infected with it, were forced to live separate from the rest, till they were cured: monarchs themselves were not exempted from this law, as appears from the instance of king Azariah, or Uzziah, as he is called in the Chronicles, who, having too far intruded into the priestly office¹, was smitten with an incurable leprosy, deprived of his government, and forced to live apart to the day of his death. And, indeed, one kind of it was of so infectious a nature, that too much caution could not be used to prevent its spreading; insomuch, that even those that died of it, were buried separately from the rest². As for the other, called the dry leprosy, it was not an infectious disease (A).

¹ Comp. 2 Kings xv. 5. & 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, & seqq.
² 2 Chron. xxvi. ver. ult.

(A) The priests were the proper judges both of the disease and the cure; concerning which Moses gave them several plain directions, though we do not find that he prescribed any remedy against it, because, as the Jews think, it was an immediate judgment from God. The same they affirm also of the leprosy of houses and garments; which, they pretend, was peculiar to the Israelites, and to the land of Judæa; because God had promised to them, that, whilst they continued obedient to his laws, their bodies, houses, and garments, should be preserved from that disease; but when they proved stubborn and rebellious, he would send it as a punishment upon them. When the priest had pronounced a man infected with leprosy, he was not only secluded from the society of clean persons, but obliged to go bare-headed, with his cloaths rent, and his upper

lip covered with a kind of muffler, to prevent his infecting others by his breath. But one may reasonably suppose, that they had places in which those lepers lived together, and made a kind of community among themselves. We read of four of them that went together out of some quarter of Samaria into the Assyrian camp, when the famine raged in the city; and of ten in the Gospel, who applied themselves in a body, to Christ, to be healed by him. Persons, garments, and houses, being cured of this distemper, were to be further purified by the priest. We have already spoken of the sacrifices, which were to be offered upon this occasion, in its proper place. As for the other ceremonies, enjoined by Moses, we shall refer our reader to the book of Leviticus, where he may see a full account of them (5).

(5) Vide It. Rabbini, p. 622. & Theodor. quæst. 18. in Levit. Mol. Gérund. Racanat. Abr. Sepharad &c al. Muft. in Levit. XIII. 2 Kings vii. 3. 8. Luke xvii. 22.

Manetho, and several other heathen writers after him^x, have affirmed that Egypt, being grievously infected with the leprosy, king Bochorus was advised by the oracle, to send all the lepers into a desert place, where they might perish for want of sustenance. This advice was followed, and the lepers being driven to the desolate place, Moses, who was one of the number, observed, by tracing the footsteps of a wild ass, a spot, where they found water to quench their thirst. Thus revived, they chose him for their guide, and were by him conducted and settled in the land of Canaan, in the space of seven days. In memory of this expedition, he ordered the seventh day to be a day of rest, and forbade the eating of swine's flesh, because that creature is subject to the leprosy. In remembrance of their kind benefactor, the ass that saved their lives, he commanded an ass's head to be set up and worshipped in their temple. This story is confuted by Josephus. Indeed, the care which Moses took with respect to this distemper, sufficiently shews, that, at least, the far greater part of the Israelites were free from it, at their departure from Egypt; else it would have been impossible to segregate them from the rest, and to have executed these laws which excluded them from the commerce of those who were free from the disorder.

Of the Customs, Learning, Arts, and Commerce of the Jews.

Their customs, both religious and civil, being chiefly founded upon their laws, and the greatest part of them having been already mentioned under that article, we shall have the less to say here, especially considering the barrenness of the subject, for want of books and authors, of a date old enough to be depended upon. We have already mentioned all that could be collected concerning their customs at weddings and festivals: we shall now say something of those that were used at births, and feasts: to which we shall add a short account of some of their practices at their high-places, groves, and other places of idolatrous worship; of their divinations, games, and ceremonies used at burials. It may be remembered, that circumcision was not enjoined by the Mosaic law, but by

^x Maneth. ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. Tacit. Just. ex Trog. Plutarch. &c al.

virtue of the express command given to Abraham. But nothing is ordained either with respect to the person by whom, nor with what instrument, nor in what manner the ceremony was to be performed; only that the foreskin should be cut off on the eighth day: so that it was left to the option of the parent, either to perform it himself, or to employ some other person, whether a priest, surgeon, or friend. In this last capacity, it was looked upon as an high compliment to be chosen to that office. The instrument was generally a knife or razor, made of some kind of stone; as being thought less dangerous than those of steel; the use of which they might have learned from the Egyptians, who used them in opening bodies which were to be embalmed. They were not obliged to carry the child to the synagogue, much less to the temple, but had him circumcised at home. Here the father, or some friend deputed by him, held the child in his arms, whilst the operator took the prepuce, either with one hand, or with pincers made for that purpose, and with the other cut off the foreskin, whilst another held a porringer filled with sand, for him to sling it in, and to receive the blood. He then applied his mouth to the place, and, having sucked the blood, which generally flowed plentifully, twice or thrice, and spit it out into a cup of wine, he threw some styptic powder upon the wound, and dressed it once a day, till it was well. As for the form of words used upon such occasions, as far as probable conjectures will go, we shall have occasion to mention it under another article; to which they added, no doubt, some prayers and blessings. At present, the operator, having dressed the wound, applies the cup of wine and blood to the infant's lips, pronouncing these words of the prophet, "Live in thy blood;" then repeating the exxviith psalm, he wishes the parents joy, and that they may thus assist at his wedding⁷. But how old these customs are, we cannot determine: all that can be added is, that this ceremony was usually accompanied with great rejoicing and feasting; and it was at that time that the child was to be named by the parents, in the presence of the company. These names were generally significant

Ceremonies
at circum-
cision.

⁷ De his vide Pag. in Deut. x. Mos. Kotz. in Tract. de Circumcis. fol. 115. Maimon. Tract. Circumcis. cap. 1, &c. Buxtorf. Syr. Jud. cap. 4, & alib. Quandt. de Cultris Circumcis. Hebr.

of something relating to the parents, or the child, or to some other circumstances of time (B).

Blessing.

These first ceremonies being over, the master of the house began to crave a blessing, if there was no stranger, nor any person of a superior rank²; for, in that case, he complimented him with this office. He then took a cup full of wine, and, having blessed the Creator of the vine, he sipped a little of it, and gave it to the next person, till it had gone round. This was called the birkath ajanin, *the blessing of the wine*. From thence he passed to the blessing, and breaking of the bread, and distributing it to the guests. As soon as they had done eating, the same person who had craved the blessing was obliged to give thanks; the feast was concluded with another cupful of wine, and this was called the blessing of plenty. Whether their custom was to sit at meat, or lie down, is a controversy of more nicety than moment. However, to us, the former seems more probable, at least before the captivity. We read, that Joseph made his brethren sit down to eat with him; and David said to Jonathan, "To-morrow I should sit down at meat with the king." It must be owned, however, that, in the time of Christ, the custom was altered to that of lying down.

Sitting down.

High places.

The Jewish high places were of two sorts; those where they only worshipped the true God, by burning incense, and offering sacrifices to him; and those where they served strange gods, and committed abominations in their worship. Both these became so common and universal, that we read of but few kings who had the courage to pull them down, whilst many others, though otherwise commended for their piety and zeal, left them undisturbed (C).

I Vide 1 Sam. ix. 13.

The

(B) The daughter part used to join the names of God, Jah and El, to that of the child; thus Abijah signifies *God my Father*; and Zechariah, *the minister of the Lord*; Uriel and Daniel, *the strength or judgment of God*. Some had a quite different meaning, as Ishbosheth, *the man of shame*; Mephibosheth, *shame of the womb*. Others were taken from living

creatures: Tzipor, *a bird*; Rachel, *a sheep*; Chamor, *an ass*; Nachash, *a serpent*; Tammar, *a palm-tree*; and the like: and El's daughter-in-law, called her son Isobod, *where is the glory?* when she heard that the ark was taken by the Philistines.

(C) The first of these, though less criminal, and less glaringly countenanced by the examples

The Israelites also gave themselves up to all kinds of divinations and witcheries, though so expressly forbidden, by the law of Moses, as the former. Moses expresses them in the following terms¹: "There shall not be found among you, any one that maketh his son or his daughter pass through the fire, or that useth divinations, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer (D)."

Divina-
tions.

Games,

Deut. xxviii. 16, 17.

amples of Samuel, David, Elisha, and other inspired persons, were, nevertheless, expressly forbidden; but, as to the last, nothing could be more severely prohibited; nevertheless, Josiah had been scarce dead above twenty years ere they began to relapse into this defection. It began about the times of Othniel and Ehud, and increased so fast, and spread so wide, that it would be endless to enumerate their false deities, and the places dedicated to their worship, as well as the abominable ceremonies practised in them. They adopted the false gods of all those nations in the midst of whom they lived, and set up altars and idols to them upon every hill and high place. The sun, moon, and stars were of the number of their gods; and, as their rites became more and more shameful, and unfit for common view, they set up tents and booths, and planted groves to conceal their abominable practices. The very women, who were grown too old for prostitution in their own persons, became accessories to the infamous

commerce of the younger generation, by furnishing the votaries with all kind of conveniences. Solomon is justly branded, in Scripture, for having brought this evil to its greatest height, by the multitude of his strange women, an abuse which was never thoroughly rooted out till Josiah's reign².

(D) The most inhuman of all those practices was that of passing their children through the fire. This rite seems to have been peculiar to Moloch, who is therefore also called Anamolach, from *anah*, to answer, because he gave answers to all those who consulted him by this rite, either by his priests, or by dreams. Divinations were performed by consulting the stars, clouds, signs, and omens. This seems to be the meaning of the word *numen*, here, which is nevertheless sometimes used in a good sense. Thus Laban says to Jacob, "Nachamli, I have observed, or experienced that God has blessed me, for thy sake. The people within the land of the house were speaking of his goodness only, but we much

¹ Vide *Antiquit. Sacra. Ang.*
² Kings, ii. 46, &c.

Games, for ought that appear upon record, were the only custom in which they did not imitate their neighbours, at least which they did not introduce into their commonwealth. They had not so much as a name for them, but what doth properly signify to laugh, play, toy, and such like innocent amusements. Even Solomon himself, who had imitated, or rather surpassed, the grandeur of other kingdoms, and indulged himself in all other vanities, or what he calls the delights of the sons of men, some of which were near of kin to these, as his singers and musicians of both sexes, doth yet make no mention of any kind of games, either of hazard or entertainments of the theatre; neither do the Scriptures anywhere speak of such.

Diversions.

Their diversions seem to have consisted chiefly in eating, drinking, dancing, and music. The Scriptures often express the simplicity of their happy lives, by sitting, and eating and drinking, everyone under his vine and under his fig-tree. But even these diversions could not be very frequent, unless it were upon such solemn occasions, as we have mentioned before, or at their sheep-shearing, harvest, and vintage, because they would else have had but little time to transact their country affairs.

doubt whether this is capable of so favourable a sense. Bochart has given us an account of several divinations performed by means of serpents. Another way was by familiar spirits, which the Hebrew calls eboth, such as the witch of Endor is said to have had; and interrogating the dead, which the Septuagint render *τρυποῦντες μάρτις*. The metatheph may be properly enough rendered, by legerdemain, one who deceives the sight, and imposes upon the beholders; such as those whom Pharaoh set against Moses, who are there called makshaphim, and are said to have imitated some

of his wonders, belahatthem, which word may signify a flame, or the glittering of a spear or lance, because it dazzles the sight. The Septuagint, however, have translated it *φαρμακίς, apothecaries,* and the Latin, *venefici, poisoners.* The chowr may be properly rendered a mutterer, from *chavar,* to *gather, couple, or associate,* because he speaks with his lips joined. To these the prophets have added some others, such as consulting by teraphims, and by the flight of arrows, by the liver of beasts, by stocks and stakes, and such like; several of which practices were forbid under pain of death (2).

(2) Vide Maim. & Abarbas in Leg. 270. Gen. xxx. 27. Hieron. lib. i. cap. iii. part 1. Exod. viii. 12. & alib. pali. Baker. Monks enchant'd. Ruth. xxi. 12. Hos. iv. 12.

Their diet, except on festivals, seems to have been very plain. Boaz, a mighty man, complimented Ruth with drinking of the same water, eating of the same bread, and dipping her morsel in the vinegar with him¹. Even the present of victuals, which were brought to David and his men, whilst he was in a kind of exile, consisted of pulse, parched corn, bread and flour, dried raisins and figs, honey, butter, cheese, oil, and a few fatted beasts². Their bread was made either of barley or wheat, baked into thin cakes, some in ovens, some upon the hearth, and others in a frying-pan; some with, and some without oil; they often used parched corn instead of bread. Honey was commended for its deliciousness³; and the milk of the goats, and the fleece of the flocks, were thought by the wise man sufficient for food and raiment, both for the master and his family⁴.

High titles were unknown among them, unless those which implied some office, such as general, treasurer, and recorder. They valued themselves more upon their genealogies; and a man often assumed five or six patronymics of his ancestors. Some regard was likewise had to the distinction of tribes or families: as, for instance, to those of the priests and Levites, upon a religious account; to that of Judah, to which the sceptre was promised; and to that of Ephraim, out of respect to Joseph's memory. The same respect was likewise paid, in every tribe, to those who were the heads and fathers of it, and to all the elder branches in general; and next to these, old men of what tribe or branch soever, were held in great veneration.

Their laborious and frugal lives, and the healthfulness of the country, were effectual means to prevent a vast number of those diseases which have been since ushered into the world by luxury and sloth. It is for this reason that we read of so few distempers among them, much less of physicians, except such as are now known by the name of surgeons, whom the ancient Greeks, as well as the Hebrews, called physicians, or healers. Thus the Mosaic law condemned the man who wounded another, to pay, amongst other things, the salary of the physician.

Their mourning, for the death of their near relations, or for any misfortune, either public or private, was expressed in both cases much after the same manner. In

¹ Ruth ii. 14. ² Sam. xxv. 18. ³ Sam. xvi. 1. xvii. 25.
15. &c alib. ⁴ Vid. PL xix. 10. ⁵ alib. pag. . . . ⁶ Prov. xxvii.
26. 27.

the first transports of their grief they rent their cloaths, smote their breasts, tore their hair, and beards, and put ashes and dirt upon their heads, and went barefoot, wearing sackcloth next the skin, and lying upon the bare ground (E).

Funerals.

Their funeral ceremonies were no less mournful. As soon as a person was dead, all the near relations came to the house in their mourning habit, and sat down upon the ground in silence, whilst another part of the house echoed with the voices of mourners, and the sound of instruments suitable to the occasion, which was hired for the purpose¹ (F). These exclamations were continued till

¹ *Jerem. ix. 17.*

(E) The neighbouring nations had still more violent ways of expressing their grief, by prick-ing, cutting, and scarify-ing themselves; but these were expressly forbid by the law of Moses. They changed their cloaths for others that were straighter, coarser, dirtier, and more ragged. They covered their faces with their upper garment, to hide their tears; they fasted till sun-set, and then contented themselves with the plainest diet; kept a profound silence, which they never broke but to utter groans, complaints, or lamentation. Some even chose to lie in ashes, or on a dunghill, and to avoid the light. This mourning was longer or shorter, according to the occasion. For the death of a considerable person it continued even a whole month, as for Moses and Aaron. For an ordinary person, or near relation, it lasted but about a week. In public mourning the people ascended to the top of their houses, there to give

the greater vent to their grief; at least, it seems probable, there was some such custom, by what the prophet says, speaking to Jerusalem: "What aileth thee now, that thou art gone up wholly to the house-tops?" And speaking elsewhere of the Moabites, he says, "On the tops of their houses, and in the streets, every one shall howl and weep abundantly (3)."

(F) As to the musical instruments, we have no instance of their being used upon these occasions in the Old Testament, only we find the custom in our Saviour's time; and the Talmudists assure us, that it was not only an ancient custom, but that it was even obligatory, and that the poorest husband could have no less than two of them for his wife. These instruments, according to them, were a kind of mournful flute; hence that proverb of theirs, "Flutes serve either for a bride or for the dead." As for the hired singers, their office was

¹ Vide Levit. xix. 18. Deut. xiv. 1. Vide Pag. in loc. & Sam. i. 17, &c seqq. Numb. xx. 14. 1 Milt. xxii. 1. xv. 3.

till the funeral rites were performed, when the nearest relations resumed their melancholy posture, and continued in it all the time of the mourning, eating, sitting, and lying upon the ground (G).

In the mean time, there were proper persons appointed to prepare the corpse for the burial. It was looked upon as a duty incumbent on the nearest relation present to close the eyes of the deceased. If the person was of considerable rank, they embalmed him; if otherwise, they contented themselves with washing his whole body. Sometimes they added a mixture of sweet drugs and spices, either to strew upon the corpse, or burn in the place where it lay.

They denied sepulture to none but such as were guilty of self-murder, and not even to these, but till after sunset. They had burying-places for strangers, and for such as were put to death for capital crimes. The provident care of the patriarchs to make sure of a sepulchre for their posterity, shews that they esteemed it as a severe curse from God, to be deprived of burial¹, and a blessing to be interred among their ancestors. For this reason, those who had inherited a burying-place, were extremely careful of preserving it to their posterity; and those who had not, were no less solicitous to provide one for themselves and their families. As the law had ordained nothing concerning them, they thought it indifferent where

¹ Vide Jerem. viii. 2. xxii. 39. Eccles. vi. 3, & alib.

to sing some mournful dirge, proper to fill the company with the deepest sorrow. One of them is elegantly comprised, in few words, by one of their rabbies: "Mourn for the mourners, and not for the dead; for he is at rest, and we in tears (4)."

(G) Their very food was unclean, and defiled by those that eat of it⁽⁵⁾. They neither made their beds, washed themselves, nor pared their nails. In a word, they abstained from

every thing that could afford any pleasure. They made, indeed, a kind of banquet for the rest of the mourners, called by the prophets, "the bread of men, and wine or cup of consolation⁽⁷⁾"; but even then their tables were covered with wooden or common earthen platters and trenchers; and, for the same reason, they were not allowed to drink above ten glasses of wine, lest they should be intoxicated, and betray any token of mirth⁽⁸⁾.

(4) Vide Gennar. in Babyl. in Cod. Titul. Bar. Abbin. ap. Hor. in Goodw. lib. vi. cap. 5. note 12. (5) Vide Hor. ix. 4. (6) Ezek. xxiv. 17. (7) Jer. xvi. 7. (8) In Tract. Abot. c. iv.

they erected them, whether in a garden, an orchard, a field, a mountain, or a rock, so they could but secure the possession of the purchase (8). Those sepulchres were in all likelihood more or less sumptuous, according to their quality and opulence; they were, however, curious to have them, if possible, cut into the rock, which was no difficult matter in such a mountainous country.

Houses.

From these houses of the dead we now pass to those of the living, which were commonly plain, low, and flat, suitable to the climate, with rails round the tops, to keep people from falling. Their furniture was much after the same style; chimnies, sashles, and casements were needless, where they were forced to study coolness; for the same reason tapestry was of no use but upon the floor, to sit, eat, or sleep upon; and if they used any bed-curtains, they were made of some fine gauze, to keep off gnats and other insects.

(8) The sepulchres of the kings of Judah were in that part of Jerusalem where the temple stood. Ezekiel seems to hint that they were cut in the rock under it, when he says, that the Lord's holy hill should be no more defiled by the carcases of their kings. All the descendants of David are said to have been buried in the same place, except Manasseh, who was buried in the garden of Uzziah, adjoining to his own house. Whether the sepulchre of David was built, or only begun, by himself, and finished by Solomon, or any of his successors, is not certainly known; but it is to be seen at this day without the walls of the present Jerusalem. It is a most stately piece of work, and perhaps the only genuine monument of that ancient city. Josephus tell us, that Solomon laid up an immense treasure there, which

was not discovered, or at least broken in upon, till thirteen hundred years after; when the city being straitly besieged by Antiochus, Hyrcan, the high-priest, had recourse to the tomb, from which he drew three thousand talents, and bought off his enemy. He adds, that Herod found his way into another hidden cell, where he got a prodigious treasure; but neither he nor any one else could ever discover the bones of David, his tomb being so artfully contrived, and so deep in the ground, as to elude the most curious search. The burying-places of the kings of Israel, after Jeroboam's revolt, were in Samaria; but we cannot suppose them to have equalled those of Judah, both because they were inferior to them in riches, and because the crown never staid in one family above three or four generations (1).

(8) Vide *2 Kings*, ii. 10. xi. 43. *2 Kings*. xxii. 11. *Josephus Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 12.*

The women had their separate apartments, both for privacy, in which they resembled other eastern nations, and for legal infirmities, which secluded them from the rest of the family for a time; during which, none were permitted to make use of their beds, chairs, tables, or any other part of their furniture or utensils. All the females of a house were obliged to be exceeding careful in this particular; precautions from which the poorest sort were not exempted. Upon this account, as well as some *Baths*, others, they were likewise forced to have places for bathing in every house. Their laborious life, the heat and dryness of the country, made washing likewise necessary. In order to preserve the skin smooth and supple, they used to anoint themselves, either with oil, or ointments, more or less costly, according to their circumstances, but generally perfumed.

The arts in which the Israelites chiefly distinguished *Their arts and trades.* themselves were those of war, husbandry, poetry, and music. The first was in a manner natural to them. We shall not venture to say how much they had learned of it in Egypt; but whoever observes the regular order of their encampments, intrenching, fighting, and retiring, under the auspices of Moses, must allow him to have been as experienced a general as any of his time, and his people as well trained up in the military art, as any of their neighbours.

With respect to their generals, whether judges, princess, or officers, who acted under them, their warlike deeds will be mentioned in their proper place in the sequel of this history; and as to the people, though their courage wanted often to be supported by art, yet we may say that their men were all trained to war, at least till David's reign; for we do not read of any regular troops before that time. Till then, as soon as their rulers had resolved upon a war, whether offensive or defensive, the summons was sent to every tribe; upon which all fit to bear arms were obliged to repair to the place of rendezvous, with their arms and provisions for a month; here a certain number was drawn out according to the present exigence, and the rest sent back; and as soon as they had achieved what they went upon, they returned every man to his own home.

Their arms were, like those of other ancient nations, *Arms.* either offensive or defensive; the former consisted of swords, spears, javelins, bows and arrows, and slings. Their swords were short, crooked, broad, and sharp,

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which they girded upon the thigh; we read also of two-edged swords; as for their javelins, they seem rather to have been a kind of short darts, such as that which Saul threw at David^t. They were likewise very expert in the sling, as appears from David's killing Goliath, and from what is recorded of the inhabitants of Gibeah, that they hit within a hair's breadth!^u Their defensive weapons were the helmet, shield, breast-plate, coat of mail, and target; some wore even greaves upon their legs. We find a description of complete armour in that of Goliath; but it is probable that these were more common among their neighbours than among the Israelites, at least before David's reign; for we find that in Deborah's time there were found neither shield nor spear among forty thousand that fought against Sisera^v.

However, it is certain that they became more common after they had recovered their liberty under David and Solomon; and in process of time, Uzziah is said to have provided a sufficient quantity of all these kinds to furnish his army with, though it consisted of upwards of three hundred thousand men. These arms were commonly made of brass, sometimes also of iron, steel, and other materials^w.

In so mountainous a country, cavalry could be of no great service; and therefore in the more early times they did not encumber themselves with any. Absalom is the first we read of, that made use of them in his revolt against David; but his ill success, and loss of the battle, shews that they were of no other service to him than to facilitate his flight. Solomon did, indeed, send for a considerable number of horses from Egypt, with a proportionable number of chariots; but some think that he did it rather for grandeur than use; and indeed the expense so far outweighed their service, that his successors contented themselves with hiring them of the Egyptians upon any exigence; insomuch, that Rabshakeh made their want of them a pretence for telling king Hezekiah, in derision, that if he should lend him two thousand horses, none of his subjects were capable of riding them. From all which particulars it appears, that the Israelites did not much regard either chariots or horses.

The text calls them chariots of iron, because their poles, wheels, and axles were armed with sharp scythes,

^t Sam. xviii. 11.

^u Judg. xx. 16.

^v Judg. v. 3.

^w Vide Calm. Differt. Secunda Mitis. de Hebreo.

We are told that they hindered, at first, the tribe of Judah from conquering those cities that were in the plains, where such machines do most execution. Besides the terror they were apt to strike into the enemy, by being placed along the front of the line of battle, they never failed of breaking the ranks, and sometimes of putting the adversary to a total rout; so that there was no way of preventing it, but by either killing the horses before their too near approach, or by opening a passage to the chariots. It is likely the Israelites became very well skilled in both these expedients, seeing they so often engaged them, and still came off with victory.

The Israelites had no regular forces before Saul's time; and he is mentioned to have maintained but few standing troops, scarce a handful, in comparison to that prodigious number which David enrolled, amounting to above two hundred and eighty thousand (B), besides the Cherethites, and Pelethites, - who were strangers in that monarch's pay^m.

The army of Israel was, in the day of battle, drawn up in twelve separate bodies, according to the number of

Standing army.

The art of war.

= *Chron. xviii. ver. ult. xxvii. pass.*

(B) The book of Chronicles tells us that he had twenty-four thousand, which came regularly upon duty every month throughout the year, under their respective officers; which being therefore multiplied by twelve, amounts to two hundred and eighty-eight thousand.

All these were not only continued on foot by his son Solomon, but an addition was made to them of a prodigious number of horses and chariots; insomuch, that he is recorded to have had forty thousand stalls for his chariot-horses, besides twelve thousand horses for his cavalry, or life-guard, and fourteen hundred chariots of war. The army of Ahijah, king of Judah, consisted of four hundred thousand men; and Jeroboam, king of Israel, had double that number, of

which five hundred thousand were killed on the spot by the army of Judah. Such was also that of his son Asa, which consisted of almost six hundred thousand men, when he discomfited that of Zerah, king of Ethiopia, amounting to a million. But the greatest standing army we read of, belonging to any of the Jewish kings, was that of Jehoshaphat, consisting of eleven hundred and fifty thousand, all men of valour, and prepared for war, besides those which he kept in his garrisons throughout the kingdom. To these we may add, that Uzziah introduced into Jerusalem a kind of engines, which being placed on the walls and in the towers, threw arrows, other offensive missiles, and great stones, to a considerable distance,

tribes; these were divided into legions, centuries, decurries, and even single files, each under its respective officer or leader; and if we may judge from their method of marching and encampment, we may conclude they observed a regular system in their order of battle, their attacks, retreats, and every military evolution.

We read that David entertained a considerable number of those troops, who are said to have been ambidexter, exceeding fierce of aspect, and swift of foot⁴. The Jews add, that they placed behind the ranks some of the stoutest subaleerns, armed with scythes and axes, to cut in pieces those that offered to give ground; but we are still to learn how they disposed of their cavalry, after it became in use among them.

In the beginning of the Jewish monarchy, their kings used to fight on foot; at least we do not read of any horses or chariots used by them till a long time after their settlement; and it is very probable, that these took their rise from those alliances which the kings of Israel and Judah were often forced to make with the Egyptians, Syrians, and other nations; connexions which laid them under a necessity of appearing at the head of their armies with suitable grandeur and magnificence. The officers of war under them consisted of the head or general of the army (A); the princes, or generals of each tribe; the commanders of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, of tens, and of threes; their scribes, or muster-masters; and lastly, their foterim, or inspectors, or, as others think, a kind of provosts, or ministers to inflict punishments on all delinquents.

Alliances. We must not expect to find any trades or manufactures among the Jews before Solomon's time, except such as were absolutely necessary; and even these were carried on in a different way from that practised in other great nations. They built their own houses; their wives and servants spun, wove, and made their cloaths, baked their bread, and dressed their meat. The Israelites wore long loose tunics and drawers, made of linen, next to the body, over which they threw a loose garment or cloak, of light woollen cloth, when they went abroad. The beauty of

⁴ Chron. xii. 2. &c.

(A) This officer was called Sene, Jacob under David, and Agag, or prince of the host, Benjamis under Solomon (2). There was another pris., under

(1) 1 Sam. viii. 22. &c. (2) Kings. I. 1.

their

To the Babylonish Empire.

their dress, consisted either in the fineness of the cloth, or the richness of the dye, such as purple, scarlet, blue, and yellow; but the plainer, and the most commonly worn, was the white, because it was the natural colour of the linen and wool, and could be more easily washed; upon which account it is much recommended by Solomon*.

Some covering they wore upon their heads; but the fashion is not known; neither can we tell what sort of stockings they used; but instead of shoes, when they went forth, they wore a kind of sandal of wood, leather, or other material, fastened to the upper part of the foot, the greatest part of which, however, was left uncovered, so that the frequent washing of their feet became necessary.

The dress of the women, especially of the rich, was indeed more curious, because they bestowed more ornament upon it, chiefly of needle-work, which was still within their own province. They wore jewels of gold and silver; but a great deal of that finery was brought at first from Egypt, and more might be easily added to it, as they enlarged their conquests, without entertaining any artists; however, it is not improbable, that they had some of these, as well as several other rich stuffs and linen, from Tyre, in exchange for their corn, balm, and other commodities; especially after Solomon's time, when pride and luxury grew to such a height, that Isaiah spent almost a whole chapter in enunciating the costly ornaments with which that sex used to deck themselves in his time*; concerning which, however, it were impossible to frame any tolerable idea, the sermons there used being unknown (B).

*Of the
men.*

* Eccles. ix. 1. . . . Ch. iii. 16, & seqq.

It

(B) One thing may be observed from it, that they were very curious in adorning their heads, arms, and feet; and that they wore some kind of tinkling ornament about their legs, which gave a musical cadence to their steps. Judith's sandals (1) are particularly said to have revivified Holofernes; and the richness and elegance of her other ornaments might give us a clear

notion of a complete Jewess's dress, were we sure, that they had not by that time mixed some of the Babylonish fashion with it. However, we have a more authentic description of the female garb in the prophet Ezekiel; where the Jewish nation is compared to a poor naked and helpless woman, whom God out of pity, and husband-like kindness, cloathed and girded with silk and fine

(1) Judith, xvii. 1.

linen,

*Han-
dic-
rafts in-
troduced.*

It doth not appear, however, that they gave into this excess of finery before the latter end of David's life; till then a wonderful economy seems to have reigned in every family, under the wives at home, and the husbands abroad. But the immense treasures which that monarch amassed, having inspired him with a desire of building a sumptuous temple, a number of artificers was thereby introduced, such as carvers, masons, carpenters, joiners, gold and silver smiths, founders, and all manner of workmen, in metals, wood, and stone; and these brought in many others, without whom they could not subsist. His son Solomon built some stately palaces as well as the temple; and these occasions probably gave his subjects such a relish for his more elegant way of building, that the number of workmen multiplied more and more.

Poetry.

Poetry is, perhaps, the only art in which the Hebrews excelled. It had this advantage, above all others, that the authors seem to have consecrated it wholly to the honour of God, and adapted it to the service of the temple. No wonder then, if not only their law-giver, but their monarchs, judges, priests, and prophets, men and women, have endeavoured to eternize their memories by poetical performances: witness the two songs of Moses, those of Deborah and Hannah, the whole book of Psalms, the Canticles, the Thanksgiving of Hezekiah, the book of Job, a great part of the prophet Isaiah, and the Lamentations; which abound with sublimity of sentiment and expression.

Though the Hebrew poetry is generally admired, there is scarce a point more debated, or less possible to be determined, than the nature of its metre, and cadence. Several modern authors have pretended indeed to very signal discoveries in this intricate province; but they have either had the modesty to conceal them from the world,

linen, attired her head with a crown, or rather mitre, such as that of Judith, and put a jewel upon her forehead, a costly chain about her neck, bracelets upon her wrists, ear-rings in her ears, and sandals upon her feet. To all these we may add the veil, which is often mentioned in Scripture, and was very necessary in those countries, both to preserve the complexion and the character of women; it being esteemed highly immodest for them to appear without it; but whether it was made of some such transparent stuff, like gauze, so that they might see their way through it, and at the same time give some glimpse both of their beauty and rich ornaments, or otherwise, we cannot determine,

or

to the Babylonish Captivity.

or those who have ventured to publish their lucubrations, have only provoked more learned antagonists to expose their weakness and vanity. The truth is, that those who have made any attempts this way, have been forced to shift, alter, and overturn the order, the words, and punctuation, and sometimes the very sense, in order to reconcile the text to their chimeras. This is a liberty which a learned modern ^o has taken, almost in every verse, in a dissertation published on purpose to prove, that Hebrew poetry was written in rhyme, like that of the French, and other modern nations. He takes the liberty to lengthen or shorten the verses and syllables, as he thinks fit, without observing any other rule or proportion than the jingle of the last words; insomuch that there is not, we will not say with Calmet, any of Tully's Orations; but we may venture to affirm, any chapter in the Old Testament, which may not, by the same method, be reduced to rhyming verse. He ought rather to have said, that the rhyme, in those poetical works, was not only altogether accidental, but almost unavoidable. Those that are ever so little acquainted with the Hebrew grammar, know, that the terminations of verbs, and even of nouns in the plural, and the junction of the possessive pronouns to both of them, are so alike and uniform, that it would be more difficult to write a poem in blank verse than in rhyme. But, what seems to overthrow his whole hypothesis, there is no rhyme, but what is plainly accidental, in all the acrostic, or alphabetic pieces now remaining; such as several Psalms, the Lamentations, and some few other pieces, where the length of the verse is determined by the first letter of it, and where, consequently, the liberty of transposing and altering the measure is quite taken away.

The truth is, our ignorance of the true pronunciation of that ancient tongue, which, for aught appears, has been lost ever since the captivity, makes it morally impossible to determine any thing about it, with any certainty; because, without it, we never can be sensible of the length or shortness of the syllables, or of the harmony of words and verses, in which a great part of the poetic beauty consists. Had we indeed the same helps in this, as we have in the Greek and Latin tongues, we should have attained an equal knowledge of its quantity and metre, and of the construction and cadence of its verse; and though it is probable, we might not have found it so

The History of the Jews

elaborate and regular as that of the other two, yet we should not have fallen into that strange notion of so many learned moderns, that it was written without measure, form, or regularity (C). On the other hand, to hear some ancient authors, both Jews and Christians, such as Josephus, and Philo, Origen, Eusebius, and St. Jerom, expatiate on this subject, one would be apt to think, that both the genuine pronunciation of the Hebrew, and all the rules of that poetry had been preserved to their time, they give us such precise accounts of every poetical piece in the Old Testament. Thus, according to them, the two songs of Moses were written in heroic verse; the Psalms were of a mixed sort, trimeters, pentameters, and sometimes hexameters* (D). But we rather think with

the

* Joseph. Ant. lib. ii. cap. ult. lib. iv. cap. ult. lib. vii. cap. 10. Phil. in Vit. Mos. & lib. de Vit. Contemplat. ad. fin. Origen. ap. Euseb. Prepar. lib. xi. cap. 5.

(C) One would think, indeed, that Scaliger had never heard of any modern Hebrew poetry, how common forever it is, when he adds, that neither that tongue, nor the Syriac, nor the Arabic, were capable of such a constraint; for it is plain, even from those specimens that Buxtorf has given us, out of some of the poetical rabbies, that it is as regular as any we have, either in Greek or Latin; and consequently, that the Hebrew is as capable of the strictest poetic rules as they, if we be once agreed in fixing the quantity of the syllables. We may add, that they have been so far from thinking metre and quantity too great a clog, that they have joined that of rhyme to it; which, whether it be an ornament or not, is nevertheless a convenience, though not so great in the Hebrew as it is in other tongues, for the reasons above assigned. Besides, it appears further, that the ancient He-

brew poetry was confined to some certain rules and restraints, though unknown to us, because in many of those works we find some letters retrenched, and others superadded, in order to lengthen or shorten the verses or the syllables, or to give a sweeter cadence to them.

(D) St. Jerom has ventured to be still more particular, and to tell us, that the songs of Moses, the books of Isaiah, Job, and others, were hexameters and pentameters; that the Psalms were sapphic, iambic, and alcaic, after the manner of Horace and Pindar; that the Lamentations were of the sapphic kind; and in his preface to the book of Job, he says, that from the third verse of the third chapter, the verse is mostly hexameter and pentameter, consisting of dactyls and spondees; though he adds, that it is here and there intermixed with some other feet; and that some verses, though

To the Babylonish Captivity.

the generality of moderns, that the greatest part of them, even those two solemn pieces of Moles, were certainly of the lyric kind, composed and set to music, sung in an alternate manner, accompanied with the sound of divers instruments, and with dances suitable to the music, as we shall shew under the next head.

In the mean time, though we willingly excuse ourselves from entering into the merit of the cause, whether or not the Hebrews were the first inventors of poetry, because we cannot tell how much of it they may have brought out of Egypt; yet we cannot forbear taking notice of the vanity of the Greeks, who attribute the lyric kind to Orpheus; whereas, it is plain, that it was used among the Jews at the time of the exod, from the piece which Moses composed immediately after their passage through the Red Sea, upwards of two hundred years before Orpheus, who is said to have gone a stripling to the Argonautic war, that is, at soonest, about the time of Gideon^x, if there is any dependence to be placed on our system of chronology.

Of the music, with which they used to accompany and *Mus.* enliven their poetic performances, we know little but from conjecture. We read of eight or ten-stringed instruments in vogue among them; of the nebel and kinor, which we conjecture to be like the lute and harp; and from which, perhaps, the Greeks had their nabla and cinyra. They had likewise several kinds of wind-instruments, such as the trumpet, flute, and what modern versions call the organ. To these they joined the drum, and perhaps the kettle-drums (D).

If

^x See Usher's Annals, Sir Isaac Newton, Bedford's Chronol. &c al,

though still more irregular, yet preserve such a cadence and harmony, as never fail of pleasing those who are judges of the rules of poetry. However, with respect to Moses's song in Deuteronomy, he seems either to have forgot, or correct himself in another place (3); and says, that it is written in iambic verse, of four feet. The same he says also of the sixth, and some other Psalms;

concerning which we own ourselves wholly in the dark. All, therefore, we can say of him, and of these learned ancients, is, that they give us their bare word for what they say; for none of them has ventured so far as to give us any proof or example of it, so that the reader is at liberty to take it or not.

(D) Le Clerc has taken some pains to prove, that the

(3) Vide Epis. 133. ad Paul. Urnic.

If we were to judge of the excellence of the Hebrew music, from the wonderful effects it had upon Saul in his most melancholy and distracted moods, and in calming the souls of the prophets, and fitting them for divine inspiration, we must own it had much more energy than any thing of the same nature which the moderns have composed. The same effects, indeed, have been ascribed to the Grecian music; and the most barbarous nations have been, and still are, transported by species of music equally harsh and defective.

From the style of several of the psalms, and the frequent transition from the first to the third person; the music seems to have been performed alternately, one part of the chorus answering to the other at proper stanzas and divisions, not unlike the choirs of our cathedrals*. What other improvements they might have made to this art, which we are wholly ignorant of, is not so easy to guess at, as how and when they might be lost.

What has been said of the Hebrew music may be also supposed of their dances; namely, that those of a religious nature were generally more grave and solemn than their other subjects; but whether confined to rules, or directed only by custom and imitation, whether circular, as is generally supposed, or of any other form, we can

* Bedford's Discourse on the Hebrew Music.

tzilzelē, which our version, after the Septuagint, renders *symbols*, were only a couple of hollow demi-globes of brass, or some other tinkling metal, about six inches in diameter, which they used to shake one against another, like a pair of castanets, because we find some such instruments to have been in use among the ancients, and because the root *tzalzal* often signifies *to sink*. The *hugab*, which we translate *the organ*, is thought to have been no more than a row of six or eight pipes, of different lengths and notes, played by passing them successively under the upper lip. According to this description, it must have been incapable of any regular harmony, though, in its etymon, it signifies a lovely instrument, from *hagab*, *to love, delight in, to dote upon*.

The *shalishim*, one of the instruments with which the women came to meet Saul, and which the Septuagint translate *cymbala*, St. Jerom *sytra*, and our version *instruments of music*, is supposed to have been of a triangular figure, through which were strung a parcel of rings, so that the instrument, being struck with a stick, or shaken by the hand, made the rings strike against it and one another, and produced sounds that could not be very melodious.

only

only guess by those of other ancient nations. But even this being all conjecture, and not worth a farther enquiry, we shall pass to another subject better known to us, referring the reader, for a more full account of the Hebrew poetry, music, &c. to the authors quoted in the margin ^a.

Of the Language, Writing, and Learning of the Jews.

Their tongue was the Hebrew, such as we have it in the writings of Moses. We are far from thinking that it was so called from Heber, in whose family alone it had been preserved in its purity, as the parent of all the rest, according to the opinion of some authors. We shall not, therefore, repeat what has been said already concerning the confusion of languages in general, and the uncertainty of that notion, which supposes the Hebrew to have been the mother of all the rest; but content ourselves with giving some further account of its genius, and particular excellencies, from the consideration of which that fond opinion arose.

Though we allow the preference to the Hebrew in this respect, yet we have already proved etymologies to be too uncertain a foundation to build upon; if, therefore, this last has any advantage over the rest, with respect to its being a mother, rather than a daughter to any of them, it must be upon account of its simplicity, its purity, and energy, notwithstanding its natural barrenness of words, over and above its great affinity to all the ancient tongues (P).

^a Vide Mercer, Skikard. Meibom. Gomar. Le Clerc, Calmet, & al.

(P) It must be owned, however, that several learned critics have observed some defects in it, as we have it now in the Scripture, which plainly shew that if it was the original tongue, and the parent of the rest, it must have suffered many changes, such as the losing a great number of its primitive roots and idioms, and adopting those of strange nations (1). Of this number are generally al-

lowed all roots that have above three letters, besides very many scriptural words, whose roots are entirely lost. However, this is plain from the books we have still extant, that from Moses's time, to the Babylonish captivity, it continued the same, without any visible improvement, or, indeed, without any change, either for better or for worse.

(1) Vide Grot. de Veritate Chr. sec. 25. &c seq. & Casaub. in Gen. ix. Huart. Demontf. Eysenq. Genebr. Cluver. Horn. Capel. & al. mult.

*Literary and
genius.*

As far as we understand, and are able to judge of it, at this great distance, and from these few books we have of it left, its *genius* is pure, primitive, natural, and exactly conformable to the native simplicity of the Hebrew patriarchs; its words are concise, yet expressive, derived from a small number of roots, yet without the studied composition of the Greek and Roman languages. It has the happiest and richest fecundity, in its verbs, of any tongue either ancient or modern; which arises from the variety and signification of its conjugations, some of which even imply a whole phrase, and cannot be well expressed in any other language without circumlocution (Q.). It is, indeed, far otherwile with their way of writing; though we should allow it equally easy and natural to write from the right to the left, as they did, or from the left to the right as the Greeks, Romans, and moderns do; for whether we take it to have been the same with the present character, in which we have the sacred books, which yet is universally now allowed to have been the old Assyrian, but introduced only since the Babylonish captivity; or whether we believe it to have been the old Samaritan, which has been preserved only in some few medals, and in the Samaritan Pentateuch, sure it is, that the former seems rather to have been contrived for beauty and expedition, whilst the other is the farthest from either, and is, perhaps, the most uncouth and unnatural, the most puzzling and unsightly, that ever was invented, insomuch that it is scarce credible, that so judicious a person as Moses was, would ever have made use of it, if he had known any better extant at that time. This the reader will best judge of by the alphabet following, in which he will see sufficient reason to justify Ezra, and those who changed it for the more elegant and commodious Assyrian.

(Q.) Thus, for instance, *to love, to be loved, to love ex-
cessively, to be loved vehemently,
to be made to love, or to be lo-
ved, and to hate and to be
hated*, are expressed by the same verb with a small variation; in some only of the points, as where
of one, or at most two letters.
Thus again, the change of

conjugation makes a verb express a contrary sense or action, as to *blest* and *curse, honour* and *dishonour, to root in* or *cause to
take root, and to root out utterly.* Prepositions and periphrases are very single letters, placed, the former at the end, and the latter at the beginning of a word.

to the Babylonish Captivity.

THE HEBREW ALPHABET.

Samaritan.	Chaldee.	Names.	Power.	Numbers.	Final.
א	א	1 Aleph	Aspiration	1	
ב	ב	2 Beth	B	2	
ג	ג	3 Gimel	G	3	
ד	ד	4 Daleth	D	4	
ה	ה	5 He	H	5	
ו	ו	6 Vau	V	6	
ז	ז	7 Zain	Z	7	
ח	ח	8 Cheth	Ch	8	
ט	ט	9 Teth	Tth	9	
י	י	10 Iod	Iyy	10	
כ	כ	11 Caph	K	20	כ 500
ל	ל	12 Lamed	L	30	
מ	מ	13 Mem	M	40	ם 600
נ	נ	14 Nun	N	50	נ 700
ס	ס	15 Samek	S	60	
ע	ע	16 Ayin	Hghngh	70	
פ	פ	17 Peh	Pph	80	פ 800
צ	צ	18 Tzade	Ttz	90	צ 900
ק	ק	19 Qoph	K	100	ק 1000
ר	ר	20 Reh	R	200	
ש	ש	21 Shin	Shf	300	
ת	ת	22 Taw	Tth	400	

That this is the exact number and order of their letters, is demonstrable from those acrostic pieces, both in the Psalms and elsewhere, where every half or whole verse, or every other verse, begins with one of these letters successively. It is likewise universally agreed, that the Samaritan letters are either the same, or very near so, with the old Phoenician; and it is far from improbable, that the old Egyptian was also very like it; so that Moses, who

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was learned in all the wisdom of Egypt, might write his laws in that character? Sir Isaac Newton, indeed, thinks that he had it from the Midianites¹; and we have, in more places than one of this history, concluded it highly probable, that not only they, but all their trading neighbours, had the art of writing very early; though it be not possible to determine whether each nation had a peculiar character of their own, or the same in common to them all, much less to ascribe the invention of it to its true author (R).

How-

^b Vide Plutarch, lib. de Diem. Socrat. Kircher. Voss. Capel. & al' mult. ^c Chronol. p. 210.

(R) The Sabaeans produce a book, which they pretend to have been written by Adam, the character of which, though different from all others⁽¹⁾, might have given the hint to those alphabets that have since been used. But as their authority weighs but little in this point, others have attributed it to Seth, upon the authority of Josephus, who tells us, that he caused his astronomical discoveries to be engraven upon two pillars, designed to continue proof, one against the flood, and the other against the conflagration⁽²⁾; others ascribe it to Enoch, because St. Jude quotes a prophecy of his⁽³⁾, which they think must have been handed down in writing; though much more probably by tradition: others again give it to Noah and to Abraham; but the far greatest part, both of Jews and Christians, agree, and moreover ascribe it to Moses, whom many seem to be the best with the Egyptians. Both as former inhabitants to the Hi-

tory of that nation. Among these last, some believe, that the first writing was that upon the two tables; and that, consequently, God did first shew it unto Moses, who taught it to Aaron, Joshua, and the seventy elders. Most of the Jews are of this opinion, and some of them add, that there was an alphabet engraven also upon the tables, along the margin, in order to teach him, and his people, the way of reading the Decalogue. But the reverse of all this seems implied in the account which that law-giver has left of his receiving those tables: he says, indeed, that they were written by the finger, or, as the phrase implies, by the order and direction of God; but he hints nothing like his being taught to read them, or his instructing others, much less that such a way of writing was taught him by God himself, and was then unknown to the people. In which circumstance he can hardly be supposed to have omitted, had that been the

⁽¹⁾ See above, vol. I. cap. 1.

⁽²⁾ Epist. Jude, ver. 14.

⁽³⁾ Job 41. lib. i.

cafe.

However, though it be now the most received opinion that the Samaritan was the ancient Hebrew character, yet it has been strenuously opposed by several learned men^c. The Talmudists not only suppose the contrary all along, but have declared themselves for the Chaldee characters even in that place, where they have been quoted for the opposite opinion^d (S). Among those of the Christians who have declared themselves on that side, one^e has taken an unspeakable deal of pains to prove the Chaldee character was the genuine alphabet of nature, because no letter can be sounded without disposing the organs of speech into an uniform position with the figure of that letter.

The misfortune is, that all his fine reasoning, and whatever else is urged by others on that side the question, is

^c Hottin. Cost. Morin. Postel. Buxtorf. jun. & al. ^d Tract. Sanhedr. ap Walt. Prolegom. ^e F. M. B. Van Helmont. Alphabet. Natur.

case. The reader may see this point learnedly discussed, in a late treatise on that subject, to which we must refer him, for fear of digressing beyond our limits (4).

(S) The miraculous power, by which they affirm the middle of the **D** and **M** were supported, in the two tables which Moses brought from the Mount, and which they pretend were engraven quite through the stones, doth plainly shew, that they did not mean the Samaritan, but the Chaldee; because, in the former, the **M** hath nothing in its figure that required such a superfluous support. As to the passage quoted out of the Talmud by Walton, and those that have followed him, in favour of the Samaritan against the Chaldee, or, as that place calls it, the Assyrian letters; if those authors had read a little farther

they would have found several answers, which, though neither definitive nor satisfactory, we shall specify, and answer in favour of the Chaldee. The first of these implies, that we have still our columns and our vau's^f (intimating thereby the likeness of the to a column with its chapter, such as its name implies in the Hebrew); whereas the Samaritan vau has nothing in its figure that bears the least resemblance to it. The next intimates, that it is said in the book of Esther (5) that Mordecai wrote unto all the nations according to their writing and language, and to the Jews also, according to their language and writing, which expression implies, that the Hebrew was different from the old Assyrian character, which the Jews had not yet adopted, instead of the old Samaritan.

(4) See Winder's Hist. of Knowledge, part ii. chap. 5. & seq.

(5) Esther. VIII. 9.

entirely overthrown by one fact, if authentic, produced for the other side; namely, that of the old Jewish shekel here represented,



inscribed on one side, THE SHEKEL OF ISRAEL; and, on the reverse, JERUSALEM THE HOLY; not only in this Samaritan character, but, as there is some reason to suppose, in the dialect of Jerusalem (X). By the name of Israel

(X) Some of these shekels were in the possession of Maimonides, and the rabbi Azarias, among the Jews; and of Marcellus, Moesenus, Villalpandus, and others, among the Christians. The mark on one side is supposed to have been Aaron's miza-

culous rod budding forth almond; and on the other, the pot of manna. The letters over this last, not being plain enough, are variously conjectured to stand for the name of God, of Israel, David, or Jerusalem; as for the inscriptions round those two sides, except

Israel in the first, could not be meant the ten revolted tribes, because they had nothing to do with Jerusalem the holy, which is on the reverse. There are also some pregnant proofs, that it could not belong to the Samaritans after the captivity; their hatred against the Jews was grown to such rancour by that time, that they would have suffered any calamity, rather than be forced to stamp such an inscription upon their coins.

The reader may see the whole argument at large in the authors quoted below^y; from which the Samaritan character is proved to have been the ancient Hebrew, and not that which has been, and is still, used by the Jews and Christians under that name.

These characters, notwithstanding their great affinity to the old Phœnician, if they be not indeed the same, and the vast progress of this latter all over the world, would have been entirely lost, had they not been preserved to us in the Samaritan Pentateuch; by the help of which, we have been able to decypher both the inscrip-

^y Morin, Simon, Calmet, Whiston, &c al.

except a small variation of the character and orthography between those extant coins, they plainly answer to those in the modern Hebrew, on the one side, SHEKEL ISRAEL; and on the reverse, JERUSHALAIM HAKADOSHA, *Jerusalem the holy.*

Thus then the argument in favour of the Samaritan characters seems to amount to a demonstration. We can see but two things that can be objected against it with any colour of reason; the first is, that considering the notorious heats which have been imposed upon the world, with respect to coins and medals, we should be well assured of the genuineness of these, before we venture to decide in so weighty a point; the next is, that allowing them to be genuine, and so have been coined before the revolt of the ten

tribes, which is more than probable, from what we have observed above, of one side's being inscribed the shekel of Israel, yet they may have as likely been the tribute-money, which the Samaritans, or some of the Canaanitish nations, paid either to David, Solomon, or to some of his successors. What gives this latter opinion a greater face of probability, is the difference of character and orthography betwixt those coins, which cannot be so well accounted for, if we suppose them to have belonged to a single people, especially that of Israel. But if the several nations of Canaan, for instance, were obliged to stamp those inscriptions on their tribute-money, in tokens of their subjection to the Hebrews, we shall not be to seek for the reason of this difference.

tion of these shekels, which has thrown so great a light on this controversy, and of some other Phœnician medals, of no less use in other parts of ancient history. But though we had no copies of that book till within these two hundred years (Y), and consequently no knowledge of those shekels till some time after, we must not think the Samaritan Pentateuch remained unknown till then, or that the Chaldee had passed till that time for the original Hebrew character. On the contrary, we find the former often mentioned by some of the fathers and other ancient authors¹; the greatest part of whom, especially of the fathers, were of opinion, that the Jews exchanged their old Samaritan for that more beautiful Chaldee, which is now in use with them, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, whilst the Samaritans chose to preserve the ancient character. This opinion was likewise embraced by

¹ Vide Orig. Hexapl. Hieron. in Ezek. & al. Euseb. Cæsar. Tarlus. Cyril. Alex. Pœlop. Syncell. & al.

(Y) Archibishop Usher is the person to whom we are beholden for the first copies that ever were brought into Europe; the frequent mention made of it in some of the authors quoted above, would not suffer him to be at rest, as he expresses himself (1), till he had procured five or six of them from Syria and Palestine, and had carefully examined them. What his observations, and those of other learned men are, concerning that book, is foreign to our purpose; the reader may consult the authors hereunder quoted (2). With respect to the character itself, we shall not pretend to decide, whether the Phœnicians had it from the Hebrews, or these from them. Sure it is, indeed, that Moses is the oldest

writer we know of; but whoever considers the vast interval between the creation of the world, and the time in which he wrote, the great increase of mankind, their early commerce, arts, and sciences, will hardly think the knowledge of letters to be so recent as that lawgiver's writings. It will be more reasonable to divide the honour of that invention, and its gradual improvements, among more nations, and perhaps more ages than one; for, without all doubt, had Moses known it to have been the invention of one man, especially of one of the patriarchs, he would not have failed recording him, as well as the inventors of music, forging, and such like (3).

(1) Vide Usher. Eccl. ad. Lud. Merton. cont. Marth. F. Simon. De quelques Théolog. P. Holland. Priseaux. Combell, tom. ii. lib. vi. (2) Winder's Hist. of Learning, vol. ii. chap. 2. & seqq.

(3) Morin. Dissert. Bibl. Critic. V. T. Sentiments des philosophes Théolog. P. Holland. Priseaux. Combell, tom. ii. lib. vi.

many modern critics, even before these Samaritan copies were brought into Europe, though by a far greater number, since these additional testimonies have come to light. There is, however, a third class, who have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, by affirming that the ancient Jews had two sorts of characters, the sacred and the vulgar; the first of which they pretend was the Chaldee now in use, and the latter the Samaritan^a; but as they have given no reasonable proof for such a distinction, it has been justly rejected as chimerical.

It has likewise been a famous dispute among the learned, whether the Hebrews used any vowel letters; or whether the points, which are now called by that name, were substituted instead of them; and, if so, whether they are as old as Moses, or invented by Ezra, or by the Massoretes (Z). It is not our design to enter into that spacious field of controversy, which has exercised the talents of the most learned critics of the two last centuries, and is far from being as yet adjusted by those of the present. It will be sufficient, we hope, to acquaint our readers with the most received opinions upon those two heads, and to refer them, for further satisfaction, to the authors who have treated on these subjects ex professo. As to the first, it is now the general opinion, that the aleph, he, vau, iod, and ain, served instead of vowels, though they were sometimes omitted, or, as the grammarians term it, understood, in their declensions and conjugations, and often varied in their sound, and had sometimes the power of consonants, as our j and v. Sure it is, the Samaritans never admitted of any others, though they easily read their Hebrew Pentateuch by the help of their Samaritan character. The same observation will hold with respect to the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, which last did not begin to use points till several centuries after Christ; nay, the Jews themselves never admitted them in their synagogues, no not even to this day. So that it is plain, notwithstanding the many objections that have been raised, it may be, and is easily, read without those points, which seem only invented for the greater

Their
points or
vowels.

Not admitt-
ed by the
Samarit-
ans.

^a R.R. Azariah, Ab. de Bartene. Postel. Bochart. Conring. Schambat, &c al.

(Z) A set of Hebrew critics upon the Bible, so called from the word *massore*, signifying tradition. At what time, and

in what place they wrote, the learned have not yet been able to determine.

cast of learning, and to preserve the true pronunciation of that tongue. In the Scripture, as we now have it, some words have one letter larger than the rest; others less, some at the beginning, some in the middle, and some at the end of a word; some are suspended, or stand higher in the line, and others are turned upside down.

Their antiquity and authority called in question.

The antiquity and authority of the points is the next article in dispute. Jews and Christians have been much divided, one party attributing them to Moses, and making them equally authentic with the text; and the other ascribing them to Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue; till the famous Elias Levita^b, a learned German Jew, who flourished at Rome about the middle of the fifteenth century, made it appear that they had never been in use till after the finishing of the Talmud, about five hundred years after Christ. His book soon raised him a cloud of adversaries, both of his own nation, and of Christians. Among the latter were the two Buxtorfs, who produced some Cabballistical books of great antiquity, at least boasted as such by the Jews, in which there was express mention of points (A). These were answered by Capellus and other critics, till Morenius, having examined all that had been urged on both sides, wrote his learned dissertation on that subject, against which there has been nothing replied of any consequence; whereas his opinion has been universally applauded and confirmed by those

^b Eli. Levit. prefat. 3. in Masorath Hammassor.

(A) These books are the Bahir, Zohar, and Kozri. The first is pretended to have been written a little before our Saviour's time; and the second, which quotes and refers to it, not much above a century after. As for the Kozri, the Jews will have it to be about one thousand nine hundred years old, the particulars of a conference between a learned Jew and the king of Chosroes, in which the latter was converted to Judaism. In these three books mention is made of points once or twice, and the latter has this expression about them; "that

they are the same to the letters that cloths are to a modest woman, who dares not be seen without them." Were the boasted antiquity of these books unquestionable, there would be an end at once of the argument; but the veracity of the Jews, in such matters, is not to be relied upon. However, what shows the imposture of them beyond all doubt is, that there are things in them which must have been written about one thousand years after their supposed date; and none of their books have been quoted or mentioned during that time, by any author.

that have come after him in the course of these enquiries. Neither Origen, nor St. Jerome, nor even the compilers of the Talmud, which, according to him, was not finished till the seventh century, knew any thing of them; no, nor even any of the Jewish rabbies, that wrote during the eighth and ninth. He adds, that the first footsteps he met of them were in the writings of the rabbies Aaron Ben-Asher, chief of the western, and Moses Ben-Naphtali, chief of the eastern school; that is, about the middle of the tenth century ^a(B).

At the same time these doctors set about inventing and fixing the grammatical points, the comma and full stop, to divide the periods and verses, which till that time had lain confused and undistinguished, not only in the Scripture, but also in all the other Hebrew books (C). This has been also a very useful work to the world, though few Christian interpreters have thought it necessary to confine themselves to their divisions. On the contrary, there is

*Likewise
the gram-
matical
and other
points.*

^a Vide Morin. Dissert. Biblic. Capel. Arcan. Punctat. & Distrib. Walton. Prologom. Dupin. Voss. Wasmuth. &c al. mult.

(B) We shall subjoin a short number; and all of them, one specimen of those points, for or two excepted, placed under the sake of our English readers. the letter, as follows: They are reckoned fourteen in

Long points.	Semibriefs.	Quite briefs.
קָמֵת a	קְפָתָח a	קְשָׁרָה i
קְצֵרָה e	קְסֹגֶל e	קְבָטֶף-קְטָהָה ē ī
קְבִירִיק i gādol	קְבִירִיק i	קְטָהָפֶף-קְסֹגֶל e i
קְבָדָה o	קְטָהָן o	קְבָטֶף-קְמַצֵּץ ī
קְבָרָק u	קְבָלָם u	קְבָטֶף-קְבָרָק u
	קְבָבָעָן u	

(C) An eminent critic assures us, that he had examined above two thousand Hebrew manuscripts of all sorts, and that he never met with any pointed, that were above six hundred years old; or, at least, if the books themselves were of older date, yet the points were manifestly added to them afterwards; and this he affirms equally of the grammatical and vowel points. And he was so sure, that he had made all the necessary enquiry after them, that he defies all the advocates for the points to produce one that could disprove his assertion: which has never been done to this day, that we know of (1).

(1) Vide II. Voss. de LXVII. Interpret. Translat. cap. 30.

*Masoretic
inven-
tion, of
what use.*

scare a modern version that doth not reasonably depart from them, when a clearer sense, a parallel place, or analogy, warrants their deviations. It must be owned, however, that the labour of the Masoretes, in these two respects, has proved very serviceable to the learned; and that they have made the knowledge of the sacred books much more easy and expeditious than it was before. Their other productions, though equally laborious, are of a more trifling nature: they invented a great variety of other points; some rhetorical, some musical, and others critical; the former were designed to keep up the right cadence and chant of the Hebrew; and the latter to fix the sense of ambiguous places in their own way; all which grew, as various, numerous, and intricate, as they were indeed useless, and in some cases ridiculous. From these inventions they proceeded to number the verses, and even letters of every book; and to mark down how often every letter of the alphabet occurs. As the design of all this labour was to prevent any mistakes, additions, omissions, or alterations, from creeping into the text; so it plainly intimates, that they were conscious of its having been interpolated before; and that, notwithstanding all their pretended care and scrupulous exactness in transcribing them, they had not been able altogether to avoid some such mischance.

*What the
Jews
wrote
upon.*

The materials which the Hebrews wrote upon, as well as the instrument they wrote with, may, in some measure, be ascertained from certain places of Scripture. As to the former, it is plain, that their first writing, namely, the Decalogue, was upon tables of stone. But it is likely, that Moses made use of a less heavy and cumbersome material to write the rest of his laws upon, such as the shitim, or some other hard wood. This way of writing upon tables was still in use, not only in Isaiah's days, but continued so till our Saviour's time. Besides these, we find frequent mention made in Job, the Psalms, and the Prophets, of their writing upon rolls, which are reasonably supposed to have been made of skins, or of some pliable matter fit to roll up; for so the original word imports¹ (D). And we have the testimonies of Herodotus,

¹ Isa. xxx. 8. Luke i. 61. Job xxxi. 15, 36. Psal. xi. 7. Isa. viii. 1. Jerem. xxxvi. 4. Ezecl. ii. 9. ill. 1, & seq. Zechar. v. 2.

(D) תְּלִילָה telilah comes from תַּלְלָה tallah, which signi. to roll, and

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and Diodorus Siculus¹, to prove that the Ionians and Persians used the skins of sheep and goats to write upon, long enough before king Pergamus, who is therefore to be looked upon as an improver rather than the inventor of parchment². These rolls differed in size, according to the subject they contained, and the character in which it was written; so that some of them consisted of several skins sewed to one another lengthwise. The Jews retain them to this day in their synagogues. The lines were not continued through the whole length of the skin, much less of the roll, but were conveniently divided into columns. This is what is meant by what our version renders *leaves*, in that place of Jeremiah³, where the king cut the roll in pieces, after they had read three or four pages of it. Of this sort was also, we suppose, the book of the law, which the high-priest found in Josiah's time⁴.

We do not find that the Israelites had any schools or colleges, for the instruction of their youth, if we except those of the prophets, which were of a different nature. They bred up their sons to bodily exercise, such as would best fit them, either for war or husbandry; and their daughters to household occupations, without troubling themselves much about cultivating their minds, farther than to instruct them in the knowlege of their religion and laws; and this was the province of the parents, chiefly on the sabbath.

All that related to religion and morality was contained in the Mosaic books, and interspersed in the others; but, besides these, they had the Psalms, the Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, with many other writings of Solomon, a great part of which is likewise lost; to say nothing of Job and the Prophets. All these they were instructed in, even from their infancy; they heard them expounded on the sabbath, and other festivals, by the prophets, and Levites. Their lawgiver ordained, that their children should be instructed only in such truths, as were proper to inspire them with an awful regard to God and his laws, and with the love of virtue; whilst he forbade them almost upon all occasions, to be inquisitive after the religion and learning of other nations (E).

Their

¹ Herodot. lib. v. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. ² Voss. Orig. & lib. de Grammat. cap. 38. ³ Jerem. xxxvii. 3. ⁴ Kings xxii. 8.

(E) This was probably also ordinary disregard they shewed the foundation of that extra- for those useful arts and sciences, in

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Their changing of the solar into the lunar year, and the complete month of thirty days, into the irregular moons of twenty-nine and thirty ; their distinguishing the days of the week, not by the seven planets, but by first, second, and third day, or first and second from the sabbath ; the division of the day and night, not into twelve equal parts, but the day into four parts, and the night into four watches ; are strong presumptions of their ignorance in the science of astronomy, even at a time when it was well known to the Egyptians and other neighbouring nations. It does not even appear that they had any instruments to reckon the time, such as clepsydrae, or water-glasses, and sun-dials, except that we read of the sun-dial, or as the original signifies, *the stair-case*, or *flight of steps*, of Ahaz : and even allowing this to have been a real and regular sun-dial, it was probably the work of some foreign artist (F).

On

Kings xx. 5, & seq.

in which their neighbours had so long excelled. Arithmetic, being so necessary for the trading part, might indeed find some encouragement amongst them ; and even this we offer more as a probable conjecture, than from any testimony ; but, as for navigation and astronomy, we find nothing in their history, but what assures us of their being utterly unknown. The maritime tribes contented themselves with receiving foreign merchants into their harbours, without endeavouring to carry on their commerce abroad ; insomuch that when Solomon resolved to send some ships into foreign countries, he was forced to have them manned with foreign sailors. As for astronomy, we need but well consider what has been said under another head, of the poor Jews, they were driven to, in order to find out their new moon, the beginning of their

profound ignorance. We shall only add, that far from knowing any thing of eclipses, they have not so much as one upon record, or indeed a name for it. They probably looked upon them as miraculous tokens of the divine wrath, and so never dived farther into the nature of them.

(F) To seek for other sciences, or for schools or universities, among them, were like seeking them among the Goths and Vandals ; they not only had an equal contempt for them, and for those natives that cultivated them, but looked upon them as dangerous and unlawful. Their zeal, or rather hatred against them, was so far from abating, after their return from Babylon, where they had seen them flourish, that it rather grew into a kind of fury, insomuch that their large chronic, intituled *Jacobus*, hath recorded

a sep-

On the other hand, they were no less careful to cultivate the knowledge of religion among themselves : we cannot indeed be sure, that they had any synagogues before the captivity ; though it be far from improbable, considering the great distance at which some of them lived from the temple, and that at best they were obliged to resort thither but thrice a year ; but other places they had for prayer and instruction, namely, the schools of the prophets, to which they might repair on the sabbaths, new-moons, and other festivals. By prophets, we mean not those strictly so called, men endowed with the spirit of prophecy (G), but their disciples, or, as the Hebrew idiom terms it, “the sons of the prophets.” The former were generally consulted by the kings, priests, and elders.

Synagogues

Schools.

a sentence of anathema, which passed in the time of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, against such as should suffer their children to be instructed in any part of the Greek learning. Solomon, indeed, we are told, was an excellent naturalist, and wrote a great deal upon that subject ; but he was so far from recommending that study to others, that he calls his researches of that kind, “vanity and vexation of spirit ;” or, as the original imports, *a feeding upon the wind* (2). Whilst they were thus averse to the learning of other nations, they were no less scrupulous of concealing their own from their neighbours, especially their sacred books ; witness the grief they expressed when Ptolemy obtained a version of them into Greek ; in memory of which, they have kept a strict, even a double fast on the eighth and ninth days of the month Thevet, or December.

(G) The word Prophet,

doth not always signify an inspired person, in the Old Testament, but often a preacher of righteousness, such as were all the patriarchs from Seth, or in the sense of the Gospel, such as believed and taught the coming of the Messiah ; in which sense also, those that preached him, and his doctrine, after his coming, are also called prophets, and their preaching, prophecy. The same may be also said of those who sung the praises of God, or accompanied them with some musical instrument, as Miriam, the company of prophets that met Saul, and the sons of Asaph, of Heman, and Jeduthun, who are said to have prophesied with harps, psalteries, and cymbals ; though they were properly no other than musicians. The apostle gives the title of prophet even to the heathen poets ; and hence comes that distinction in St. Austin, of Jewish, Christian, and Heathen prophets (3).

(1) Ecclesi. i. & seq. psalm. xi. 4. xiv. 24. 29. & seq. & alib. 2 Chron. xxv. 1. Tit. i. 12.

(2) Vide Luke i. 70. 1 Cor. xvi. 20. Exod. xv. 20. 1 Sam. x. 5. Prefat. in lib. viii. capit. Faust.

The History of the Jews

of the people, upon all extraordinary occasions, whether about religion or state affairs ; and the latter were brought up under them, and fitted for instructing the people in the way of virtue, and the worship of God.

They had their habitation chiefly in the country ; they lived in a kind of society among themselves, and were generally directed by one or more of the prophets, and to whom they gave the title of Father^a. Their houses were but mean, and of their own building. Their food was chiefly pottage made of herbs ; unless when the people sent some better fare to them, such as bread, parched corn, honey, dried fruits, and the like^b. Their dress was plain and coarse, tied about with a leathern girdle^c ; their wants, being so few, were easily supplied with their own hands ; and as their views reached no farther, so they limited their labour to bare necessaries, that they might bellow the more time in prayer, study, and retirement. Riches were no temptation to them in such a state ; and therefore Elisha not only refused Naaman's presents, but punished Gehazi in a severe manner, for having clandestinely obtained a small portion of them. This laborious, recluse, and abstemious course of life, joined to their meanness of dress, gave them such a strange air, especially among the courtiers, that they looked upon them as no better than madmen. Their extraordinary freedom, in reproofing even princes for their wicked deeds, exposed them frequently to persecutions, imprisonments, and sometimes to death ; especially in the reigns of some violent princes, such as Ahab and Manasseh ; but, in the main, they were always respected by the better and wiser sort, even of the highest rank, and used with the utmost reverence and regard.

This is all that we know concerning their religious communities : those who have ventured to give us a farther account of them, such as their living in perpetual celibacy, poverty, and obedience, have spun it out of their own brains. True it is, we do not read of any women living amongst them ; when the Shunamite went to accuse Elisha with the death of her son, he sent Gehazi to meet her, and when she would have fallen down at his master's feet, he offered to hinder her : but it is also certain, that several of the prophets were married, and had children, namely, Samuel, Isaiah (whose wife is called

^a Kings viii. 11. ^b Kings viii. 24. ^c Kings viii. 29.

^a Kings

To the Babylonish Captivity.

a prophetess¹), Ezekiel², and Hosea³; and it was the widow of one of the sons of the prophets, whose oil Elisha miraculously increased, to save her sons from being sold to the creditors of the deceased⁴. The prophetesses were likewise married: Deborah was the wife of Lapidoth⁵; and Huldah, whom king Josiah sent to consult, was the wife of Shallum; and she is observed (in the text) to have lived in the college of Jerusalem⁶.

The Talmudists reckon from Abraham to Malachi, forty-eight prophets, and six prophetesses (H). Several of the former are known to us by nothing but their names; as for the rest, we shall have occasion to specify their ac-

¹ Isa. viii. 3.

² Ezek. xxiv. 14.

³ Hof. i. 2, &c seq.

⁴ Kings iv. 1, & seq.

⁵ Judg. iv. 4.

⁶ ^a Kings xxii. 14, 15.

(H) It is observable with respect to Daniel, that though the Jews allow him a rank among the other prophets, yet they will not admit his writings amongst those of the rest, but only among the Hagiographa, which they look upon as of the least authority of all the canonical books. The reasons they give for this disrespect, are these: 1. That Daniel was a courtier, and spent his life in luxury and grandeur in the service of an uncircumcised king. 2. That the spirit of prophecy was confined to the land of Canaan, out of which he lived all his life. To these, some have added a third, namely, that he had been an eunuch, according to Maiah's prophecy to Hezekiah; and that such were excluded from entering into the congregation of the Lord. Some learned Jews have indeed vindicated him from this last imputation; but their Gemarra casts a still much more

injurious reflection upon him; namely, that he stole privately into Egypt to buy hogs, while Nebuchadnezzar was setting up his golden image; and his three friends, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, were condemned to the flames, for refusing to worship it. All this rancour, however, is supposed to spring from the great use which the Christians have made of his writings against them; though Ezekiel gives him a great character when he mentions him with Noah and Job. Even Josephus, though he allows him to have been a complete politician, is far from denying him the title of prophet, that he even gives him the preference to the rest, in several respects. But the rest of the Jews have thrown his prophecies into the Sepher Ketubim, or Hagiographa, among those of Job, the Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes (4).

(4) Vide ^a Kings xx. 12. Deut. xxxiii. 1. Abenezer. in Dan. Ezek. xiv. 14, 15, 20. Job Ant. lib. x. cap. 1. Hieron. Psalt. in Isa. Minim. More nevach. part 2. Great Prophet. in Isa.

The History of the Jews.

sos, writings, and characters, when we come to the history of those kings, in whose reigns they lived, and with which they have an immediate relation. The ways in which God is said to have revealed himself to them were various: to some he appeared and spoke, either in human or some other visible form, as he did to Abraham and Moses; to others he made himself known by voice only, as to Samuel, Jeremiah, Hosea, and others¹. Sometimes by visions, as he did to Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; at other times by dreams: but the most usual and general way was, by the sole operation of the Spirit of God, acting on the mind of the prophet. In this last manner, the book of Psalms is generally thought to have been dictated by the Holy Ghost to the author, or rather authors of it, Moses, David, Solomon, the three sons of Shorah, Asaph, and the rest².

S E C T. IV.

The Jewish Chronology, from Abraham's Vocation, to the Babylonish Captivity.

ACCORDING to the chronology we have followed in this work, which is that of archbishop Usher, the time which elapsed from Abraham's first entrance into Canaan, to Jacob's descent into Egypt, amounts to 215 years: his posterity remained in this country as much more. From their coming out of that bondage, to Solomon's laying the foundation of the temple, the text tells us, 480 years elapsed³: from thence to the destruction of it by Nebuchadnezzar, when Judah was carried into captivity, was an interval of 422 years⁴; so that the whole time of this epoch, from the vocation of Abraham to the Babylonish captivity, amounts to 1332. As to the kingdom of Israel, it lasted only 254 years from its defection from that of Judah, in the thirty-seventh year after the building of the temple, to their being carried away captive by Shalmaneser; an event which happened 134 years before the Babylonish captivity.

Although the larger divisions of this era are fixed upon the solid foundation of Scripture, it is not easy

¹ Sam. iii. 4, & seq. Jer. i. 4, & seq. &c alib. Hos. i. 2.
² Hieron. Prefat. in Psal. ³ Kings vi. 1. ⁴ See the Marginal Chronology of our Bibles, and Usher's App. p. 31.

to adjust the smaller periods, especially those which relate to the several reigns of their judges and kings, because of the almost irreconcileable difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan chronology, as well as between these two, and that of the Septuagint: to say nothing of Josephus, and other Jewish writers.

But these are not the only causes of the difficulty that occurs in settling the Jewish chronology: their historians affected to use round numbers in their large computations, without minding too scrupulously the odd years. The same inaccuracy prevails in their lesser reckonings; those, for instance, of the reigns, which they computed by complete years, overlooking the odd months, which the first and last happened to fall short of; thus, it often happened, that a whole year was gained within the compass of two or three reigns. The book of Judges, whoever was the author of it (I), compared with Josephus's history of them, seems only a short account of so many persons, and of their government, without regard to the interregnums, and anarchies, which happened between. It seems, indeed, as if they were designedly passed over, as dead epochas not worth recording. And lastly, after the division of the two kingdoms, the length of every king's reign is set down, and the synchronisms between those of Judah and Israel, are exactly observed; and yet there of-

(I) It certainly was not begun, and continued by several hands, under the government of each judge, as we may perceive, not only from the uniformity of style throughout, but also because the author, whoever he was, gives a kind of epitome of the whole book at the beginning; and the expression which often occurs in it, "that in those days there was no king in Israel," shews it to have been written after the beginning of their monarchy. On the other hand, those who date it after their captivity, because it is there said, "that Jonathan and his sons continued to be priests until the day of the captivity"

of the land;" which they think must at least be that of Tiglath-Peleser, seem not to consider that, by what the author says at the beginning, "that the children of Benjamin dwelt with the Jebusites in Jerusalem, unto this day," he must have lived before these were driven out of it by David. It is therefore more probable, as the Jews think, that the captivity here spoken of was the battle which the Israelites lost against the Philistines, when the ark was taken by them; at which time, one may reasonably suppose, a great number of the people were also taken captive.

the reigns such jarring and disagreement between them, could not be reconciled by any other way, than by supposing that some of these monarchs, in either kingdom, were taken into copartnership with their predecessors; and that the beginning of their reigns was dated from that junction, and not from their father's death. How far the Jewish computation by lunar years, their ignorance of astronomy, and want of exact tables, may have increased their difficulties, we need not say. But these, and many more, which we willingly omit, have induced a great number of learned chronologers, ancient and modern, such as St. Jerom, Scaliger, Vossius, Genebrard, and others, to think it next to impossible to adjust the Jewish chronology by those few books of theirs that are extant.

The histories of several kings are said in the text to have been written by contemporary prophets, of whom we have nothing extant but their names; and the books of Kings and Chronicles conclude every king's reign in words to this effect: "Now the rest of the acts of such a king, his valour and conquests, are they not written in the book of the Kings (or Chronicles of the kings) of Judah, (or Israel)?" It were absurd to suppose, that those we have extant, under the name of Kings and Chronicles, refer to one another, seeing, some few inconsiderable particulars excepted, they all mention the same facts, and almost word for word; and are alike silent with respect to all the other particulars of those reigns. It is, therefore, more reasonable to imagine, that they referred to more exact and voluminous annals or histories, written by proper persons in every reign, which either perished during the captivity, or since that period. But whether we ascribe the difficulties of the Jewish chronology to the loss of those books, to the wilful corruption of the text; or to the carelessness of transcribers; each of these reasons will sufficiently account for the different ways, by which almost every chronologer has endeavoured to fix the various eras before the birth of Christ:

These indeed do not differ so widely from one another, as the Christians do; but then it is evident, they have shortened the space between the creation of the world, and the birth of Christ, by two thousand years, or even more. Whether this was done with design to explode the Jewish chronology, or to shorten the time of the world, I know not; but it is evident, that no

more be reconciled to ours, than to that of the Egyptians, or any other nation.

The truth is, that all their records, the sacred books excepted, though not of a more recent date than their Talmud, seem wholly directed by it; so, that whatever small difference is to be met with between them, in point of chronology, is rather owing to a different reading or understanding of that book, than a deviation from it; and of what authority both this and the others ought to be to us, we need not inform the reader. However, for the satisfaction of such as are not acquainted with these chronological works, we shall mention some few of the most considerable, together with their authors, as far as they are known, and the time in which they were compiled (A).

The first is the Sedar Holam Rabbah, or *Large Chronicle*, which contains a short history from the creation, and is generally attributed to one Rabbi Jose Ben Chalephtha, who flourished, if we may believe the generality of the Jews, about one hundred and thirty years after Christ, and is said to have been master to the famous Jehudah Hakodesh, the compiler of the Mishna; but what shews him to be of more modern date is, that his work is continued down to the time of the emperor Adrian^{*} (B).

2. The Shealoth, and Teshuboth, or Questions and Answers, dialoguewise, of Rabbi Sherira, surnamed Gaon, or *the Sublime*. This is a chronological epitome, the

* Vide Wolf. Biblioth. Rabbin. num. 848. p. 462, & seq. See Moren. Bartoloc. Buxt. &c al.

(A) And here we shall pass by their fictitious Josephus Ben Gorion, whom they have intruded upon the world instead of the real Josephus, so well known to the Christians, and so often mentioned in this history. The reader may see an account of these two, and the reasons for the former's being forged by the Jews, in opposition to the latter, in Prideaux's Connection, where he will find also a fuller account of the following chronological works, which are fallen, for that reason, out of use.

selves with the bare mention of, and only observe, that they follow the Hebrew text as far as it goes; the rest is mostly supplied by the Talmud, to the time of its being compiled, and then by authors of later date.

(B) Dean Prideaux observes, that the book is filled with rabbinic fables, which certainly appear to have been taken out of the Babylonian Talmud, from which it concludes, that it was written after it.

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author of which flourished from the year 967, downwards⁴.

3. The Cedar Holam Zutfa, or *Lesser Chronicle*, another epitome of history, from the creation to the year of Christ 552; whose unknown author lived, as the book itself says, about the year 1123⁵.

4. Sepher Cabbala Rabbi Abraham Levita Ben Dior; this book pretends to give a continual and uninterrupted succession of all the patriarchs, prophets, elders, and wise-men, through whose hands the oral tradition passed from Adam to Moses, and so on to the compilers of the Talmud, and from thence to the year of Christ 1141 (C).

5. The Sepher Juchasin, or *Book of Genealogies*, from the creation to the year of Christ 1500. This is a much larger work than any of the former.

6. The Shalsheleth, or chain of the Cabbala, of the same kind with the Juchasin.

7. Tzemach David, or *Sprout of David*, treats of the same subject with the two last (D).

These, especially the first seven, are the books which the Jews urge against our chronology, and from which they pretend to demonstrate, that Christ appeared earlier in the world by about 240 years, than we say he did; but as their authority is altogether founded upon that of the Talmud, we shall spend no more time in confuting either.

We likewise pass by the Jewish Targums, or Chaldee Paraphrases, because we have none upon the book of the Judges, or of the Kings. Upon the whole, whatever differences there may be between those chronological

^a Vide Wolf. & Prid. ubi supra. ^b Vide Sepher Juchasin, Shalsheleth, & Tzemach David, ap. Wolf. ubi supra.

(C) This author often abridges the fictitious Josephus Ben Gorion, and is supposed to be the first who brought that spurious author and his book into credit among the Jews.

(D) These three are still more modern, and less worth our notice. Besides these, we find an apocryphal book, entitled *Debre Hajamem*, or

Chronicle of Moses; which is universally rejected by the Jews, as well as Christians. As for the Samaritan chronicle, published by Bernard and Basnage, it is so short, obscure, and incorrect, that it could yield us but little help in this particular, were it of greater authority than it is (1).

(1) Vide Prid. ubi supra. Calmet, sub voc. *Chroniq. Histoire des Juifs*, tom. vi. lib. viii. cap. 6.

works, they all agree in the series and succession of their kings and judges, in the same order of time as we find them in the two books of Scripture so intituled, as well as in the Chronicles. It is true, that this last sometimes jars with those of Samuel and Kings in point of numbers, whether of years, or other incidents, mentioned in both. But such differences are scarce worth the pains that some critics have taken to reconcile them¹.

The following is the list of the patriarchs, heads, or chiefs, judges, and kings of Judah and Israel.

The Jewish patriarchs were { Abraham,
Isaac,
* Jacob, and his twelve sons.

The heads, or leaders, { Moses,
Joshua.

The Israelitish judges.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1. Othniel, son-in-law to
Joshua (E). | 6. Abimelech his son. |
| 2. Ehud. | 7. Tolah. |
| 3. Shamgar. | 8. Jair. |
| 4. Deborah, the prophet-
ess, and wife of La-
pidoth, with Barak
her general. | 9. Jephthah the Gilædite. |
| 5. Gideon, or Jerubbaal. | 10. Ibzan. |
| | 11. Elon. |
| | 12. Eli the high-priest. |
| | 13. Samson. |
| | 14. Samuel the prophet. |

Jewish kings before Jeroboam's revolt.

- | | |
|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Saul. | 3. David. |
| 2. Ishbosheth. | 4. Solomon. |

Kings of Judah and Israel after the rupture of the two kingdoms.

- | Judah. | Israel. |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1. Rehoboam. | 1. Jeroboam. |
| 2. Ahijam. | 2. Nadab. |

¹ Vide Whiston's Chronology, and Capzovius's learned Answer to it.

(E) Josephus makes Kenaz, the father of Othniel, to have been the first judge; and takes no notice of his son, either as his colleague, or successor; but the text is against him, which

gives that dignity to the latter, and attributes to him the final victory that raised him to the helm, which he managed forty years.

Judah.	Israel.
3. Asa.	3. Baasha.
4. Jehoshaphat.	4. Ela.
5. Jezoram.	5. Zimri.
6. Ahaziah.	6. Omri.
7. Athaliah, the usurping queen.	7. Ahab.
8. Jehoash.	8. Ahaziah.
9. Amaziah.	9. Jezoram.
10. Uzziah, or Azariah.	10. Jehu.
	11. Jeroahaz.
	12. Jeroash.
	13. Jeroboam II.
	An interregnum of eleven years and a half.
11. Jotham.	14. Zachariah.
12. Ahaz.	15. Shallum.
13. Hezekiah.	16. Menahem.
14. Manasseh.	17. Pekahiah.
15. Amon.	18. Pekah.
16. Josiah.	19. Hoshea.
17. Shallum or Jeroahaz.	
18. Eliakim or Jeroakim.	
19. Jechoniah or Coniah, called also Jeroakim.	
20. Mattania, called also Zedekiah.	

S E C T. V.

The Jewish History, from Abraham to Moses.

WE have had occasion already to hint, that this celebrated patriarch was the father and founder of the Jewish nation; though they were never, as we can find, called by his name; but either by that of Israelites, or Jews, or by the more common name of Hebrews (F).

Abraham,

(F) We have ventuted to call them Jews, in compliance with custom, though that name was not given them, till after the Babylonish captivity, came

Abraham, the son of Terah, and the tenth in a lineal descent from the son and successor of Noah, was born in Ur of the Chaldees, and about seventy-four years of age, when his father and he went from thence into Haran, where they had not been seated long, before Terah died, in the two hundred and fifth year of his age (G).

Yr. of M
477.
Ante Chr.
1921.

came the most considerable of what was left of Israel. The first name given to Abraham and his children, was that of Hebrews, which some derive from Heber, the fifth in descent from Noah. But it is hardly probable, that Abraham would call himself by his name, rather than by that of any of his ten predecessors ; and we rather think, that it was given him by the Canaanites, because he came from the other side of the Euphrates ; the word Heber signifying in the original *the other side*, whether of a river, sea, or any other thing ; in which sense some people are called transmarine, and transalpine. What seems to confirm this etymology, is, that we do not find, that he was called by that name, till word was brought him of his nephew Lot's misfortune ; so that it is likely the messenger, enquiring for Abraham, of the inhabitants, might describe him by the word *hebrei*, or one that came from the other side of the river. However, after Jacob had received the name of Israel, they preferred that of Israelites, though the neighbouring nations still called them Hebrews.

(G) There seems to be an unsurmountable difficulty in this account of Terah's age, which chronologers have variously endeavoured to remove. Willet and Tremellius think,

that though Terah was but seventy years old, when he began to have children, yet he was near one hundred and thirty when he begat Abraham, and that those who were born before him, are purposely omitted by Moses, that Abraham might have the honour of primogeniture for the excellency of his faith. Others, with Calmet, choose rather to give him Adar, or Azer, for his father, and Terah for his grandfather, according to the Arabian history of that patriarch ; and to fill up the chasm, suppose that Adar begat Abraham in the fiftieth year of his age ; but besides the small reliance we can have on that history, the hypothesis is quite opposite to the text. Others suppose, with Sir Norton Knatchbull, that an error has crept into the original ; and that Terah was either one hundred and thirty years old when he begat Abraham, or if he was then but seventy years old, that he died in the hundred and fifty-fifth, and not in the two hundred and fifth year of his age : for the text says, that Abraham was seventy-five years old when he left Haran, and that his father died but a little before. The reader, for a more satisfactory solution, may have recourse to the learned Capzovius, especially with the notes of Marcus Moses in the English tongue.

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Abraham's His funeral rites were scarce performed, when Abraham was commanded by God to depart into another land, where he would bless, protect, and multiply him in an extraordinary manner; and he assured him, "that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed."^c he readily obeyed this call, and with Sarah his wife, Lot his brother's son, his servants and cattle, migrated into the Promised Land, where he pitched his tents near the city of Sichem (H) then inhabited by the Canaanites, and built an altar unto the Lord. Here God was pleased to appear again unto him, to confirm all his former promises; and to assure him, that he would one day give that land to his posterity. In a little time, however, a great famine, which happened in those parts, forced him to remove into Egypt, which was then the only place, where he could hope to find provision for his numerous family, and great multitude, of cattle. The fear he was in, upon the account of Sarah his wife, who, though she was past the sixty-fifth year of her age, retained yet beauty enough to endanger the man's life who should pass for her husband, made him resolve, after some hesitation, that she should pass for his sister, in every place where they might sojourn. From this descent into Egypt the generality of chronologers compute the space of four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St. Paul^d, agreeably to what Moses^e says in another place^f, that Israel dwelt in Egypt four hundred and thirty years; that is, as the Septuagint interpret it, that from the first arrival of Abraham to the Exodus, should be four hundred and thirty years. Abraham had not been long in Egypt before Sarah captivated the king Pharaoh, who took her away, and for her sake shewed extraordinary favours to her pretended brother (I). At length God was pleased

^a Gen. xii. 1, & seq. ^b Galat. iii. 17. ^c Exod. xiii. 40.

(H) If we credit Nicholas of Damascus, Abraham came with an army from Chaldea, stopped, and reigned some time in the country of Damascus, before he went to Sichem (I) and his name was still famous there. Josephus seems to have quoted his very

words, adding, that Abraham's name was to that day in great veneration in that country; and that there was still a village which bore the name of Abraham's habitation.

(I) Pharaoh was not the name of this particular king, but an appellation common to

(I) Ap. Joseph. Ant. lib. i. cap. 5. Euseb. Prep. lib. ix. cap. 16.

to interpose for the deliverance of Sarah. Pharaoh, and his house, were infested with such plagues, as seemed to indicate the resentment of heaven. The king, being informed of the cause, sent for Abraham, when, having sharply rebuked him for deceiving him in a matter of such consequence, he restored his wife free from stain or violation, and gave orders, that they might safely depart his dominions with all the wealth they had acquired.

Abraham made no stay in Egypt after this injunction; the famine having ceased in the place which he had left, he returned thither by the same way; and, on the altar he had built before, offered a sacrifice of thanks for his happy escape, and safe return^m. In the mean time, the herds of Lot, as well as his own, being grown too numerous for the land they lived in, such contentions arose between their shepherds, that Abraham resolved, in a friendly manner, to separate from his nephew. He gave ^{Separates from Lot.} him his choice of the whole country that lay before him, and Lot chose the fertile plains of Sodom and Gomorrah, watered by the river Jordan. Abraham leaving Beth-el, went to dwell in the land of Moreh, which is in Hebron, where he built an altar unto God, and soon after contracted a friendship with three of the greatest men of the place; namely, Mamre, Aner, and Eshcol; the first of whom communicated his name to all the country. This alliance proved very serviceable to Abraham in process of time, and was the cause of his living peaceably, near ten years, among them. Lot being taken captive by Chedorlaomer, and his allies, Abraham communicated the news of his nephew's disaster to his three friends, Mamre, Aner, and Eshcol, who readily granted their assistance; joining three hundred of his own men to theirs, they marched in pursuit of the conquerors, surprised them at Dan in the night, pursued them as far as Hoba, on the left of Damascus, and, having rescued Lot with all his family,

*Return to
Beth-el.*

from Lot.

Yr. of Fl.
436.
Ante Chr.
19124

*Lot taken
prisoner.*

*and resuce-
ed by A-
braham.*

^m Gen. xiii. pass. & xiii.

all the kings of Egypt. They had also other particular names, as So, Necho, Shishac, &c. but under which of the kings of Egypt this event happened, it is impossible to determine, not only because his particular

name is not mentioned by Moses, but likewise by reason of the great confusion we have observed in their chronology. However, Archbishop Usher ventures to call him Apophes (3).

(3) Sub. A. M. 2034.

servants.

servants, and cattle, brought him back to his old habitation. The king of Sodom came out to congratulate Abraham upon his success, and even offered him all the booty which he had retaken, the men and the women excepted; but the patriarch nobly refused to accept the least share of it. Here Melchisedek met and blessed him, and he presented that high-priest with the tithes of all the spoil^a.

*Removes
to Hebron.*

Abraham afterwards removed to Mamre, or Hebron, where God was pleased to appear to him, a fifth time, in a vision, and to give him fresh assurances of his special favour, adding, that he would be his exceeding great reward. The patriarch, who had hitherto listened to God's promises without any expression of distrust, ventured now, for the first time, to expostulate with his Maker, and declare, that he could not comprehend how those promises were to be fulfilled, whilst he himself continued childless, and, to all appearance, should leave all his substance to Eliezer of Damascus, overseer of his household. God then assured him, that not Eliezer, but a son of his own, should be his heir, and promised to make his posterity more numerous than the stars of heaven. Abraham was now eighty-five years old, and Sarah, turned of seventy-four, was thought barren. These circumstances would have been sufficient to have staggered a faith less firm than his; but the Scripture says, that he believed in God, and that it was imputed unto him for righteousness^b. Nevertheless, when God repeated his former promise, that he would infallibly give that land to his posterity. Abraham demanded a sign, and God vouchsafed to comply with his request. He bade him take a heifer of three years, a goat, and a ram of the same age (I), with a pigeon, and a turtle dove, and offer them up in sacrifice. Abraham immediately killed the three beasts, clove them in the middle, and joining the

^a Genes. cap. xiv. 18.

^b Gen. xv. 1—6, & seq.

(I) Onkelos translates it three heifers, three goats, and three rams; and is followed by other Jewish commentators. One of them tells us, that Abraham was then representing the three future sacrifices; namely, burnt offerings, sa-

cifice for sin, and peace-offering. However that be, it is from this action of dividing the victims, that the Israelites introduced the like ceremony in the ratifying their covenants⁽¹⁾.

(1) Vid. Mercer, Villet, Rab. Sal. &c. in loc. Mos. Gerund. sp. Munit. in Gen. xix. sub. not. d.

'pieces

pieces one to the other, laid the birds on the top of them, whilst he himself stayed to drive away the fowls from the sacrifice. As soon as the sun began to set, a deep sleep fell upon him, followed by a horror of great darkness; during which it was revealed to him, that his posterity should sojourn, and be afflicted, in a strange land, four hundred years (K); at the expiration of which God would punish

(K) Expositors have run into various conjectures, in order to make out these four hundred years. Genebrard, a learned chronologer, has affirmed, that the Israelites dwelt in Egypt the full number of four hundred years. His error, however, may be easily confuted by the lives of Kohath, the son of Levi, who went down with Jacob, and died in Egypt, in the hundred and thirty-third year of his age; of his son Amram, the father of Moses, who lived one hundred and thirty-seven years; and of Moses, who was eighty years old when he brought Israel out of Egypt; all which several numbers make but three hundred and fifty years, out of which we must subtract those which Kohath had attained when he went down into Egypt, and likewise the time the fathers lived with their children. This consideration hath induced some critics to reduce the number to less than two hundred and ten years, and others to two hundred; whereas, we shall endeavour to prove, that they remained there two hundred and fifteen years. St. Paul reckons, from the first promise made to Abraham, to the promulgation of the law, in the first year of the exod, four hundred and thirty years; of which two hundred

and fifteen were already expired, when Israel went into Egypt, which is thus proved: 1. From the time of Abram's arrival in Canaan to Jacob's descent into Egypt, are but two hundred and fifteen years; viz. twenty-five from the time of the promise to the birth of his son Isaac; sixty more to the birth of Jacob, who is affirmed by Moses to have been a hundred and thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh, all which make but two hundred and fifteen. 2. The last remaining two hundred and fifteen may be thus reckoned: Kohath came down with Jacob, and, according to Eusebius, begat Amram in his seventieth year, and Amram begat Moses much about the same age; to which if we add the eighty years of Moses's age, when he led them out, the whole will make two hundred and twenty, from which may be subtracted five years, the supposed age of Kohath, when Jacob left Canaan, and the remainder will be the time of their abode in Egypt, namely, two hundred and fifteen years. Hence it is plain, that the four hundred years of Abraham's seed sojourning in a strange land, must be reckoned, not from their coming into Egypt, but from the birth of Isaac. For all the time of their sojourning

punish their oppressors, and bring his children into the land which he had promised him, whilst he himself should be gathered to his fathers in a good old age. After this vision Abraham saw a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp, pass between the victims. Thus was the new covenant ratified between God and Abraham, who, highly pleased with all these promises, went to impart his joy to his beloved wife.

¶ of Fl.
437.
Ante Chr.
2911.

Sarah, not dreaming that she was to be the happy mother of the promised child, and having moreover all the convincing proofs that a woman can have, of her being past all possibility of gestation, resolved at least to be a mother by proxy, according to the custom of that age and

journing in the land of Canaan, Gerar, or any other, was still in a strange land, in which they had not a foot of ground, if we except the cave of Macpelah. As to what is added, that they shall likewise serve and be ill-treated, it is commonly understood to be spoken circumstantially, and might be put in a parenthesis, thus : “They shall sojourn and be strangers (and likewise serve and be oppressed) during the space of four hundred years,” as St. Austin and others have fully proved. Accordingly, we find Isaac oppressed in Gerar, his wells filled up by the inhabitants; and himself forced still farther from them; and Jacob served, and was oppressed by Laban, near twenty years, yet neither of them laboured under a continual oppression. The Egyptian servitude did not commence till after Joseph and his brethren were dead; before that period the Israelites lived in peace and plenty. Allow-

ing, therefore, that Levi was forty-four years of age at his first coming into Egypt, which is the most that can be supposed, he must have lived ninety-three years in Egypt, because the text tells us, that he died in the hundred and thirty-seventh year of his age; and these ninety-three years being subtracted from two hundred and fifteen, the time of their abode, there will remain but a hundred and twenty-two years of thralldom, even supposing it to have begun immediately after his death. The natural sense, therefore, of this prophecy to Abraham, can be only this, that his seed from Isaac on, should be strangers in a land that was not theirs, for the space of four hundred years, during some part of which they should be oppressed, afflicted, and at length brought under bondage; which term being expired, they should find a happy deliverance (2).

(2) Vide Gen. xlvi. 15. Exod. vi. 18. Chrysost. Homil. lib. i. Nic. de Lyra. in loc. Villet. cap. clix. 15. Le Clerc. in loc. Ang. Quæst. in Exod. vi. 47. Merc. Jun. Munster.

to the Babylonish Captivity.

country. To this end she persuaded her husband to take her hand-maid Hagar to him, that if he had a child by her, she might bring it forth upon her knees. Abraham acquiesced; and Hagar no sooner found herself pregnant, than she became haughty and insolent towards her mistress. Sarah, impatient to see herself insulted by a slave, whom her kindness had raised, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints against them both; and Abraham, willing to convince his wife that he loved her as much as ever, left her at liberty to do herself justice in what way she should think fit; a permission which she used accordingly, but with such severity, that Hagar, being unable to bear it, stole away from her, and went and sat down by a fountain on the road to Sur, leading to Egypt. Here the angel of the Lord met her, and persuaded her to return and submit herself to her mistress; assuring her that she should soon be delivered of a son, whom she should call Ishmael (L); that his posterity would multiply exceedingly; that both he and they would prove fierce and warlike; that their hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against them; and that they should dwell in the face of all their brethren. Hagar, hearing these comfortable tidings, took the angel's advice; and in the memory of this surprising vision, she called the well Beer-lahai-roi, which signifies *the well of him that lives and sees me*. This well was between Cadesh and Barneah. Soon after her return she brought forth the promised son, and called him Ishmael, according to the angel's direction. Abraham was now eighty-six years of age, and did not expect another son, but brought this up as the heir of all his substance, and of all God's promises; and Hagar, whose interest it was not to undeceive him, thought fit to conceal what she had learned from the angel; so that it was not till almost thirteen years after this event, that God plainly promised him a son by Sarah his wife.

By this time the patriarch had attained to the ninety-ninth year of his age, when God was pleased to ratify his former covenant with him, by changing his name from Abram to Abraham, assuring him that he would make

*Hagar is
forced to fly
from her
mistress.*

*Is persuad-
ed by an
angel to re-
turn and
submit.*

*Yr. of Pl.
437.
Ante Chr.
1912.*

*Abram's
name
changed
into Abra-
ham.*

^c Gen. xvi. 12, & seq.

(L) Ishmael is compounded immediately subjoined by the of the words jishnah and el, angel, namely, because the he Lord bath or will bear. Lord had heard her complaint. The reason of which name is

the

The History of the Jews

be father of many nations; that kings should proceed from him, and that his posterity should surely possess the land wherein he was a stranger. As a token, or rather trial, of his faith and obedience, God commanded him to circumcise all the males in his family, with a farther injunction, that for the future all the males born of him, or in his family, whether bond or free, should be circumcised on the eighth day after the birth; declaring, that if any male remained uncircumcised, that soul should be cut off, as a despiser of God's covenant, from having any share in the promised land designed for him and his posterity. Lastly, and in order to complete his happiness, God informed him that Sarah his wife should bear him a son, who should be heir to all these blessings; and therefore that her name should be no longer Sarai, but Sarah. Here Abraham falling on^o his face, probably to conceal his laughter, occasioned by the strangeness or improbability of what he heard, began to intercede for the life and preservation of Ishmael, beyond which he thought it unreasonable to ask or wish for any thing; but the Almighty, nothing provoked it seems by his irreverent mirth, soon assured him that these great blessings were not designed for Ishmael, but for a son to be born of the hitherto barren Sarah, whom he should therefore name Isaac (M); that as to the son of Hagar, he would indeed bless him with a numerous posterity; but that Isaac alone, whom Sarah should bear within the year, was to be entitled to the covenant and promise, and that in his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed⁴.

God had no sooner departed, than Abraham took his son Ishmael, and all the males in his family, and circumcised them, as well as himself, without any regard to his own age, which was almost a hundred years, or to the tenderness of his son, who was not above thirteen. All submitted alike to the operation, on the same day (N);

and

⁴ Gen. xvii.

(M) Isaac, according to the Hebrew יִשְׂחָךְ, signifies, *he laughs* or *shall laugh*.

(N) Whether circumcision was first introduced into the world by the Hebrews or Egyptians, has been much contested by ancient and modern historians, critics, and

commentators; certain it is, the practice was of great antiquity both in Egypt and Ethiopia. Considered with a view to health and cleanliness, it was undoubtedly a very judicious institution in a hot climate, among a people naturally impure, and much ad- dicted

Yr. of Fl.
450.
Ante Chr.
1893.

Yr. of Fl.
451.
Ante Chr.
1897.

Abraham
and his fa-
mily cir-
cumcised.

To the Babylonish Captivity

and it was not long before he was honoured with a seventh visit from God, still more remarkable than the former. Sitting one day at the door of his tent, under a tree, he beheld, afar off, three men, whom he took to be strangers; and going forth to meet them, in the most civil and respectful manner invited them to come and partake of a refreshment with him. Having obtained their consent, he ordered a feast to be got ready. In this interview, his divine guest confirmed his promise of Sarah's having a son within the year. Sarah listening at the tent-door, and thinking herself past child-bearing, burst out into laughter; and the stranger asked the reason of it in such a serious tone, as struck her with affright. She would fain have denied it; but it was to no purpose, that she endeavoured to hide any thing from the person that spoke to her, who dismissed her with this gentle reproof, that she was highly in the wrong to mistrust what he said to her, since nothing was impossible with God. The three heavenly guests, having refreshed themselves with meat and drink, rose up, in order to proceed on their journey, and Abraham accompanied them some part of the way. At length one of them, whom the original calls the Lord (O), gave him to understand that the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah was gone up to heaven; and that he was going down fully resolved to destroy them utterly, if upon enquiry he found their wickedness equal to the report of it. The good Patriarch remembering his

Abraham
entertains
three an-
gels.

A son pre-
mised to
Sarah.

dicted to venery. This, and many other regulations, purely economical, were established as religious rights, that they might be observed with the greater care and circumspection. Philo says circumcision was practised for different reasons: first, in order to avoid a distemper called a carbuncle, to which the uncircumcised were often subject: secondly, for the sake of cleanliness, by cutting off whatever was apt to harbour any filth; and for this reason it was, that the Egyptian priests shaved their bodies all over. The third is symbolical, and foreign to our

subject. The last is, that circumcision promotes population; as those who are circumcised are more apt for procreation than those who are not. It ought, however, physically to weaken the desire of venery, by impairing the sensibility of the organs.

(O) The name Jehovah, by which Moses calls the stranger that talked to Abraham, being looked upon by the generality of Jews and Christians to be the incommunicable name of God, it is supposed that it was the Son of God who appeared in that form.

The History of the Jews

*Abraham
leads for
Sodom.*

kinsman Lot, and stimulated by natural compassion for his fellow-creatures, did not fail to intercede for such righteous men as might be found among the wicked; and did not cease his solicitations, till he had obtained a promise, that if there were but ten righteous men found in the place, God would spare it for their sake. The fate of those cities, and Lot's deliverance, have been already related: as for Abraham, he saw the next morning the thick smoke of those unfortunate places ascending like that of a furnace.

*Abimelech
takes Sa-
rah.*

*Is threatened
by God, and
restores her.*

Not long after this event, Abraham leaving the plains of Mamre, went and dwelt in the country of the Philistines, between Cadesh and Sur, where the same adventure happened to him which he had met with in Egypt. Sarah, whom neither her pregnancy, nor advanced age, (she being now ninety years old), had deprived her of beauty, was again desired by her husband to pass for his sister; and Abimelech, king of that country, found her still so charming, that he secured her for his bed; but the Lord appearing to the Philistine in a dream, threatened him with instant death, if he did not immediately restore her, untouched, to her husband, who was a prophet very dear to him; in consequence of which intimation, Sarah was sent back with considerable presents.

*Yr. of Fl.
456.
Ante Chr.
1896.
Isaac born.*

*Yr. of Fl.
457.
Ante Chr.
1891.*

*Ishmael
works
for me.*

The time appointed being come, Sarah brought forth the long-expected son; and called his name Isaac; and Abraham failed not to circumcise him on the eighth day. They were now in the zenith of their happiness. Sarah having suckled the child at her own breast, weaned him at the usual time; and Abraham made a feast to all his household on that occasion; but their joy was dashed with a mixture of vexation, arising from the jealousy which Isaac occasioned to Hagar and her son. Isaac was scarce seven years old, when Sarah perceiving that Ishmael treated her son with contempt, resolved to part them for ever, that Ishmael might have no share in the inheritance. Though Abraham loved her to such a degree that he could deny her nothing, yet he could not forbear looking on her request as cruel and unreasonable; but God confirming what Sarah demanded, and promising moreover to protect Ishmael, and to make him father of a great nation, Abraham was at last prevailed upon to send him and his mother away.

*Abimelech
makes a
league with
Abraham.*

In the mean time he entered into a solemn league of friendship with Abimelech, king of the Philistines, as we have related elsewhere; upon which occasion that place

was

was called Beersheba, or *the well of the oath*, because of the covenant to which they had there sworn. The pleasantness of the place, and the friendship of the king, invited Abraham to stay in it many years. He planted here a stately grove, and built an altar unto the Lord, resolving to end his days in this abode*.

But God had yet a farther trial to make of his faith and obedience. Isaac, the son of his old age, the promised head of a new and numerous race, the fountain of so many promised blessings, and the dear and only object of so much affection; this very Isaac was now, at length, commanded to be brought to a certain mountain, and there offered up as a burnt sacrifice, by the hand of his own father. Abraham, without expostulating upon the severity of the command, resolved to obey: leaving it to God to make good his own promises, he set out the very next morning, and on the third day discovered Mount Moriah, the place appointed for the dreadful sacrifice (C). Leaving his servants behind, he ascended the Mount, accompanied by Isaac, laden with the wood, and other materials, for a burnt-offering, who, observing nothing of a victim, could not forbear questioning his father, who answered calmly, that God would provide for the occasion. He little thought how prophetically he spoke; for he had no sooner bound his son upon the wood, and stretched out his hand to give the fatal blow, than God was pleased to countermand the order he had given, being fully satisfied with this last trial of his servant's obedience. He renewed all his promises and covenants afresh, and bound them with an oath; then Abraham, looking about, found a ram, caught by the horns, in a thick bush, which he offered up instead of his son, and, in memory of the transaction, he called the place Jehovah-jire, *the Lord will provide*, alluding to the answer he had given to Isaac's question. Soon after this transac-

Yr. of Fl.
477.
Ante Chr.
1871.

Abraham
commanded
to sacrifice
his son
Isaac;

but coun-
termanded
by an an-
gel.

* Gen. xxi. per tot.

(C) This mountain is certainly the same on which the temple was afterwards built by Solomon; and, therefore, those who affirm that Christ was crucified upon it, do not fix the name to that particular hill,

but to the whole ridge; Moriah takes its name from the Hebrew *raugh*, *to see*; whence the Septuagint and Aquila translate it *νηστηνα*, *a high or conspicuous land* (1).

(1) Vide 2 Chron. iii. 1, 2.

tion he heard the joyful news, that Milcah, his brother Nahor's wife, had borne him a numerous issue, a circumstance which determined him to send thither for a wife for his son Isaac.^b

Yr. of Fl.
438.
Ante Chr.
2860.

Sarah's death.

Abraham buys the cave of Machpelah.

Abraham lived in great peace with his son, till his happiness was, at length, disturbed by the death of Sarah, in the hundred and twenty-seventh year of her age, in the city of Arbah, alias Hebron (D). Her husband went thither to mourn for her, and having given sufficient vent to his grief, his next care was to procure her an honourable burial. He, therefore, went to the gates of Hebron (E), in order to purchase a burying-place from the sons of Heth, who dwelt in that city. He had no sooner declared the occasion of his coming, than all of them told him, he might make choice of the best sepulchre in the whole land. Abraham returned their civilities, but begged to be permitted to buy the cave of Machpelah, from Ephron the Hittite, who was then one of the assembly, and immediately made him a free offer of it by way of present; but Abraham still insisting upon paying the full value, they agreed for four hundred pieces of silver (F), which he paid down in full weight; and, being become

^b Gen. xxiv. 3, 4, &c.

(D) The text is somewhat obscure in this place. Sarah is said to die at Arbah, and yet no mention is made of Abraham's removing from Beer-sheba thither; only he is said to have gone thither to mourn for her and bury her. Some, therefore, are of opinion, that they might be parted upon some occasion or other, and that Sarah went to Arbah whilst her husband kept his old dwelling.

(E) The gates of cities in those days, and for many centuries after, were the places of judicature and common resort. Here the governors, or elders of the city, met to hear com-

plaints, administer justice, make conveyances of titles and estates, and to transact all the affairs of the place. Whence that verse in the Psalms, "They shall not be ashamed when they speak to their enemies in the gates," i. e. when they are accused by them before the court of magistrates (2).

(F) The learned Prideaux, who has given us the last, and best estimation of Hebrew and Attic coins, reckons a shekel to be equivalent to three shillings of our English money; so that the sum which Abraham paid for his new purchase, will amount to sixty pounds sterling (3).

(a) Vide Gen. xxiv. 20. Ruth iv. 1. & Sam. xviii. 32. Ps. cxxvii. ver. ult.

(b) Vide Prideaux's Connect. pref. p. 22.

possessor of the cave, field, and trees belonging to it, he soon after deposited, in this tomb, the remains of his beloved wife.

By this time Isaac, being in the fortieth year of his age, the father thought it high time to marry him to some of his own family. To this end he called one of his chief and most faithful servants, and, having made him take an oath to procure his son a wife out of his own kindred (G), gave him all the necessary instructions and authority to conclude the marriage. Then he dismissed him, with a train suitable to the embassy he was sent upon; namely, ten camels, loaded with the richest presents, for the damsel's dowry; for it was the custom, in those days, for the husband not to receive, but to pay a marriage portion for the wife. The servant made the best of his way to Haran, where Nahor dwelt, and partly by his presents, partly by his address, and the favourable account he gave of Abraham's grandeur and wealth, easily prevailed upon him to part with the beautiful Rebecca for his young master. Having thus obtained the consent of her father Nahor, and her brother Laban, he produced the jewels of silver and gold, and fine raiment, which he had brought, and presented them to her, making, at the same time, some considerable presents to her mother and brother; and the rest of the day was spent in feasting and mirth. Next morning this agent, impatient to acquaint his master with the good success of his negotiation, desired to be dismissed, and, with some difficulty, his request was granted, so that Rebecca took her leave of her parents, after they had conferred their blessing upon her, and set out with

^a Genes. xxiii, per tot.

(G) The text tells us, that the servant took the oath by putting his hand under his master's thigh, or upon his privities. This is the first time we read of that ceremony; but it was afterwards used by the patriarch Jacob, in Egypt, when he was dying. The oddness of it has inclined some judicious writers to think, it implied a more solemn mystery than men are aware of, viz. a swearing by the great Messiah that was to come. Some Jews think it was a swearing by the covenant of circumcision, and that whoever violated the oath, lost all the privileges and benefits of that covenant. Kimchi tells us, that it was still observed all over the East by those of his nation (4).

(4) Vid. Genes. xlvi. 29. Rab. Sol. in loc. Kimchi apud Munit. in loc.

her conductor, accompanied by her nurse. When she approached the habitation of Abraham, she perceived Isaac taking a solitary walk in the fields. She no sooner understood who he was, than alighting, and throwing a veil over her face, according to the custom of young damsels, she waited to receive his first salutation. He received her with great affection, and conducted her to his father's tent, extremely pleased with her exceeding beauty and modest deportment. He had now nothing to wish for but that she might prove fruitful: but he was forced to wait nineteen years before he could obtain that blessing, during which, he comforted himself and her, with the assurance of God's promises, and the example of Sarah, who remained childless to the ninetieth year of her age^d.

*Yr. of Fl.
495.
Ante Chr.
1853.*

*Abraham,
being a
hundred
forty-one
years old,
marries
Keturah,
and has six
sons by her.*

*Yr. of Fl.
491.
Ante Chr.
1857.*

*Abraham's
death.*

Abraham could not but be pleased to see his son in the possession of so agreeable^e a wife; but that not proving sufficient to comfort him for the loss of his own, and finding himself still capable of making a further addition to his family, though he was then a hundred and forty-one years old, and had continued a widower several years, he took another wife, named Keturah, by whom he had six sons, whom he afterwards portioned, that they might not interfere with Isaac's inheritance; and sent them to dwell towards the east. They went eastward of Beersheba and the land of Canaan, and settled in both Arabias, the Petraea and Deserta, where some footsteps of their names are still to be perceived^f.

Concerning Abraham, we have nothing more recorded, except that he lived to the hundred and seventy-fifth year of his age, and was gathered to his fathers; that his two sons, Isaac and Ishmael, assisted in doing him the last offices, and buried him in the cave of Machpelah, near Sarah his wife. Hence it is plain, that Moses has here anticipated his death, by mentioning it before the birth of his two grandsons, Esau and Jacob, though he must have lived to the fifteenth year of their age (H).

Rebecca

^d Gen. xxiv.

^e Gen. xxv.

(H) Abraham's history has been embellished with a great many fictions by the Jews, Arabians, and Indians. They mention his making a long abode in Egypt, and teaching astronomy and other sciences

there; his inventing the Hebrew characters and tongue, the same that are now in use; his being the author of several books, and, in particular, the famous treatise mentioned in the Talmud, and highly valued

Rebecca continued barren above nineteen years, during which time Isaac ceased not intreating the Lord for her, *Rebecca's pregnancy.*

lued by several learned rabbies, called Jetzirah, or *the Creation*; of which it gives an account: there is also an apocalypse attributed to him by the Sethians, a sort of heretics that sprang up in the earliest times of Christianity. His assumption is mentioned by St. Athanasius; and Origen tells us of a book, pretended to be written by him, wherein two angels are introduced disputing about his salvation. The Jews make him, also, the composer of some prayers, and of the nineteenth Psalm, and of a treatise against idolatry. The Indian fire-worshippers believe him to have been the same with their great prophet Zoroaster, who wrote the books intituled Zend, Pazend, and Vostah, containing all the principles of their religion.

The Arabians have likewise given us a history of this patriarch, though so altered from that which is in the Bible, that one would hardly think they were descended, as they are, from him, by Ishmael. Abraham, according to them, was the son of Azar, and grandson of Terah; which account, could it be relied upon, would easily resolve that difficulty about his age when he died; since Terah might have begot Azar in the seventieth year of his age, and Azar produced Abraham in the sixtieth of his; so that this last number, which is wanting in Moses's account of his life, would be here found complete; but we dare not affirm anything about

it. The eastern heathens have also a long tradition of Abraham's life, though vastly different from that of Moses. Calmet mentions a book in the French king's library, N° 792, written originally by St. Ephrem the Syrian, and translated from the Syriac into Arabic, upon Abraham's journey into Egypt; in which book there is also a sermon on his death, preached by St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, on the twenty-eighth of March; on which day the Coptic and Egyptian Christians observe his festival. It is reported, that the tomb of Abraham having been discovered near Hebron, they found his body, and those of Isaac and Jacob, whole and uncorrupted. There were, likewise, some gold and silver lamps hung up in the cave, which was visited by multitudes. The Moslems have such a veneration for this place, that they make it one of their four pilgrimages, the three others being those of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem; and the Christians built a church over the cave, which the Turks afterwards turned into a mosque. Mof. Ben Maimon, and after him the learned Spencer, tells us, that Abraham was brought up in the religion of the Zabbeans, who are supposed to have been great astronomers and astrologers, and, by discovering the power and influence of the stars and heavenly bodies, came at length to worship them. As to what Maf-

who was pleased, at length, to hear his prayers, and send to him the long desired blessing. They now began to think themselves truly happy; but Rebecca's happiness was short-lived. The unnatural struggling of the twins in her womb gave her an extraordinary uneasiness, until after having consulted God about it, she was answered, "that two nations were striving in her; and that two sorts of people should be separated from her bowels, one of which should prove stronger than the other, and the elder should serve the younger." Accordingly, she was soon after delivered of two sons; the first, Esau, was all over hairy; the second came into the world holding him by the heel, and was therefore named Jacob (1). Esau became a great lover of hunting, and consequently the darling of Isaac, who was very fond of venison; but Jacob was the mother's favourite, who knew he was to inherit the blessings, and could not, perhaps, forbear entrusting him with the secret, though she seems all along to have concealed it

Yr. of Fl.
510.
Ante Chr.
1838.

*Esau and
Jacob born.*

monides says, we shall only answer with Meyer, that it is impossible to prove that the Zabeans were even as old as Moses, much more that they were older than Abraham: for though it be granted, that there were some people, called Zabeans, before Moses's time, and that their idolatry had been in vogue long before him, yet this will not prove that the Zabeans we are speaking of, were older than Abraham; and Spencer himself owns, that it is almost impossible to discover their beginning. However, it is not improbable that Abraham, who was born and educated in an idolatrous country and family, might have been addicted to that superstition, till God called him away

from the one and the other (5).

(I) From the Hebrew יָקֵב, which signifies *the heel*, is formed the Hebrew verb יָקַב, *to supplant*; and, by the addition of the 'jod, one of the formatives of the nouns, Jacob, a *supplanter*, which name he, in time, made good. As for the name Esau, the meaning is very obscure; some derive it from hassah, *to make*, because Esau came out all hairy, and, as it were, perfect; whereas, other children are born with hair only on their heads. He is also supposed to have been called Sheir, or Sehir, from shahar, which signifies *hair*; and lastly, Edom, for his selling his primogeniture for a mess of red pottage (6).

(5) Vide Artapan. & Euseb. ap. Euseb. Prep. lib. ix. cap. 17, 18. Joseph. Ant. lib. i. cap. 8. Suid. in Abraham. Prid. Connect. part i. book iv. Bea Sholmeh. ap. Herbelot. Maimon. Tractat. More Nevoch, part iii. cap. 29 & 46. & in Avodah. Zarah. cap. ii. 12. Meyer de Fest. Dieb. Hebr. cap. xii. Spenc. de Leg. Hebr. Ritual. lib. ii. cap. 1. (6) Vide Rab. Sal. Mercer, & al. from

from her husband. The two brothers were not above twenty years old when Jacob gave proof of his being acquainted with it, by making Esau, pursuant to his mother's directions, swear away his birth-right.

Esau sells his birth-right.

A famine, which happened some years after, obliging Isaac to seek for another habitation, he resolved to go into Egypt, when God appeared to him, and diverted him from his purpose, commanding him to repair to Abimelech, king of Gerar, where Abraham had, heretofore, been so hospitably entertained, promising him his particular protection and blessing, which he accordingly granted in a wonderful manner, till the repeated troubles and vexations he met with, obliged him to make another remove.

*Yr. of Fl. 543.
Ante Chr. 1805.*

Isaac goes to Girar.

At length, being sued to by Abimelech in person, either to revive the old covenant, or to make a new treaty, Isaac expostulated with him, and those who attended him, upon the ill usage he had met with in their land; but, nevertheless, prepared a sumptuous banquet for them, and, on the morrow, subscribed the covenant they requested. The same day word was brought to Isaac that his servants had found water, upon which account he called the place Beer-sheba. The tranquillity which this new alliance procured him, was soon after disturbed by Esau's marrying two wives, Judith, the daughter of Beeri, and Basemath, the daughter of Elon, both Hittites^f.

A covenant between Abimelech and Isaac,

*Yr. of Fl. 589.
Ante Chr. 1759.*

However, Isaac, who beheld him still as heir, was soon reconciled to him; and, if he knew any thing of his selling his birth-right, he looked upon it as a youthful weakness, the effect of hunger and weariness. Finding himself now grown old and feeble, and his eyes quite dim with age, and apprehending his death to be nearer than it really was, being then a hundred and thirty-seven years old, he resolved to bless Esau before he died. He therefore called him, and bid him kill some fresh venison, and dress it to his palate, telling him he designed to confer his blessing on him that day. Rebecca, who overheard their discourse, knowing the importance of the paternal benediction, laid hold of that favourable opportunity to procure it for her favourite son in the absence of his brother.

By what stratagem she accomplished this aim, notwithstanding Jacob's great reluctance, and fear of such a discovery as would have brought a curse instead of a blessing from the good old father, we have seen in another place: whilst the mother and son were congratulating each other,

Jacob gets his brother's blessing from him.

^f Genes. xxvi. per. tot.

Esau came to his father with the venison he had prepared, invited him to eat, and wondered to observe such tokens of surprize and concern in his countenance. Finding in what manner he had been circumvented in his absence, a mournful scene ensued between the father and the son ; but nevertheless, Isaac strenuously insisted that his blessing should remain with Jacob : " I have blessed him," said he, " yea, and he shall be blessed." However, in order to assuage Esau's excessive grief, he blessed him also in these words : " Thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. By thy sword and thy bow shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother ; and it shall come to pass, that when thou shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck." Jacob being in danger from his brother's indignation, Rebecca found a pretence for conveying him out of his reach, as far as Padan-Aram, where he might have an opportunity to marry one of her kindred (U).

Jacob is sent to Padan-Aram.

Jacob, in his way thither, being overtaken by the night, near Luz, and forced to lie in the open fields, with a stone for his pillow, he saw, in a dream, a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and angels ascending and descending, whilst God, who stood above, was pleased to encourage him, by promising, that he would bless and multiply him beyond measure*. Awaking from his dream, surprised and frightened, he cried out, " Surely God was in this place, and I knew it not !" Rising therefore from his hard bed, he took the stone, which served him for a bolster, and pouring oil thereon, erected it into a pillar; and in memory of this vision, called the place Beth-el, *the house of God*; for it was called Luz before that time. Here he likewise made a vow unto God, that if he would grant him his protection, feed, clothe, and bring him back safe to his father's house, the Lord should be his

* Gen. xxvi. 33.

► Gen. xxviii. 12, & seq.

(U) It is very probable, that Isaac had likewise some suspicion of Esau's ill design; else, it is not likely, that he would have sent Jacob away alone, and with only his staff in his hand, when his father Abraham had sent thither an ambassador in so noble a manner, unless it were done to

conceal his flight. However, that be, the other reason which the mother alleged, was thought highly just; and Jacob was privately sent for, to take his leave of his father, and to receive his commands, and his further blessing, which having received, he set out for Padan-Aram.

God;

God ; that he would pay the tythes of all he had unto him ; and that the stone which he had reared should be God's house. Having finished his prayer, he went on cheerfully the rest of his way, till he arrived at his journey's end.

His uncle Laban received him with joy ; and, Jacob falling in love with his youngest daughter Rachel, they agreed that he should serve him seven years for her ; at the end of which she should become his wife. Jacob spared no pains to make his service acceptable to his uncle Laban, who liked him so well for a servant, that he resolved to continue him in the same capacity seven years more. For when the time was come for his being put in possession of the wife he had so dearly earned, her father conveyed his new son-in-law into his eldest daughter Leah's apartment ; and Jacob did not discover the deceit till the next morning, when finding, instead of his beloved Rachel, her homely sister, he could not forbear expressing his resentment in the strongest terms. Laban told him, that it was an unprecedented thing in that country, to marry the youngest daughter before the eldest ; and that it would have been a great injustice to Leah to have preferred a younger sister to her : but (continued he) if you will fulfil the nuptial week with your wife, and consent to serve me seven years more for her sister, I am content to take your word for it, and to give Rachel to you, as soon as the seven days are ended. Jacob loved Rachel too well not to obtain her at any price ; he therefore consented to those hard terms, and at the week's end, enjoyed the fruits of his servitude and constancy.

In the mean time, he behaved very differently towards his two wives ; Rachel had his heart and affection, whilst Leah was forced to content herself with a formal civility ; but God made the latter mother of many children, whilst her sister continued barren for a long time. Leah was soon delivered of a son ; and called him Reuben, intimating, that God had seen her affliction, and had given her a son, which would probably engage her husband's affection to her. She afterwards bore another son, whom she called Simeon ; because she said the Lord had heard her complaint. Her third she called Levi, hoping her husband would be now cordially joined to her ; and the fourth she called Judah, thinking herself bound to praise God for her fruitfulness.⁴

⁴ Gen. xxviii.

⁴ Gen. xxix. per tot.

Rachel,

Serves seven years for Rachel.

Is cheated by Laban.

Marries Rachel.

Yr. of Fl. 596.
Ante Chr. 1757.

Simeon, Levi, and Judah born.

Yr. of Fl. Rachel, by this time, was so extremely mortified at her sister's happiness, that she told her husband, unless he gave her children also, she should inevitably die of grief.
599. Ante Chr. Jacob, conscious to himself that he had not been wanting in his endeavours, answered in a passion, that it was out of his power to do miracles; and that God, who had shut up her womb, was alone able to open it; but that her behaviour was more apt to preclude, than to gain such a blessing. This mortifying answer made her bethink herself of the usual way, at that time, for women in her case, to give their maids to their husbands; she therefore desired him to take Bilhah, and try to make her a mother by her means; to which he consented, and soon after had a son by her, which Rachel called Dan, meaning that *God had judged in her favour*. She called the other son, which Bilhah bore, Naphtali, to express the violent struggles she had with her sister. Leah, thinking she had quite left off bearing, gave her maid Zilpah also to Jacob, whose first son she called Gad, *a troop*, expecting more to come; and the next she called Asher, to express the happiness she now enjoyed.

**Dan and
Naphtali
born.**

**Gad and
Asher born.**

Reuben, being now about six years of age, brought home, one evening, some mandrakes (X), which he had been

(X) What these dudaim were, is not easy to guess; but they certainly could not be, what we understand by the word mandrakes: 1. Because those have nothing inviting, either in smell, taste, or colour, to induce a child of his age to gather them; much less could he choose them for any particular virtue, or quality they had. 2. The text says, it was then wheat-harvest, which in those hot countries, is about May, when the apples of that root are far from being ripe. 3. The mandrake, or mandragora, has a very strong stupefying smell, and is therefore called by the Arabians, jabrokin; whereas the dudaim are commended for their fragrance in the only place of

Scripture where they are mentioned besides. For this reason, some have fancied them violets; others, lilies; others, jessamin; others have rendered the word *desirable flowers*, agreeable to the word dudaim, which signifies *loves* in the dual, or *the breasts of a woman*. Others again, and, perhaps, more probably, have guessed them to be citrons. That which has induced so many interpreters to suppose they were mandrakes, is the virtue attributed to them of helping conception, which made Rachel willing to try the effects of them; but besides that they were plenty enough to have been bought at a cheaper rate, it is plain, that she did not conceive after them.

been gathering in the fields in the time of the wheat-harvest. Rachel desiring to have some part of them; Leah answered, that it was a little too much for her to take her husband and her son's mandrakes too: wherefore, to pacify her, and purchase the fruit, Rachel agreed, that Jacob should lie with her that night; and the patriarch coming home, Leah challenged him to confirm the bargain, which accordingly he did; the consequence of which was, that she bore him a fifth son, whom she called Issachar, *the man of reward*, alleging that he was a reward to her for giving her maid to Jacob. She afterwards bore her sixth and last son, and named him Zebulun, *dwelling*, in hopes that so many sons would induce her husband to dwell with her. She had likewise a daughter, whom she called Dinah, the feminine of Dan; and this was the last she bore. As for Rachel, her prayers at length being heard, she happily brought forth a son, whom she called Joseph, in hopes that God would add another. By this time Jacob, having finished his fourteen years of servitude, and being desirous to re-visit his old parents, requested his uncle to dismiss him and his family. But Laban, who had found no small advantage in having such a faithful servant, begged him to stay a little longer, promising, upon that condition, to give him what wages he should demand. They soon came to an agreement; but Laban's avarice invented so many stratagems to defraud him of it, as obliged Jacob to use

Yr. of Is.
603.
Ante Chr.
1745.

Issachar.
Zebulun
and Dinah
born.

them. Neither is it probable, that Leah would have parted with them, if they had been known to have had such a virtue, which perhaps was not discovered till a long time after; when this fruit became known among the Greeks and Romans, by the name of the apple of love; and of the juice of which the emperor Julian tells his friend, that he had taken a dose to excite him to it. Ludolphus, in his History of Ethiopia, has confuted

the notion of dudaim's signifying mandrakes; and affirms, that it implies a certain fruit, which the Syrians call mauz, not unlike the banana, or Indian fig, in shape and taste, and about the size of a cucumber, thirty or forty of which often hang upon one stem: but whatever these dudaim were, whether a fruit or a flower, it is certain, they must have had something pleasant and invigorating to a child, either in smell or taste (1).

(1) Vide Epiph. ap. Villot. Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 72. Vide Caius. in Gen. xxx. 16. Dict. sub voc. Mandrag. Aug. lib. xxii. Cont. Faust. cap. 29.

*Jacob's
protagonism
of the speck-
led sticks.*

others in his own defence, which succeeded so well, that his flocks thrrove greatly, whilst Laban's dwindled visibly away.

Laban, extremely vexed to see such a great difference between the two flocks, and perhaps suspecting some trick, obliged him to invert the bargain. This arbitrary change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complained to him afterwards. Jacob, however, grew exceeding rich, and with the money which he got by his fleeces, &c. bought men and women servants, camels, oxen, and asses; which excited such envy in Laban and his sons against him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; and this their malevolence prompted him to contrive the means of getting off with all his substance.

*Yr. of Fl.
609.
Ante Chr.
1739.*

*Jacob steals
away from
Laban.*

He acquainted his wives with his design, which they approving, he prepared for his escape. Having collected all his servants and effects, he mounted his wives and children upon camels, and began his journey towards the Land of Canaan, whilst his father-in-law was at some distance from him busy in shearing his sheep; a circumstance which gave Rachel an opportunity of stealing her father's gods (Y). Laban, who did not hear of his flight till

Gen. xxx. per tot.

(Y) The word we translate *gods*, in the Hebrew *teraphim*, the Septuagint translate sometimes an *oracle*, and sometimes *vain idols*, and Aquila makes it *idols*. Some take it to be an Egyptian word, the same with Serapis, introduced by Ham or his son Misraim, who filled that country with idols. The most received and probable opinion is, that it was something resembling a human form, as a busto, terminus, &c. though the Jews pretend, that it was the head of a first-born son plucked off from the neck and embalmed; under the tongue of which was fastened a golden plate, with the name of some false deity engraved upon it; which head, being placed in a

nich, or upon a shelf, gave vocal answers; but these are fables not worth refuting; and the figure which Michol put in David's bed, which the original calls by the name of *teraphim*, shews, that it must have had a human shape. Josephus indeed, who might think it a reflection on David, that there should be found an image or teraphim in his house, has attributed a more subtle stratagem to Michol, though less credible. These teraphims were afterwards universally known by the name of talismans, as they are to this day all over India. The Persians call them *telephim*, a name not unlike teraphim. They were made of different metals and sizes, cast under certain constel-

till the third day, went immediately in pursuit of him; but seven days elapsed before he could overtake him; by which time Jacob had already passed the Euphrates (Z),

constellations, with the figures of some planets, and magic characters, engraven upon them. They were used chiefly to give answers, to foretel what was to come, and to discover what was hid or lost. Besides they were also addressed for temporal blessings, and to avert evils. They were consulted and prayed to at certain times, under particular aspects of the planets, from which, according to the Jews, they partly received that power, and partly from characters with which they were engraven. We must not suppose, that all the teraphims were of the same make, or for the same uses, even among the Jews. The last thing worth enquiring into is, what induced Rachel to steal her father's gods. Some allege, that she did it to repay herself for the damage they had sustained by her father; others, that she thought by this theft to prevent Laban's enquiring which way Jacob went; others suppose her design was to cure her father of his idolatry, against which Jacob had read his wives many a lecture. The learned Shuckford looks upon this theft to have been committed by her, out of a fond regard for her ancestors. Others think, that

both she and her sister were still addicted to that superstition, and their designing to continue in it, made her conceal the theft from her husband, an opinion which seems most probable; for, Jacob, making a thorough reformation in his house, caused them to be taken from her, and buried them under a tree in Sichon (1).

(Z) Though the text doth not say what river he passed, yet it is plain, it could be no other than the Euphrates, which the Scripture sometimes calls the river Perah, sometimes the Great River, or Flood; either because that and the Nile were the only two considerable streams they knew; or because it was one of the four rivers of Paradise; or lastly, because it was the boundary of the Promised Land. Jacob must have made prodigious speed to arrive at Mount Gilead in ten days, with all his family, cattle, and lumber, it being distant from Haran two hundred and fifty miles. Laban and his company made still greater haste to overtake him in seven days, during which they must have travelled at the rate of thirty-seven miles a day (2).

(1) Vide Kircher. *Oedip.* Synt. iv. cap. 3. Joat. Targum in Gen. xxxi. D. Kimchi sub voce Teraphim. Judg. xvii. 1. & seq. Pereir. Johnson, &c al. Abenezra in loc. Theodoret. quest. 9. Rab. Sal. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. de S. Paul. & al. Prid. Connect. vol. i. lib. v. p. 342. vol. ii. lib. vii. p. 154. Cyril. in Gen. lxi.

(2) Vid. Josh. i. 4. xxiv. & alib. Gen. xv. 18.

Laban overtake them.

Searches for his gods.

*Makes a covenant with Jacob.
They rear a monument in memory of it.*

Laban returns home.

and reached the mountains of Gilead, where he had pitched his tents for that night. His pursuer had certainly formed some ill design against him; but God, who appeared to him that night in a dream, notwithstanding his idolatry, averted the execution of it, by threatening to punish him severely, should he commit any hostility or violence against his son-in-law: thus intimidated by a God whom he did not adore, Laban only expostulated with Jacob for his going away without giving him an opportunity of kissing his children and grand-children, and dismissing them, with the usual ceremonies of music and dances. Jacob, on the other hand, complained that his father-in-law had deceived him in the article of marriage; that he had wronged him in the payment of his wages; and behaved in the most unkind and arbitrary manner, towards him and his family; all these injuries, he observed, were ungrateful returns for all his diligence and care, and for the blessings God had heaped upon him for his sake. Laban had yet another trespass to lay to his charge, namely, that of stealing his gods; and Jacob, ignorant of Rachel's theft, desired him to make the most diligent search for them throughout his family; promising, that the person on whom they were found, should be immediately put to death. Laban lost no time, but searched every tent, and last of all, that of Rachel, who had hid the teraphim under the camel's litter, and sat down upon them, excusing her irreverent posture by telling her father, that the condition she was then in, allowed her sex to dispense with the usual ceremonies. Laban having rummaged the other parts of the tent, without finding his gods, was obliged to acquiesce in his misfortune; but some fresh expostulations ensued betwixt him and his son-in-law; and these ended in a proposal to make an alliance, and to erect a monument as a standing witness of it to future ages. This being agreeable to both parties, they forthwith reared the pile which Laban called in the Syrian tongue Jagar-Saddutha, and Jacob denominated in Hebrew, Gilead; both which signify the *heap of witness*. Here they likewise swore that neither would pass beyond that monument to hurt the other; and Jacob promised that he would use his wives with all becoming tenderness and affection. A sacrifice being offered upon the occasion, Jacob feasted the whole company the rest of that day; and next morning, Laban, having embraced and blessed the whole family, returned to Padan-Aram.

¹ Gen. xxx. per tot.

Jacob,

Jacob, who thought his absence a greater security than the oaths he had sworn, was glad to have so well escaped; but one fear succeeded another, and the resentment of his brother Esau began now to give him fresh disturbance; but a vision he had of an host of angels, who met him in his way to Canaan, allayed his anxiety for a while; and in memory of this vision he called the place Mahanaim, *two camps*. Being still fearful of his brother, he resolved to soften him with a submissive message, though still near one hundred and twenty miles from his habitation. He dispatched messengers to acquaint Esau with his success during his stay in Mesopotamia, the riches and multitude of wives, children, servants, and cattle, which he had acquired; and that he did not think fit to proceed farther homewards, till he had sent him his best compliments. The messengers returned with the news, that Esau was coming to meet him, accompanied with four hundred followers; an equipage, from which Jacob concluded, that he came for his destruction; but, recovering a little from his fear, he prepared for his own defence. Having divided his family into two bands, in hopes, that, if one perished, the other might escape; he addressed himself to God in a very humble prayer, acknowledging his great mercies, and his own unworthiness, begging his future protection against his brother's sword, and that he would fulfil all his former promise in his behalf. Then he resolved to try how far presents would work upon Esau's temper. Having set apart two hundred she-goats, and twenty he-goats, two hundred ewes, and twenty rams, thirty she-camels, with their colts, forty cows, and ten bulls, twenty she-asses, and ten colts; he sent them before him in separate bands, and charged their drivers, when they met his brother, to tell him, that they were presents sent by Jacob to his lord Esau, in order to entreat his favour and good will.^b Next morning he made all his family and flocks go over the brook Jabbok long before break of day; whilst he himself tarried at Mahanaim. Here appeared to him in the shape of a man, according to the prophet Hosea^c, the same divine person he had seen before at Beth-el, who wrestled with him till morning. This apparition, not being able to prevail against him, touched the hollow of his thigh, which was immediately dislocated; then desired him to let him go, since day appeared. Jacob then begged, that he might have

*Jacob's vi-
sion: he
calls the
place Ma-
hanaim.*

*He sends
some pre-
sents to
Esau.*

^b Gen. xxxii. 14, 15.

^c Hos. xii. ver. 4.

his blessing first; upon which he changed his name from Jacob to Israel, which signifies a man, that has prevailed with God. But when he was desired to tell his own name, he refused and departed. Jacob therefore called the place Peniel, or the face of God; and, when he resumed his march, he found himself lame. Josephus tells us, that neither Jacob nor any of his posterity ever since, did eat that part of any creature^f; and though the text mentions only the sinew that shrank, yet so scrupulous are some of the Jews even to this day, that for want of knowing what joint it was, they abstain from the whole kind-quarter^g. Some think, that Jacob's lameness was soon over; others, that he halted all his life. The new assurances which the angel gave him, encouraged Jacob to proceed cheerfully, till he had overtaken his family, and was come in sight of his brother Esau, who received him with great tenderness, and kindly invited him to his habitation on Mount Seir; but Jacob thought fit to turn towards Succoth, where he built him a house, and afterwards removed to Salem, a city belonging to the Sechemites, where he bought some ground of the children of Hamor^h. There he settled (A) and built an altar unto the Lord, which he called El Elohe Israel, or the mighty God of Israel. This was, in all likelihood, the same place where Abraham had heretofore built an altar soon after his first arrival in the land of Canaanⁱ. Here also was probably Jacob's Well near Gerizim, where Christ talked with the woman of Samaria^k; for that mountain stood in the country of the Sechemites^l.

Yr. of Fl.
609.
Ante Chr.
1739.

*Meets with his brother Esau.
Jacob stopped some time at Succoth.
Buys a piece of ground near Sechem.*

Yr. of Fl.
616.
Ante Chr.
1732.

In this situation Jacob might have lived long in peace and tranquillity, universally beloved and respected, had not the treacherous and inhuman massacre of the inhabitants by his two sons Simeon and Levi^m; obliged him to withdraw from the place nearer Mamre, where his father still lived. Jacob reproved them for their barbarity;

^f Jas. Ant. lib. i. c. 50. ^g Calm. O. T. in loc. ^h Gen. xxxiii. 18. xii. 7. ⁱ Annal. Usher sub. ann. Calm. Hist. O. T. Villet, &c al. ^k John iv. 6, & seq. ^l Judg. ix. 7. ^m Jas. Ant. lib. i. cap. 21.

(A) We have here followed the English version, though the original we think might be more properly rendered, *be arrived safe and sound, or peaceably at the city of Sechem;* for the word Salem, or rather Shalem, bears that signification; whereas we find no remains of any place near Sechem, that is called by the name of Salem.

and the rest of the inhabitants of the country would, no doubt, have made them pay dear for it, had not God interposed, and sent a panic fear amongst them; insomuch that they even let them depart quietly, and carry off all the plunder they had got from the slaughtered Sechemites¹.

God was soon pleased to dissipate all Jacob's fears once more, by speaking to him in a dream, bidding him go to Beth-el, where he had formerly appeared to him when he fled from his brother, and to dwell there, and build an altar. Jacob, unwilling to profane that holy place by carrying with him any thing that might be displeasing unto God, ordered his family to deliver to him all the idols they had taken from the Sechemites, or brought from Padan-aram; not indeed to be destroyed, as one might have expected, but to be buried in a deep hole, which he caused to be made under an oak near Sechem. His commands were forthwith obeyed, and they parted even with their very ear-rings, which they used to wear as talismans or charms against sickness and other misfortunes^k.

*Jacob bid
to go and
dwell at
Beth-el.*

*Their idols
buried.*

Then Jacob and his whole family began their journey, and arrived safely at Luz, afterwards called Beth-el; none of the neighbouring inhabitants daring to molest them by the way. At this new habitation, he built an altar to God, and called it El-Beth-el, or the *God of Beth-el*. In a little time Deborah, his mother's nurse, dying, was buried under an oak at the foot of the hill of Beth-el, and the place was called Allon-Bachuth, or *the oak of mourning*. However, he made but a short stay at Beth-el, being desirous to go and visit his father, whom, for aught we find, he had not seen since his departure to Mesopotamia. In his march towards Ephrath, Rachel fell in labour at a small distance from the place; and perceiving that she drew near her end, called the child Benoni, or *the son of my affliction*; but after she was dead, Jacob changed that name into Benjamin, or *the son of my right-hand*. Rachel was buried in the way to Ephrath, and a lone monument was reared over the grave, which was till to be seen in Mofes's time. This was not the only misfortune that Jacob met with about this period. His son Reuben having taken a liking to Bilhah, his father's concubine, did not scruple to gratify his wicked inclination: an outrage which made so deep an impression on his father's heart, that he grieved for it to his dying day^l.

*Yr. of Fl.
616.
Ante Chr.
732.*

*Deborah
dies.*

*Rachel
dies, and is
buried at
Ephrath.*

*Reuben's
incest.*

¹ Gen. xxxiv. per tot. Gen. xl ix. 4.

* See Calmet's Com. in Gen. xxxv. 4.

Yr. of Fl. Jacob soon quitted that melancholy place, and came at length to Mamre, to his old father Isaac, with whom he continued almost thirteen years, some say nineteen, that is, till the good old man departed this life in a very advanced age, being a hundred and eighty years old, having been almost blind and decrepid a considerable part of that time. His two sons buried him in the cave of Machpelah with Abraham and Sarah; then Esau returned home, and Jacob continued at Mamre.^m

619.
Ante Chr. The happiness which Jacob enjoyed during his stay with his father, had not been without alloy. Joseph, then about seventeen years of age, was become his darling, for the excellencies both of his body and mind. But his fondness for him raised no small jealousy in his brothers (K). What increased it still more, Joseph having observed some vile actions in the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, with whom his father had sent him to feed the sheep, made Jacob acquainted with their misconduct. But envy was converted into irreconcileable hatred, by his telling them some dreams he had, which seemed to foreshew, that he should one day acquire power and authority over his brethren. He dreamed that he saw in a wheat-field his own sheaf standing upright, and theirs falling down before it, and paying homage to it. He afterwards saw the sun, moon, and eleven stars doing the same like obe-

**Isaac dies,
and is bur-
ried by his
two sons.**

**kated by
his bre-
thren.**

**His two
dreams.**

^m Gen. xxxv. per tot.

(K) Most versions have made Jacob love Joseph, because he was the son of his old age; whereas he had two sons younger than he, viz. Zebulun and Benjamin. It seems they have mistaken the word benzekenim, *the son of senators, or elders*, as he is called here, for benziknah, *the son of old age*. But the former has a quite different meaning, signifying, according to the Hebrew idiom, *the son or disciple of senators*; because he was endued with extraordinary wisdom and prudence. Accordingly the Samaritan, Persic,

and Arabic versions have rendered it, because he was a wise and prudent son; though even this comes short of the energy of the idiom, and might be more properly translated, because he had the wisdom or prudence of a senator. Justin, in his epitome of Trogus, makes mention of his being sold into Egypt by his brethren, who envied the excellency of his wit, and having got him privately into their hands, sold him to some merchants, who carried him down into that country (1).

(1) Vide Le Scen. Essay. Justin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.

sance. This last vision he likewise communicated to his father, who, observing with what envy his brethren, heard it, thought fit to rebuke him severely before them, asking him if he thought that his father, mother, and brethren were to bow themselves to the earth before him? Their hatred against him still increasing, they resolved on his death; and it was not long before an opportunity offered of executing their design. Jacob, being uneasy that he had not heard from them since they were gone to Sechem with their flocks, sent Joseph to enquire after them; when they agreed to rid themselves of the dreamer, as they called him, and make their father believe that he was devoured by some wild beast. Reuben dissuaded them from imbruining their hands in his blood, and advised them to throw him alive into a pit, and let him die of hunger. Whether the terror of shedding his blood, or a desire to inflict upon him a more lingering death, induced them to take the advice, they lowered him down into a well without water. In the mean time, a troop of Ishmaelites happening to pass with spices and balm from Gilead on their way to Egypt, Judah persuaded his brethren to sell him to them, since his death would do them no more service than his being carried into that country. Accordingly Joseph was sold to the merchants, and carried off without the privity of Reuben, whose design was to take him out of the pit, and send him back to his father. The surprize and concern he was in, when he found he was gone, forced such complaints from him, as rendered them the more solicitous to conceal the step they had taken. But they all agreed in opinion, that it would be necessary to deceive his father. Having therefore dipped his party-coloured coat in the blood of a kid, they sent it home to the old patriarch, who no sooner saw it, than, thinking his beloved child had been torn to pieces by some wild beast, he took his supposed loss so much to heart, that he did not cease mourning for him, till he heard the surprising news of his advancement in Egypt. Joseph happened to be sold to an officer of the king's guard, named Potiphar (L), in whose service he exerted himself

Yr. of Fl.
619
Ante Chr.
1729.

*He is sold
and carried
down to
Egypt.*

*Sold to Po.
tiphar.*

(L) Though the text calls Potiphar an eunuch, yet he was not really such, as the Septuagint render the word, and the Jews fancy; for though the Hebrew word *faris*

doth properly import *an eunuch*, yet it is often used to signify an officer belonging to the court, and near to the king's person. He is also called *farabachim*, which, in its primitive

himself with such diligence and integrity, and proved so successful in all he undertook, that his master soon committed the care of all his affairs wholly into his hands. He had been ten years in this situation, when his mistress, captivated by the extraordinary comeliness of his person, made divers attempts to seduce him into a compliance with her wanton desires. She accosted him one day when the family was abroad, in so passionate a manner, that Joseph not thinking it safe to stay and expostulate with her, as he had frequently done, abruptly withdrew, leaving his upper garment, which she had laid hold of, in her hands. Incensed at this repulse, she vowed the ruin of the innocent youth; and accordingly having brought together with her outcries all who were within hearing, she charged Joseph with her own crime, confirming the charge by shewing the skirt of the garment which she had torn. By the time her husband came home, she had dressed up her story so well, that she was easily believed. Potiphar therefore sent him to the king's prison^a, where we shall leave him for a while, to take a view of what passed in his father's family.

Not long after Joseph had been sold into Egypt, Judah married the daughter of a Canaanite, whose name was Shuah, by whom he had three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. Er being cut off for his wickedness, before he had any children by his wife Tamar, Judah ordered his second son Onan to take her, according to the custom of that country, and raise posterity to his brother. Onan obeyed seemingly; but not brooking the thoughts, that his children should be esteemed his brother's, took such a wicked and unnatural way to prevent Tamar's having any by him, that God was provoked to punish him with death also. Judah therefore bid her remain a widow in her father's house, till his third son should grow up to supply his brother's place; but the time being come, and Judah neglecting to send for her, as indeed he never designed it, lest Shelah should meet with the fate of his two brothers, he resolved to put him in mind of his engagement by some other way.

^a Genef. xxxix. per tot.

mitive meaning, is *prince of* which reason some have rendered the *butchers*, from *tabach*, dered it, *the prince of the* which signifies *slaughter*. For *cooks* (2).

(2) Vide Mercer, jun. & al.

Judah having buried his wife about this time, as soon as the usual days of mourning were over, went to overlook his sheep-shearers at Timnath, attended only by his friend Adullam. Tamar had timely notice of his design; and thinking this a favourable opportunity to execute her own, she divested herself of her widow's garments, covered her face with a veil, and in the attire of a harlot, placed herself between the two ways that led to Timnath. Judah saw her, and taking her to be really what she appeared, made his addresses to her, and prevailed. He won her consent by promising her a kid, and leaving with her, at her request, his signet, his bracelets, and his staff, as pledges of the performance of his promise. The kid he immediately sent by his friend Adullam; but the pretended harlot had disappeared.

Some months after this encounter, Judah was informed that Tamar was certainly pregnant. With this intimation he was not displeased, as her death would have freed him from his promise of marrying her to Shulah. He pretended, however, to be highly provoked at her incontinency, and condemned her accordingly to the flames (M); but, upon her producing the above mentioned pledges, and declaring that the owner of them was the father of the child, Judah, in the greatest confusion, owned that she was the more innocent of the two, and that he had wronged her in withholding Shelah from her. He afterwards conducted her home, but never touched her from that period. When her full time came, she brought forth twins; but the manner of their birth was very surprising, for one of them putting forth his hand, the mid-wife tied a scarlet thread round it, as a token of his being the first-born; but he withdrew his hand, and the other coming first into the world, he was called by his mother Phares, or Breach, by reason of the breach he had made between his brother and him; the brother-twin was called Zarah.

Joseph, mean while, had ingratiated himself so much with the gaoler in Egypt, that he entrusted him with the

(M) Some think that Judah, as head of his own family, had power of life and death over all that belonged to it; but it is hardly probable that the Canaanites, in whose country they dwelt, would give a stranger such power. It is more likely, therefore, that he

meant only that she should be brought before a court of judicature, and sentenced according to the laws of the country. But whether judge or prosecutor, it was an inhuman step to put a woman to death before she was delivered.

Yr. of Fl.
632.
Ante Chr.
1716.

Joseph.

Dreams of
two prison-
ers ex-
plained.

care of all the prisoners. To two of them, who were men of some distinction, viz. Pharaoh's chief butler and baker, Joseph not only interpreted their remarkable dreams, but told them also the precise time when they should see them fulfilled. Accordingly, in three days the butler was restored to his place, and the baker hanged. Joseph took this opportunity of addressing himself to the former, to beg his assistance and interest towards his release, telling him at the same time how he had been sold out of his country, and falsely accused by his mistress, and what else he thought proper to move him to comply with his request.

The former being set at liberty, and restored to his place, never remembered his fellow-prisoner till two years after, when the two famous dreams of Pharaoh forced him, in a manner, to recall him to his remembrance, and recommend him to the king, as one who had a much greater talent for interpreting dreams, than any he had yet consulted. Upon his recommendation Joseph was sent for out of prison, and Pharaoh told him his dreams, promising him a considerable reward, if he could give him a true interpretation. This monarch dreamed he had seen seven lusty fat cows feeding on the banks of the Nile, which seven others, lean and ill-favoured, came and devoured, without growing either fatter or larger in consequence of this repast. His second dream exhibited seven full ears of corn devoured by seven that were blasted. Joseph declared that the seven cows and seven ears of corn import the same meaning; that the dream being repeated was only a sign that the event was to happen immediately; that the seven fat cows and full ears signified seven years of extraordinary plenty, which nevertheless would be quite forgotten in the seven succeeding years of famine, signified by the seven lean cows and blasted ears. He therefore advised the king to appoint a wise and expert minister over his whole kingdom, who should build granaries, and send officers into every province to lay up a fifth part of all the corn of the seven plentiful years against the succeeding years of famine.

Yr. of Fl.
633.
Ante Chr.
1715.

Pharaoh's
two
dreams in-
terpreted
by Joseph.

Joseph's
ad-
vance-
ment and
glory.

The king and all that beard him were surprised at the wisdom of this young stranger, who was then but thirty years old, concluding that he himself was the fittest person to be set over the kingdom, and to put his proposal in execution. He was thereupon appointed master and overseer of Pharaoh's house; and orders were given that he should be obeyed in all things, as if he had been monarch himself. The king gave him his own signet off his finger;

finger ; caused him to be cloathed in fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck ; declaring him superintendent over his whole kingdom, and next to himself in authority ; he gave him moreover the name of Zaphnah-Paaneah, which signifies *a revealer of secrets* (N) ; bestowed on him in marriage the daughter of Potipherah, priest, or prince of On (O) ; and allowed to ride in his second chariot, while the men that ran before it cried, " Bow the knee." Joseph being raised to this height of power, made a progress through the whole kingdom ; built his granaries ; appointed proper officers in every place ; and ordered all things with such prudence and application, that before the seven years of plenty were expired, he found his stores filled above numbering. During this time he had two sons born of his wife Asenath ; the first of whom he called Manasseh, intimating that " God had

His marriage.

Yr. of Fl.
633.
Ante Chr.
1715.

Years of plenty.
Manasseh and Ephraim born.

(N) These are not Hebrew words, as some rabbies dream ; for though the first may be derived from *zapban*, *to hide*, yet the original of *paaneah* is not to be found in the Hebrew. St. Jerom and others think it signifies *a saviour of the world* ; but it is most probable, that it signifies *the revealer of secrets*, and is accordingly so rendered by most Jewish and Christian expositors (3).

(O) As it is not likely that Joseph should so soon have forgotten his religion, as to marry the daughter of an uncircumcised person, whether prince or priest, on the one hand ; and on the other, Potipherah could not but be desirous to purchase so advantageous an alliance at any rate ; the new favourite might have seized this opportunity of introducing circumcision into the family, and thence, by degrees, among all

the Egyptian priests and laity. However that be, we must not mistake the city of On for that of No, threatened with destruction by Ezekiel, which was Alexandria. On was Heliopolis, the chief city of the canton of that name, called by Ptolemy, Onium, distant about twenty miles from Memphis, the metropolis of the kingdom. Nor must we confound this Potipherah with the person to whom Joseph was sold, as St. Jerom has done. The names are differently written ; the first Potiphar, and the other Potipherangh, ending with the letter *y* (*ain*). One is called captain of the guards, the other, prince or priest of On. The former therefore must have his residence in the capital, to be always about the king ; the other lived at On, or Heliopolis (4).

(3) Vide Majmon. Hieron. in loc. Eugubin. &c. Targ. Onkel. in loc. Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 6. LXX. Grot. Jun. in loc. & al. (4) Vide Genes. xlvi. 18. Ezek. xxx. 16. Hieron. loc. Hebr.

made him forget all his toils ;” and the next he called Ephraim, because God had rendered him fruitful in the land of his affliction. These seven plentiful years were succeeded immediately by the other seven of famine ; nor was the scarcity confined to Egypt, but was felt all over the land of Canaan, and all the nations round about. As soon therefore as the Egyptians came to be in want of bread, they applied to Pharaoh, who commanded them to repair to Joseph ; upon which he immediately ordered his stores to be opened, and corn to be sold to the people who flocked to him, not only from all parts of Egypt, but from all the neighbouring countries^t.

Jacob, who was not exempt from the common calamity, hearing that there was corn to be bought in Egypt, sent ten of his sons thither to buy grain, and kept only Benjamin at home. These, upon their arrival in Egypt, were directed to Joseph for an order. When they came into his presence they prostrated themselves before him, and begged they might be supplied with corn. Joseph knew them immediately, though he was so altered that they could not call him to mind ; assuming a severe look, he asked, in angry tone, whence they came ? and, upon their answering from Canaan, he charged them with being spies, come to discover the weakness of the land. They assured him, in the most submissive terms, that they were all one man’s sons ; that they had left a younger brother with their father, who had been blessed with another besides, but he was now no more. Joseph laying hold of the declaration, told them, with an imperious air, that unless one of them would go and fetch this youngest son, whilst the rest were kept in safe custody, he would not be persuaded but that they were spies, and would punish them accordingly. To shew that he was in earnest, he sent them all to prison, and kept them there three days ; at the expiration of which he sent for them, and, in a milder tone, said to them, “ This do and live, for I fear God : let one of you remain a prisoner with me, whilst the rest go home with provision for your family ; and, when you bring your youngest brother hither, he shall be delivered up safe, and you will be justified.” He then commanded Simeon, who had, perhaps, been one of his most bitter enemies, to be bound before their eyes, and sent to prison, whilst he had the pleasure to hear them confess their inhumanity to their brother, whose cries had

*Years of
famine.*
Yr. of Fl.
640.
Ante Chr.
1708.

*Joseph's
rough be-
haviour
to them.*

*Simeon
kept bound.*

^t Gen. xli. per tot,

not

not been able to soften them into pity; acknowleging, that this misfortune had befallen them as a just punishment for their unnatural behaviour to Joseph. Here Reuben had an opportunity of justifying himself, by reminding them of the pains he took to dissuade them from the horrid fact, not imagining that he was understood by any but his brethren, for Joseph spoke to them by an interpreter. At length, having learnt all that he wanted to know, he dismissed them, not without contriving a fresh occasion of surprize to them after they were gone; having bid the officer, who was to fill their sacks with corn, return their money, by putting the price in the mouth of each sack. Accordingly, when they halted to give some provender to their beasts, they were not a little alarmed to find all their money in their sacks, and failed not to make all the dismal reflections upon it that their fear could suggest; concluding, that the haughty Egyptian lord had practised this expedient that he might have a pretence to enslave them at their next coming. Arriving at their own home, they acquainted their father with all these adventures, who, though he was grieved at the detention of his son Simeon, was much more so when he found that Benjamin must go down to redeem him. He withstood all their persuasions as long as he could *; till at length, the famine increasing, and the provision being almost spent, Judah prevailed upon him to part with his favourite son for a time, promising to bring him safe back, or else to be answerable for him at the hazard of his life (X). As it was not without the utmost reluctance that

Their money return'd.

* Gen. xlivi. per tot.

(X) The whole conduct of Joseph, from his being first brought into Egypt, to his discovering himself to his brethren, having been very much canvassed and disapproved, it will not be amiss to enquire how far it deserves censure, and how far it may be justified. He is blamed for not having sent word to his father of his condition, who would have redeemed him at any rate, the city of Memphis, where he was sold, not being above

eighty miles at most from Hebron, where Jacob dwelt. To this stricture it may be answered, That if he had returned home, his brethren would, in all likelihood, have taken a more effectual way to be rid of him, and, upon the first opportunity, have put their former bloody scheme in execution. And secondly, Egypt being the place where he expected the preserment, which his dreams had fore-signified to him, it was by no means advise-

*Jacob's
presents to
Joseph.*

that Jacob consented to this separation, so he failed not to give his sons the strictest charge about him, to take all the proper measures for their safe return, and to gain the favour of the proud Egyptian lord. He bid them carry double, their money and make ready such presents as they thought would be acceptable (Y). Having intreated heaven

adviseable for him to leave it, but to wait patiently there for the event. Again, he is blamed for his rough and unjust usage towards his brethren, which, it is pretended, favours of the rankest revenge. But if revenge had been the chief motive of his behaviour, he could have indulged it in a more effectual way, without any danger of being called to an account; whereas, it is plain, he had a much better design, namely, either to make them repent of their heinous cruelty, or in order to inform himself of the state of his family, especially of his father and of his brother Benjamin; or lastly, to make them relish his future kindness the better by previous rough usage. The last, and indeed the most considerable article of the charge, is the peremptory manner in which he insisted upon their bringing his brother Benjamin into Egypt; a circumstance which he knew would cause an infinite deal of grief to his aged father, if not break his heart; and if he refused to send him, the whole family must have starved at home, and Simeon would have remained in bonds. As for the latter part of the charge, Joseph had it still in his power, if he had found that his other brethren stayed longer than ordinary, to have sent Simeon home with

what message and supply he pleased; but as for his causing Jacob to pass so many days, if not weeks, in all the fear and anxiety that so dear a son's absence, and danger, could cause, it cannot easily be justified any other way, than by supposing that Joseph did certainly foresee what would happen; and that his father's grieving some time for Benjamin, would be so far from endangering his health, that it would only increase his joy when he saw him again, and give a greater relish to the news of his own advancement and success in Egypt. Without this supposition, it is plain, such a sudden transition from an excess of sorrow to a transport of joy, was of itself sufficient to have endangered his life or his senses.

(Y) The generality of our expositors have not been very happy in their translation of some of the presents which Jacob sent into Egypt; and some learned critics, of a later date, have endeavoured to give us a more rational account of them. Such were the honey, nuts, and almonds, which could be no great rarities in Egypt, nor, indeed, any of the others, except the balm, which was that of Gillead, of great price all the world over; but as for resin and wax, they could not be worth sending. Bochart thinks it was resin or turpentine,

ven for their good success, he dismissed them, little dreaming what happy tidings he should hear at their return, to make him amends for his son's absence. When they appeared before Joseph, with their brother Benjamin, he commanded his steward to conduct them to his house, where he intended they should dine with him. But they, who had abandoned themselves to fear, began to suspect that some ill design was hatching to enslave them, upon account of the money which they had found in their sacks; to prevent which, they assured the steward, that they had brought it back, with a new supply, to buy some fresh provisions. He seeing their concern, bid them not

tine, rather than balm of Gilead, because Gilead was on the other side Jordan, at some distance from Jacob's habitation; but this will not prove that there was none to be bought there, or to be sent for upon such an occasion. He adds, indeed, that Josephus affirms balm to have been unknown in Judæa, till the queen of Sheba brought some of it to Solomon from Arabia Felix; but Josephus may be mistaken. Besides, how came Gilead to be so famous for it afterwards? The queen hardly brought the trees with her; and, if Solomon had sent for them afterwards, he would have planted them, in all likelihood, nearer to his own residence; but, whatever it was, it is plain, the resin and turpentine could not be a present worth Joseph's acceptance. The next is honey, which was indeed very much admired by the ancients, as well Jews as Gentiles, for a delicious food; but unless that of Canaan was better than ordinary, it was hardly worth

fending to an Egyptian prime minister, since it is hardly possible that country should be without it. It is most likely, therefore, that they were dates, which are called by the same name, debesh, as the Jewish doctors observe, and which, when full ripe, yield a sort of honey. The Arabic calls dates duboos, and the honey of them dibo or dibes, to this day; and, it is plain that Judæa abounded in palm-trees of all sorts, more especially about Jericho, if we may believe Josephus and Pliny. The next is what we translate spices; but the Hebrew word nekoth doth rather signify *storax*, a noble aromatic gum, that was put into all precious ointments. Myr, or as it is in the original *lat*, is rather the stacte or ladanum of the Chaldee and Septuagint, the last name coming nearer the Hebrew word. It is thought to be the gum of the cypress-tree, and was one of the aromatics in the perfume prescribed by God to Moses (1).

(1) Vide 1 Sam. xiv. 27. 2 Sam. xvii. 29. Cant. v. 1. Sucton. de Neron. cap. xxvii. & al. Bochart. Hierozoic. lib. iv. coll. 531, 532. Exod. xxx. 34.

he under any apprehensions about it, and brought them into the house, where they found their brother Simeon. He then acquainted them that they were to dine with his lord, who would return by noon ; upon which they made ready their presents, and laid them before him with the utmost reverence, as soon as he came home. Joseph having saluted them round, began to enquire after their father's health, and whether that was their youngest brother that stood before him. Benjamin bowed his head to the ground, and Joseph having blessed him, ordered the viands to be served. They were placed according to their rank and seniority, whilst he sat at table by himself, and his Egyptian guests at another ; for it was an abomination to the Egyptians to eat with the Hebrews. Joseph, according to the custom of the country^b, sent dishes from his own table to all his brethren ; and they were not a little surprised to see how exactly he served them, according to their seniority ; but much more so when they saw Benjamin's portion five times larger than any of the rest, which was an usual mark of honour to the person to whom it was sent. After they had eaten and drank plentifully, they began to think of taking their leave, and of going about their other affairs^c ; but Joseph had yet one more mortification in reserve for them, before he discovered himself. He directed his steward to put his drinking-cup into Benjamin's sack, and overtaking them at some distance from the city, after a thorough search, to bring the pretended thief back as a prisoner. The order was punctually executed, and we may easily imagine their surprize and concern when the silver cup was produced out of the sack of their younger brother. They made all possible haste to load their asses again, and returned to Joseph, who received them with a warm reprimand for thus requiting his kindness and civility, assuring them, however, that though he might justly punish them all, yet the person only upon whom the cup was found, should remain a slave, whilst the rest might go home in peace. After they had expressed their grief and shame in the humblest manner, Judah, who had taken Benjamin under his care, addressing himself to Joseph in the most pathetic terms, acquainted him with his father's extreme fondness for the lad, the great difficulty they had to persuade him to part with one he so tenderly loved, and the danger of his grieving to death for

*Benjamin
and his
brethren
dine with
Joseph.*

*Joseph's
cup found
in Benja-
min's sack.*

*Judah's
speech to
Joseph.*

^b Vide Zenoph. in Vit. Cyr. lib. viii.

^c Gen. xlivi. per tot.

the

the loss of him. He likewise offered himself at the same time as an equivalent for his brother, with such zeal and concern, that Joseph was no longer able to contain himself. His bowels began to yearn, and his tears to flow so fast, that he was forced to send all the by-standers away, whilst he made himself known to his brothers. When he told them, that he was Joseph their brother, which was all that his full heart would let him utter, they were all struck with such a mixture of joy and surprize for a considerable time, that they could make no answer, neither did they dare even to look towards him, to convince themselves that it was really he. Joseph, desiring them to draw nearer, embraced them all round with great tenderness; and, to dispel all their farther apprehensions, told them, that their sending him into Egypt having been directed by an unseen Providence, and proved the means of so much good both to himself, to them, and to all Egypt; he was so far from resenting it, that they should never hear it so much as mentioned by him from that day. During this affecting scene, some of the Egyptians went and acquainted the king and the whole court, that the minister's brethren were come to buy corn^a. Joseph, who only sent the Egyptians out of the room, that he might be without witnesses whilst he discovered himself to them, went himself with the news of it to Pharaoh, supposed to have been Thusmaros king of Lower Egypt^b, who told him, that since his father had such a numerous family, and the famine was not half over, he might send for them, and place them in what part of the country he thought fit; promising that they should never want provisions, nor any other favour he could shew. He likewise ordered him to send them a fresh supply of grain, and such other necessaries as they might want for their journey, and chariots to bring their wives, children, and best moveables; telling them, that they needed not regard the ordinary stuff, since the good of the land was before them. Joseph gladly obeyed the king's orders, and, besides the chariots and provisions, sent to his father ten asses laden with the choicest commodities of Egypt; he likewise presented his brethren with changes of garments, and distinguished Benjamin by the addition of a large sum of money; then he dismissed them with a strict charge, that they should not fall out by the way. It is not to be doubted but their journey was performed with great alacrity. They found

^a Gen. xliv. per tot.

^b Sir Robert Marsh, Shuckford, &c al.
their

*Joseph dis-
covers him-
self.*

*Pharaoh's
orders to
Joseph.*

*Joseph
sends for
his father.*

their father alive and well, whose first care was to look out for his favourite son, whom having joyfully received, he thought himself at the height of his happiness. But when they acquainted him with Joseph's grandeur, and told him, that he was the very man, who had given them such mortal alarms; the good old man, unable to bear so much good news at once, fainted away in their arms, and being come to himself, doubted whether it was not a dream. At length, when they produced Joseph's presents, and the Egyptian chariots, his doubts and fears vanished, and he cried out in an excess of joy: "It is enough for me, that my son Joseph lives; I have now nothing more to wish, but to go down and see him once more before I die."

This eager desire of seeing a son whom he had so long mourned for, in all his Egyptian glory, spurred him up to hasten his departure, and to overcome all the difficulties which the number of his children, cattle, and the other lumber of household stuff laid in his way (A).

Joseph was no sooner informed of his approach, than he got up into his chariot, and went to meet his father; and their mutual joy upon this occasion was such, as may be better imagined than expressed. After this tender greeting, Joseph told them, that he would go immedi-

• Gen. xlvi. 16, & seq.

(A) Nevertheless, as his gratitude to God for all the mercies he saw himself blessed with, and his farther want of the divine protection to accompany him safe into Egypt, demanded some fresh act of religion, he chose to go to Beersheba, to offer some sacrifices there; both because it was the place where Abraham and Isaac had lived so long, and so happily; and because it was in his way to Egypt, being the utmost boundary of Canaan, towards the south. Here God appearing to him again, bade him not fear to go down, for he would be with him, and

protect him, and in due time bring his posterity out of Egypt, to enter into the possession of the Promised Land; adding, that as for Jacob, he should have the comfort to live near his son Joseph, and to die in his arms. Israel, thus comforted, and encouraged, hastened to the metropolis of Egypt. When he was within some small distance from it, he sent Judah before to acquaint Joseph with his arrival, and to desire him to come come to him in the land of Goshen; where he had promised they should be settled (1).

(1) Vide Gen. xlvi. 1—8.

ately, and give notice of their arrival to Pharaoh, who would, no doubt, have the curiosity to send for them, and enquire after their occupation; in which case he charged them to tell him, that they, as well as their fore-fathers, were shepherds from their youth. This was indeed an occupation which the Egyptians abominated; but Joseph used this precaution, being afraid, lest Pharaoh should detain them in his service, instead of sending them into the land of Goshen, where he was desirous they should be placed (B). Accordingly, when five of his brethren were brought before the king, and asked what their profession was; they answered him, as Joseph had directed, adding, that the famine which raged in Canaan, had forced them to come with all their cattle into Egypt, and begging that he would permit them to live in the land of Goshen; which request Pharaoh readily granted. Joseph likewise presented his father, who wished the king abundance of happiness; and, being asked how old he was, answered, a hundred and thirty. The king expressing some wonder to see a man so old and in good health, Jacob added, that his life had been so full of trouble, that he came vastly short of the years of his ancestors. After this interview, Joseph conducted him and his whole family to the land of Goshen, where he took care to supply them with all the necessaries of life during the whole time of the famine. Pharaoh likewise ordered Joseph to take charge of his herds, which were put under their care accordingly.

Whilst Jacob and his family were maintained in peace and plenty by the provident care of his son, the Egyptians felt the dismal effects of the famine, which increasing daily upon them, and Joseph selling his corn at a high rate, soon drained them of all their money. Then they were reduced to sell their cattle, houses, land, and at length themselves, for subsistence. Thus he bought all their lands and persons for the king's use, and from that

(B) Goshen was situate between the Red Sea and the Nile, upon the borders of Canaan, not far from On, or Hieropolis, where his chief habitation was. It was a fruitful spot of ground, and fit for cattle; and therefore, Josephus

tells us, that Pharaoh kept his own in that place. It was separate from Egypt, and therefore fitful for Jacob and his family, which would be out of all danger of interfering with the Egyptians (2).

Joseph acquaints Pharaoh with it.

Yr. of Fl.
641.
Ante Chr.
:706.

Jacob stands before Pharaoh.

The Egyptians sell their land and themselves for corn.

(2) Vide Joseph. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 7. Jun. Mere, &c al. time,

Yr. of Fl.
644.
Ante Chr.
1704.

*And are
transplant-
ed from one
end of the
kingdom to
the other.*

*The fifth
part of the
product of
their land
assigned to
the crown.*

*Jacob's re-
quest to Jo-
seph.*

time, they became slaves to the crown, except their priests, who had a sufficient quantity of provisions allotted them out of the royal stores, without being at any expense. One would be apt to think, that Joseph's zeal for the king's interest carried him beyond the bounds of common prudence and humanity; and that he did not consider, that whilst he took such an advantage over a starving people, he raised the king's power to the degree of an absolute tyranny, under which his family or their posterity would one time or other severely groan, as they actually did. The text^e as well as Josephus tells us, that he transplanted the people from one end of the kingdom to the other; and that the miserable multitude went some one way, and some another, submitting to any misery rather than that of starving^f. However, in the seventh and last year of scarcity, Joseph told them, that they might expect a crop against the next season; that the Nile would overflow, and the earth produce again as usual; that he would distribute fresh lands, cattle, and corn to them, that they might return to their usual tillage; upon this condition, nevertheless, that the fifth part of all the product of their lands should from thenceforth go to the king, and the rest be theirs. The poor people were glad to submit to these conditions, which were much better than they probably expected. They all set about cultivating the ground that was allotted them; and from that period it past into a law, that the fifth part of the product of the whole land of Egypt should belong to the crown; which law continued in force several centuries, till a new regulation and division was made. As for the lands of the priests, we have already observed that they were unalienable.

Whilst he was enjoying the fruits of his great success and policy, his family at Goshen, whom he failed not to visit frequently, wonderfully increased, both in children and wealth. At length Jacob, by that time he had lived there seventeen years, finding himself grow old and feeble, and that his end could not be far off, sent for his son, and spoke to him to this purpose: "Though the desire of seeing a son so dear to me as you are, raised to the height of Egyptian glory, joined to the raging famine with which our land was visited, made me willing to come down into this strange country; yet Canaan being

^e Gen. xlvi. 22. Jof. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 7.

^f Heb. Chald. & Arab. Verl.

the inheritance which God promised to Abraham and his posterity, and where he lies interred with my father Isaac, and some others of our family, in the ground which he purchased of the inhabitants; my last and dying request to you is, that you will not suffer me to be buried here, but that you will swear to me to see me carried to Machpelah, and there deposited with my ancestors: your great power with the king of Egypt will easily obtain you and me that favour, which is the last I have to ask." Joseph did not make his father wait long for that satisfaction; he promised and swore to him, that he would fulfil his desire; and Jacob bowed himself upon the bed's head, in token of adoration and gratitude.^f

Yr. of F
659.
Ante Chr.
1689.

Not long after this transaction, word being brought to Joseph, that his father was dying, he went with his two sons Manasseh and Ephraim, whom he presented to him, begging he would give them his blessing before he died. Jacob, at sight of them, found his strength, as it were, renewed. He sat up in his bed, and, addressing himself to Joseph, spoke with such cheerfulness, and in such strong and lively terms, as shewed nothing less than the dotage or weakness of a dying old man. He began with recapitulating all the glorious promises which God had formerly made to him, concerning his numerous posterity's inheriting the land of Canaan, and concluded with the death of his dear Rachel: "For whose sake," added he, "I will now give you a farther proof of my affection: you have two sons born in this strange land, which, according to the usual order of inheritance, should have only the portion of grand-children in the division of the Promised Land; but, I will do more for them, and they shall from this day be called by my name, be esteemed my sons, and, as heads of two distinct tribes, receive a double lot: thus, instead of the tribe of Joseph, they shall be called the two tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim. But if you have any more sons after them, they shall only have the portion of grand-children."

He then desired his two grand-sons to be brought to him, and Joseph placed the eldest at Jacob's right-hand, and the youngest at his left: but Jacob, crossing his arms, laid his right upon the younger, and his left upon the elder; which position, Joseph ascribing to a mistake, was going to rectify it; but his father told him, that he acted by divine direction;

Joseph brings his two sons to Jacob.

Ephraim and Ma-nasseh are made two tribes in Is-rail.

Jacob bles-sed the younger be-fore the elder.

^f Gen. xlviij. per tot.

and, in blessing the lads, he not only preferred Ephraim to Manasseh, but gave him much the larger and nobler blessing⁵.

Israel now finding himself enfeebled; and his death approaching, resolved to consecrate his few remaining hours in foretelling to his sons, whom he had gathered about him, what should happen to them in the latter days; and prophesied to this effect:

Jacob's blessing to his twelve sons.
Reuben.

" Reuben, thou art my first-born, and was once the first-fruits of my might, and my strength; and, as such, wast entitled to the right of primogeniture, the best portion in thy inheritance, to the dignity of the priesthood, and the supreme authority over thy brethren: but all these prerogatives, like the unstable waters that pass and return no more, are gone from thee; because thou, little regarding the sacred character of thy father's bed, didst defile it, and alienate it from me⁶. For which crime, though thou continue still to be a tribe in Israel, yet thou shalt ever be far inferior to the rest of thy brethren, in number, wealth, and strength.

Simeon and Levi.

" Simeon, or Levi might have succeeded to the right of primogeniture, which their brother's incest has justly deprived him of, had they not proved such instruments of treacherous cruelty. May my soul be for ever preserved from such bloody counsels, and my honour unstained from their horrid guilt! for the fierceness of their anger hurried them to commit murder; and the impetuosity of their fury made them break through all obstacles that opposed them. Cursed be their fury, for it was violent; and their malice, for it was inhuman! This cruel disposition of theirs forces me to divide their tribes, that they may never be rejoined in Israel¹." Then casting his eyes on Judah, he thus proceeded:

Judah.

" Judah, thy name signifies praise; and accordingly, thou shalt have the praise of all thy brethren. They shall fall prostrate before thee, as before their king and sovereign, and thine enemies shall be forced to submit their necks to thy yoke. Like a young lion shall my son fall upon his prey, and like an old lion, or a fierce lioness, ready to rush upon it: who shall dare to rouse him up? The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh be come, and

⁵ Gen. xlviij. per tot.
in loc.

⁶ Gen. xxxv. ss. Vide Munt.

¹ Gen. xlix. 5, 6, 7.

the people be gathered unto him (C) : his portion shall abound with such fertile vineyards, fruitful trees, and pasture-grounds, that he shall tie his ass to the vine and palm-tree, and wash his garments in the juice of the grape, and his teeth with the milk of his kine ^k(D).

" Zebulun's dwellings shall spread themselves along *Zebulun*, the borders of the sea ; and he shall stretch the number of his commodious havens as far as the city of Zidon ^l.

" Issachar, like a strong but indolent ass, shall choose *Issachar*, to carry burdens in the midst of his brethren, rather than be deprived of his beloved ease, in the pleasant land of his inheritance, and prefer servitude and tribute before the fatigues of war and conquest ^m."

^k Gen. xl ix. 8, & seq. ^l Gen. xl ix. 13. ^m Gen. xl ix. 14.

(C) The disputes about the meaning of this prophecy are endless, and, in all probability, its obscurities will never be cleared up to the satisfaction of the different enquirers. The Jews disagree among themselves about the signification of the word *inechokek*, which is translated *lawgiver*. As to the word *Shiloh*, though it be generally supposed to mean the Messiah ; yet as to its original signification, there is no small controversy. St. Jerom reads it *shaloach*, from *shalach*, *to send* ; others derive it from *shalah*, *to be peaceable* ; and understand by *shiloh*, *a peace-maker*. One critic takes the word *shiloh* to signify *the end*, and the sense of the words to be, "that from the time the sceptre comes into the tribe of Judah, it will continue in it, till that tribe be at an end ;" but his opinion has been confuted by Mons. Saurin, in an

elaborate discourse on that subject. Another modern author tells us, that it ought to be derived from *shulah*, *to fatigue, be tired, suffer*, and alludes to the sufferings of the Messiah : but, without fatiguing our readers any farther, the most probable sense of the word, if the change of a letter be allowed, will be that of the Septuagint, Onkelos, and others, who read it, *shelo*, that is, *to whom it belongs*. The sense of it, therefore, must be, "that the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, until the right owner, *shelo*, or he to whom it belongs, makes his appearance in the world ⁽¹⁾."

(D) The country assigned to the tribe of Judah, verified the prediction exactly, being a fertile spot, abounding in vineyards and fruit-trees, and affording excellent pasture for cattle.

(1) Hieron. Quest. Hebr. Comm. Pentat. in loc. Goujet. Onom. Ling. Hebr. Calm. sub voce *Shilo*.

Dan. From the six sons of Leah, Jacob passed to those of Bilhah, Rachel's maid. He began with intimating, that the sons of the handmaids should have the same privileges with those of the mistresses, and be heads and judges of their own tribes. Then alluding to the name of Dan, a judge, he declared, "that he should judge his people," that is, his own tribe, like the rest of the twelve; and "that like a serpent hid in the highway, or a viper in the sand, which doth not openly assault its enemy, but bites him by the heel, so Dan should overcome more by policy and stratagem, than by valour and open force." "Gad," continued he, "shall be often infested by bands of robbers, and plunderers; but he shall conquer them at last."

Gad.

"Asher's portion shall make him happy; it shall abound with excellent corn and oil; the bread and dainty meats that shall be made of them, shall be fit for a king's table."

Naphtali.

"Naphtali is like a large tree, well spread, or having grafts, which shoot out pleasant branches;" or, according to our English version, "Naphtali, like a hind newly escaped, or let loose, shall excel his brethren in swiftness, and be remarkable for the sweetness of his eloquence."^p

Joseph. These four last were the sons of the two handmaids, from whom he passed with a seeming joy to those of his beloved Rachel; and Joseph, whose turn came next, heard his blessing pronounced in the most pompous and endearing terms.

"Joseph," said the good old father, "shall increase daily more and more, as his name doth emphatically imply. His beauty attracted the eyes of the fair-sex; the damsels ran upon the walls to see him (P)." Or, according to our version, he shall multiply like a fruitful bough planted by a well-side, whose branches run up and spread against the wall. "Men armed with the poisoned darts of rancour and envy, have caused him a world of woe; his ruin would have been unavoidable, had not the Almighty,

^a Gen. xlix. 19.

^b Ibid. ver. 20.

^c Ibid. ver. 21.

(P) The original has *ben porath*, which if derived from the root *para*, *he has fructified*, as some do, the sense will be, *Joseph is a fruitful son*; and then the word *banoth*, *daughters*, must be understood figuratively of the branches that run along the wall; but we

rather choose to derive the word from *paar*, *to make, or be beautiful*; and then the literal sense will be, *Joseph is a son of beauty; the daughters ran upon the walls to see him*. And this reading has by far the most followers.

in whom he trusted, proved his strong shield and defence, broken his bonds from off his arms (Q), and brought him out of prison, to be a father and protector to the house of Israel; for this the Lord, even the God of thy father, shall bless thee with the dew of heaven, and with the fatness of the earth, with the fruit of the womb, a numerous posterity, and the fruit of the breast, and plenty of all sorts of cattle. May all the blessings promised to me, and to my forefathers, be doubled upon Joseph's head, even upon his crowned head (R); may they out-top and out-stretch the everlasting mountains, and prove to him more fruitful and lasting than they ?!"

Benjamin, the last of all Jacob's sons, who had been so great a favourite of the father, probably expected a suitable blessing from him; but whether it were that Jacob saw no extraordinary merit or happiness attending his tribe; or that its being afterwards blended with that of

^{Benjamin.} Gen. xlix, ver. 22, & seq.

(Q) Our English version and some others render this verse thus: "but his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong;" but this interpretation is something forced. The literal sense runs thus: "but he continued in the strength of his bow; and the bands of his arms (not weapons, but the arms of his body), japhusu, were not strengthened, as it is there rendered, but, according to the literal Hebrew, broken, scattered; applicable to his fetters, in which sense the Septuagint, Vulgate, Chaldee, &c. have taken it.

(R) We have here likewise ventured to depart from the English version, nazir achauf, him that was separate from his brothers; for though the verb nazir signifies to separate, whence the word Nazarite comes; and Joseph was really

separated from his brethren when he was sold into Egypt; yet it is not probable, that Jacob would have couched so barbarous and unnatural an action in such soft terms, when the original abounds with terms that are more expressive; besides, nazar doth rather signify a separating upon a religious account: it is therefore more probable, that he used the word nazir, which signifies crowned, in allusion to the superintendents of the king's household, in all the eastern empires, who were called nazirs, and probably wore some kind of diadem about their heads, by way of distinction and grandeur. This sense will be more agreeable likewise to the solemn and pompous style, which the patriarch uses throughout all Joseph's blessing (1).

(1) Vid. Calmet Hist. Old Test. in loc. & Auct. ab eo citat.

Judah, would make it share in all its blessings, he contented himself with describing him by his fierce and warlike disposition, who, wolf-like, should shed the blood of his enemies, and in the evening divide their spoil.

Israel having thus pronounced his prophetical blessing to every tribe, reminded them, especially Joseph, that they should bury him in the cave of Machpelah; and they having renewed their promise to him, he laid himself again in his bed, where he soon after expired, being one hundred and forty-seven years of age, seventeen of which he had spent in Egypt, in the land of Goshen.

Yr. of Fl.
659.
Ante Chr.
1689.

Here Joseph, who had hitherto suppressed his grief, began to give it full vent; he fell upon his dead father; bathed his face with tears, and expressed all the filial sorrow that such a loss could inspire; at length, remembering his dying charge, he ordered his body to be embalmed, and made all other preparations for his funeral. The Egyptians, on their part, mourned for him as long as the process of his embalming lasted, namely, seventy days; the ceremony of which was performed in the manner we have described in a former chapter.

His mourning rendering him unfit to appear at court, he begged some of Pharaoh's officers to acquaint his sovereign with his father's death, and with his last commands; who made no difficulty to grant his favourite's just request, and ordered moreover the chief officers of his household, and the grandees of the kingdom, to accompany the funeral pomp. Ali Jacob's family likewise attended it, none staying behind but their wives and little ones. The cavalcade consisted of a great number of chariots, and a vast multitude of men on horseback. As soon as they had crossed the river Jordan, and were entered into the land of Canaan, they made a halt of seven days at the threshing-floor of Atad, and there performed a funeral ceremony, which induced the Canaanites to call the place Abel-Mizraim, or *the mourning of the Egyptians*. Thence they continued their march, till they arrived at Machpelah, where Israel's sons deposited him in the cave, and then returned to Egypt with the rest of the company. It was at this period that Joseph's brethren, still dreading his resentment, sent a humble message to acquaint him, that it was their father's earnest request, that he would forget all past injuries, and still grant them his protection. Joseph could not refrain from tears, whilst the messenger spoke. He sent immediately for his brethren, and received them with the same affection as

he had shewn them when Jacob was alive. He excused and comforted them, and gave them such fresh assurances of his future love and protection, that they went joyfully home to their families, though probably very much amazed at the greatness of his soul, a virtue to which they themselves seem to have been utter strangers.

Joseph, who outlived his father about sixty years, finding his death approaching, sent for his brethren, and told them with the same prophetic spirit that had illuminated Jacob, that God would, according to his promise, bring their posterity out of Egypt into the land of Canaan : he charged them therefore not to bury him in Goshen, but to lay his body in a coffin, to deposit it in some secure place, and to carry it away with them, and inter it in the spot of ground which Jacob had given him by his last will. He gave up the ghost soon after¹, and his brethren took care to fulfil his last request, having first caused his body to be embalmed, after the manner of the Egyptians. The sequel of the story shews how punctually their posterity performed the latter part of his will, taking his body with them, and burying it in the place which he had appointed (S). He was one hundred and ten years old when he died, having continued eighty years at that pinnacle of grandeur, to which he had been raised by Pharaoh, or rather by his own great wisdom and merit.

* Gen. xl ix. ad fin.

(S) The Talmudists and other rabbies have added a great number of fabulous and absurd stories to this great patriarch's life, which we shall not trouble our readers with ; but only add, upon the testimony of St. Jerom, that the Israelites raised a most noble monument to Joseph's memory, which was still to be seen in his days. It stood in Sechem, in the field which Jacob bought of Hamor, and afterwards gave to him ; in which Joseph was actually buried. Mabammed, in his Koran, surat xii. gives us a

long history of Joseph, stuffed with many fabulous circumstances, which the eastern people have still more enlarged upon. The Mahomedans pretend to have several books of his amours with Zeleikah, Pharaoh's daughter, his master Potiphar's wife, which they make use of to kindle the love of God in their hearts, it being among them, what the Canticles are with the Jews and Christians, that is, an allegory of the love of God and a pious soul (z).

(z) Vide Hieron. Qu. Hebr. in Genes. Josh. xxiv. 32. Vide Marac. Notes on the Alcoran. Herbel. Diction. in the word Joseph.

Yr. of Fl.
713.
Anno Chr.
1635.

In what manner the Israelites, after the death of their great patron, and protector, became by degrees as dreadful and odious to the Egyptians, as they increased in number and power, till they were at length brought under a most cruel slavery, will be seen in the next section.

S E C T. VI.

The History of the Jews, from the Beginning of their Egyptian Bondage, to their Entrance into the Land of Canaan.

The great increase of the Israelites in Egypt.

THE Israelites in Egypt increased so prodigiously both in number and strength, as to excite the jealousy of the natives, long before they departed from that country. Indeed if we consider, that the seventy souls, which came down with Jacob, were multiplied, as Moses tells us, to six hundred thousand men, from twenty years and upwards, all able to bear arms^b; besides those under twenty years of age, old men from sixty to a hundred, and upwards, for they lived even much longer; and women, which may be reasonably supposed to have been at least as numerous as the men: I say, if we consider this wonderful increase (which, in a proportionate and moderate computation, allowing them to have brought seventy wives with them, the utmost that can be supposed, will be as 140 to 280,000, that is, as 20,000 to 1), we shall not wonder at Egypt's fearing, lest they should in a short time cover the whole face of the kingdom (T). How-

ever,

^b Numb. i. 46.

(T) St. Austin thinks, that this prodigious increase of the Israelites was altogether miraculous; in which particular many of the Jews agree with him. Aben Ezra tells us, that they brought forth three or four at every birth; and affirms, that a woman may bring forth as far as seven children at once. Trogus says, that in Egypt the women were sometimes delivered of seven children at once. According to Simler's

computation, seventy persons, if they beget a child every year, will in thirty years, have above two thousand children, of which admit that one third part only comes to procreate, in thirty years more they will amount to nine thousand; the third part of it will, in thirty years more, be multiplied to forty-five thousand; according to which moderate calculation, in two hundred and ten years, the whole amount will be, at least,

ever, it is not easy to fix the time when their bondage began; nor how long they had groaned under it, when Moses was born; sure it is, that even before that time, they began to be more and more cruelly oppressed by the Egyptians, who had many causes of hatred against this people (U). But the main, and indeed sufficient motive, mentioned in the text, was their being grown so numerous, that in case of a war, they might join the enemy, and help to drive the Egyptians out of the land^c. This last consideration made such an impression upon them, that they resolved to weaken them by degrees, by hard labours, taxes (X), and all kind of oppression.

*They are
hated by
the Egyp-
tians.
Yr. of Fl.
775.
Ante Chr.
1573.*

This

^c Exod. i. 9, 10.

least, two millions seven hundred and sixty thousand. If, therefore, there was any thing miraculous or extraordinary, it was that they should be able to multiply at that rate, notwithstanding their hard labours, and cruel bondage (3).

(U) Such as their contempt of all nations but their own; their hatred of the Israelites, both as shepherds, and as Hebrews, who killed and lived upon those beasts that were worshipped in Egypt; the great difference of religion, envy to see them so successful, and emulation.

(X) It is to be observed, that the original words—*sare massim*, which we translate *task-masters*, properly signify *tax-gatherers*; the burdens are mentioned afterwards under another name; so that they laid heavy tributes upon them to impoverish, and heavy burdens to weaken them. Philo tells us, that they were made to carry burdens above their strength, and to work night

and day; that they were forced to be workers and servers; that they were employed in brick-making, digging, and building; that if any of them dropped dead under their burdens, they were not suffered to bury them. Josephus says, moreover, that they were compelled to dig trenches and ditches; to drain rivers into channels; to wall towns, casting up dykes and banks to keep off inundations; nay, to erect fantastical pyramids; that they were obliged to learn several laborious trades, and confined to perpetual labour. Another au-

thor observes, that in order to render them more odious to the Egyptians, they were constrained to go differently apparelled. But, without troubling ourselves farther than with what Moses tells us, we shall find their work hard enough. They were forced to work in clay and brick, and compelled at length to go and seek for stubble instead of straw, without the least diminution of their

(3) Vide Aug. de Civit. lib. xviii. cap. 7, Aben Ezr. ap. Munt. in loc. Pelican. & al.

Their cruel bondage.

This persecution began under the reign of a new king^f, who knew not Joseph (D), or had forgot the great services, which that minister had done both the crown and nation of Egypt. When he found by the experience of ten years, at least, that neither the hardships he laid upon them, nor all the cruelties which his officers and people used towards them, could prevent their multiplying as fast as ever^g, he sent for the two chief Hebrew midwives,

Yr. of Fl. Shephrah and Puah (E), and strictly charged them that, **775.** when they performed their office to the Hebrew women, **Ante Chr.** they should destroy all the males, and let the females **1573.** take their chance. But these women, who feared God, and abhorred such a cruel office, neglected the king's commands, and saved all the children that were born,

*Pharaoh's cruel order to the Hebrew midwives.
They are reprobated for their disobedience.*

males, as well as females. Pharaoh, extremely provoked at their disobedience, commanded them to be brought before him, and, in a threatening tone, asked how they dared to disobey his orders? The women had not their answer to seek. They readily told him, that the Hebrew women did not, like the Egyptian females, want a midwife to deliver them, being lusty and strong, bringing forth, like the beasts of the forests, without any assistance; so that the children were born before they (the midwives) could reach their places of abode. Moses tells us, that the

*Andrea.
warded by
God for
their piety.*

piety and mercy of these good women did not pass unrewarded, for God blessed them with a numerous posterity, a reward best suited to the temper of that carnal people. Pharaoh, finding that these private directions proved ineffectual, resolved to act more openly against the Israelites, and to make the parents become the executioners of their

^f Exod. i. 8.

^g Exod. i. pass.

tasks, of which if they chanced to fall short, their overseers were severely beaten.

(D) Who this king was, the learned have not been able certainly to discover; all their labours on this subject amount to no more than conjectures, every one of which contradicts another; and all of them are clogged with such difficulties and objections, as we cannot pretend to surmount. The

reader may consult on this head Euseb. Hieron. Chronic. Usher, sub A. M. 2427. Shuckford, Connect. vol. ii. p. 206. Jos. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 9. Ge-nebrard. Chronogr. p. 11. sub A. M. 2660.

(E) Though Moses mentions but two midwives, yet we must not suppose that they could suffice for such a vast number of women.

own children. To this end he issued out an order, under the severest penalties, that every Hebrew male child that was born, should be cast into the Nile, and that none but the females should be suffered to live; by which decree the people saw themselves obliged either to drown their own children, or to see them drowned by the Egyptians, as soon as they were discovered, and themselves severely punished for not obeying the king's edict. Such a cruel command could not but produce the greatest consternation among the afflicted Israelites, too prone naturally to despise and distrust God's promises. But the Divine Providence, whose designs could not be frustrated, either by the private artifices, or open violence of the king of Egypt, made this tyrant the instrument of bringing up that very child whom he designed to be the deliverer of his people^b.

The Israelites commanded to drown their children.

Amram, the son of Kohath, and grand-son of Levi, had married Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, his own aunt (F), by whom he had two children before the king's edict, viz. Miriam and Aaronⁱ; but Moses, not being born till some time after the promulgation of it, and he proving a lovely and beautiful child, the parents felt a more than ordinary reluctance to obey the cruel ordinance, so that they ventured to keep him privately during the space of three months, till, at last, fearing the extreme danger of a discovery, which would have proved fatal both to the child and themselves, they were forced, though with the utmost regret, to expose him like the rest. Accordingly, they inclosed him in a small ark of bulrushes, or rather of the flags of the tree of which the Egyptians made their paper^k, and committing him to the mercy of the waves, left Miriam, his sister, who was then

Yr. of Fl.
777.
Ante Chr.
1571.

Moses is
born,
and con-
cealed three
months;

and expos-
ed to the
common
fate;

^b Gregor. lib. viii. Moral.
Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 9.

ⁱ Exod. vi. 20.

^k Jos.

(F) We have ventured to call Jochebed Amram's aunt, though the Septuagint, Vulgate, and, after them, many learned expositors, both papists and protestants, have thought that she was no more than his uncle Kohath's daughter, and consequently his cousin-german, because the marriage of an aunt was afterwards for-

bidden in the Levitical law. For though the word *dod*, in the original, sometimes signifies an *uncle's son*, and *dodah*, an *uncle's daughter*, or *cousin-german*; yet, seeing Moses tells us, that she was born unto Levi, and accordingly calls her Amram's aunt in another place, we thought we might safely give her that name.

about nine or ten years of age, at a convenient distance, to watch, and see what would become of the infant. The reeds and flags, with which that river abounds, soon stopped the cradle from being carried by the current: and here it was that God sent him a happy deliverer from all future dangers, on account of the king's edict. This was Pharaoh's daughter, who being come to the river, with a design to bathe, spied the ark as she was walking along the shore. Her curiosity induced her to send some of her retinué to fetch it; and it was not long before her surprise, at the sight of so beautiful a child, was succeeded by an irresistible love and compassion. She immediately concluded that it was the child of some of those unfortunate Hebrews who groaned under her father's heavy thraldom; her pity told her that so lovely a boy deserved a better fate, and that it was her duty, since chance had thus thrown him in her way, at any rate to save him from the common ruin.

and brought up by Pharaoh's daughter.

Providence, which conducted the whole scene, inspired her with the design to have him educated as her own son, and, at the same time, impelled young Miriam to approach the princess, and offer herself to fetch a Hebrew nurse to suckle the foundling. She had no sooner obtained this permission, than she flew, with all imaginable joy, to call the mournful Jochebed, who came and received the dear infant from the hands of the princess, and with him an express order to take the same care of him as if he were her own. As she did not know the child's real name, she gave him that of Moses, seeing she had drawn him out of the water (G); and having promised the nurse an ample reward for her care of him, the joyful

(G) Moses is here thought to have hebraized his name, in order to express the sense of the Egyptian appellation, which had been given him by Pharaoh's daughter. The word mo, or mou, in the Egyptian tongue, according to Jolephus, signifies water, and yes, or ises, signifies preserved; and so Mo-yes, one preserved out of the water; but it is more

likely that the word moseh is derived from the Hebrew mas-fah, which signifies to draw out, and is taken in that sense by the Psalmist, Ps. xviii. 17. "He shall draw me out of many waters;" which verb might probably be common to the Hebrew and Egyptian tongues, both in sound and signification (2).

(2) Simler. Ofander in loc. Villet in Exod. cap. ii. quæst. 17.

mother

mother went home, to impart to her husband the news of this happy accident^k.

This signal care of Providence failed not to make them look upon Moses as a child designed for some glorious purpose; and to give him an education suitable to the idea they had conceived of his importance. They brought him, in due time, to Pharaoh's daughter, who adopted him for her son, and gave orders that he should be instructed in all the kinds of learning for which that country was renowned^l. However, his parents had so well instructed him in their religion, and informed him of his real birth, that he made no other use of the education which the princess gave him, than to confirm himself more and more against the superstitions and idolatry of the Egyptians, and to make himself fit to answer those great ends for which he seemed to be designed by Providence. It was this consideration that induced him to prefer the reproachful and despised name of Israelite to all the pomp and glory of Pharaoh's court^m. It was this love to his own nation, which made him visit and commiserate their distress, and, where it was in his power, relieve them from their oppression, though at the hazard of his own life: having observed, one day, an Egyptian using a Hebrew with some uncommon barbarity, he was so exasperated at this outrage, that, seeing no body near, he fell upon the oppressor, killed him, and buried his carcase in the sand. If what Josephus tells us be trueⁿ, that he had, before this time, commanded Pharaoh's troops, and made several successful campaigns against the Ethiopians, who had ravaged and plundered some provinces of Egypt, we need not wonder at his martial spirit shewing itself upon such an occasion; but we are not sure that what this historian says is really fact, seeing Philo, who had purposely written Moses's life, and had better opportunities of being informed of all the particulars of it, is altogether silent on this subject; and Moses himself is so far from mentioning any such warlike prowess, that he rather describes himself as a man of the utmost meekness and patience: we must therefore suppose that the injury done to the Hebrew was of such a nature, that it either deserved death, or could not be prevented but by killing the Egyptian. However that be, Moses was not so safe as he imagined; for, endeavouring

His education.

Kill an Egyptian.

^k Exod. ii. per tot.

^l Act. vii. 22.

^m Hebr. xi. 24, &c.

ⁿ Ant. lib. ii. cap. 10.

soon after to compose a difference between two Hebrews, whose cruel slavery could not hinder them from injuring one another, the more guilty of the two asked him, whether he designed to kill him as he had slain the Egyptian? Finding, therefore, that the fact was known, and fearing the effects of Pharaoh's resentment, he fled into the land of Midian, not daring to rely too much upon the protection of his adoptive mother. It is supposed, however, that he had made use of that prince's interest, long before, to get that bloody edict against the Hebrew male children recalled, since the sequel of the history shews, that it had not been put in force for some time. The news of the slain Egyptian was brought to the king, and in all likelihood aggravated, with the blackest circumstances, by the jealous courtiers; so that, had not Moses made all possible haste to pass those great deserts, that lay between Egypt and Midian (H), and safely reached hospitable Jethro's habitation, he would infallibly have been put to death. At his arrival in that country he met with such another adventure as Jacob's in Padan-Haran^a, by the well whither the damsels used to come to water their flocks; an account of which, and of his forty years abode there, has been given in the history of the Midianites.

How he spent his time in his long retirement, save that he kept Jethro's flocks, is what he has not thought fit to acquaint us with. Those who suppose that he wrote the book of Job during this interval, have certainly this strong argument on their side, that it appears to have been written before the deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt, otherwise it were absurd to imagine that either Job or his friends, considering what country or kindred they were of, could be either so ignorant of the wonders which God had wrought in favour of that oppressed people, or so forgetful of them, as not to have urged them, in the

^a Gen. xxix. 9.

(H) We must take care to distinguish this land of Midian, of which an account has been already given, from another of that name, whose chief city was also called Midian, and might be a colony of the other, situated by Arnon and Areopolis, according to St. Jerom, who tells us, the ruins of it were still to be seen in his days: whereas, this which Moses went to, was in Arabia Petraea, whose metropolis was called Petra, not far from Mount Horeb, where he kept Jethro's flocks (3).

(3) Vide Hieron. loc. Hebraic. Exod. iii. 1.

Strongest

strongest terms, during their long and intricate controversy about the various dispensations of Providence. And, indeed, were not Job so often mentioned by Ezekiel¹, with Noah and Daniel, much might be said for those who look upon this history as a parable, or rather a dramatic piece, written on purpose to comfort the afflicted Israelites under their heavy bondage.

As the reader may have a desire to know all the probable particulars that can be collected on this subject, we shall subjoin them in few words.

The most ancient monument we have concerning the genealogy of Job, and which has been received and allowed by Aristaeas, Philo, Polyhistor⁴, and several ancient fathers of the Greek and Latin church⁵, is an addition to that history, at the end of the Greek, Arabic, and Vulgate versions, affirmed to have been taken from the ancient Syriac translation to this purpose; that Job dwelt upon the confines of Idumæa and Arabia; that his first name was Jobab, and that he married an Arabian, by whom he had a son named Ennon. As for Job, he was the son of Zarah, and the fifth in descent from Abraham, by Esau, and reigned in Idumæa. The order of the kings that reigned before and after him is as follows: Balak, the son of Beor, reigned in the city of Denabah; after him reigned Job, called also Jobab, who was, succeeded by Asom prince of Teman; his successor Adad, the son of Barad, was he who overthrew the Midianites in the plains of Moab; the name of his city was Jethem. Job's friends, who came to visit him, were Eliphaz, king of Teman, of Esau's posterity; Bildad, king of the Zucheans, and Zophaz, king of the Mineans. Thus far the additions which have been preserved by Theodotion, in his version of the book of Job⁶. If this genealogy be admitted, and that Job is the same with Jobab, mentioned in Genesis⁷ and Chronicles⁸, it will follow, that he and Mōses were contemporaries, being both but three generations removed from Isaac, thus:

Isaac,

Jacob,	Esau,
Levi,	Reuel,
Amram,	Zerah,
Moses,	Jobab, or Job.

¹ Ezek. xiv. pass. ⁴ Euseb. Prep. lib. ix. cap. 25. ⁷ Vide Fred. Spanheim in Vit. Job. cap. iv. Mercer, Pineda, Dieg. de Stunica, &c. Com. in Job. ⁸ Vide Calm. Dissert. in Job.

² Gen. xxxvi. 32.

³ Chron. i. 23, 34.

*A digression
concerning
Job.*

It will likewise be plain, that he reigned in the city of Denaba, or Dinhbabah, for so the author of the first book of Chronicles affirms*. Those who embrace the notion that Job is the Jobab mentioned in those two places of Scripture above quoted, and consequently that he was contemporary with Moses, have, with much straining, extracted two passages in his history, which they pretend make express mention of Pharaoh's pride and overthrow, and of the Israelites passing through the Red Sea. The first is, where Eliphaz says of the wicked, that "trouble and anguish shall make him afraid, and prevail against him, as a king ready to battle"; which words they apply to Pharaoh's pride and hardness of heart, though it is plain, by what goes before and after those two verses, that Job's friend speaks only of the wicked in general, such as he supposes him to be from the afflictions which had befallen him. The other text is, where Job says, "that God divided the sea with his power, and, by his understanding, smiteth through the proud". And this, they think, alludes to the passing of the Red Sea, and to Pharaoh's overthrow in it. But the word in the original doth more properly signify *to smite* than *to divide*; and it is plain, from the tenor of the whole chapter, that Job speaks only of the wonderful power and providence of God in general, and not of this miracle in particular. Besides, it is hardly probable that, had this conference between Job and his friends happened after so remarkable a deliverance as that of the Israelites, more ample and express mention of it should not have been made throughout the book than we find in these two obscure passages; especially if we consider that Job's desire of vindicating his own integrity, did naturally lead him to it, and that the afflictions, as well as the deliverance of the Israelites, were a full confutation of what his friends alleged against him*. Neither do we see any necessity for making Job to have lived since this miraculous deliverance of the Israelites, in order to adjust the genealogy above mentioned, since it will be sufficient to suppose, that these four generations, on Esau's side, were, by some few years, shorter than those on Jacob's; a supposition not at all improbable, seeing the latter were remarkable for their long lives; and then it will be possible enough for Job to have seen an end of all his sufferings, before Moses left

* 2 Chron. i.

t Job xv. 24, 25.

* Job xxvi. 12.

* See particularly chap. xxii. 15. & alib. pass.

the land of Midian ; in which case this law-giver, b*c.* 15, supposed to be the most ancient writer, has been likewise thought the author of Job's history by the majority of learned men. However, there is one main objection ; namely, that if Jobab be the same with Job, and he contemporary with Moses, it will be impossible for the latter to have outlived him by so many years, as to be able to give us an account of his death and of his numerous posterity ; for it is said, that Job lived a hundred and forty years after his sufferings were ended, and that he saw the children of his sons to the fourth generation ; whereas Moses lived but forty years in the land of Midian, and forty more after he left it. This difficulty, therefore, cannot be removed, but by supposing that the three or four last verses of the book were added afterwards by some inspired person, in order to make the history complete, in the same manner as Joshua, or some other, added the account of Moses's death and burial, at the end of Deuteronomy ; but how far this supposition may be allowed, we chuse to submit to our reader's judgment.

Moses seems to have lived quietly as a herdsman in the land of Midian, without ever dreaming that Providence had chosen him to be the deliverer of the Israelites. For when God was pleased to appear to him at the end of forty years, in a burning bush, upon Mount Horeb, where he called him by name, assuring him, that he was the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and Jacob, he declined the office, when commanded to go into Egypt, and execute the designs of Providence ; he desired to be excused from the difficult office, though God was pleased to clear all his doubts, and to give him such promises of his miraculous assistance, as might (one would think) have emboldened the most fearful. The divine vision began with telling him, that the afflictions under which the Israelites groaned, were grown to such a height, and the cruelties of their enemies so enormous, that the time was now come, both for their deliverance, and for their possessing the Promised Land, as a recompence for their long patience and sufferings. He therefore commanded him to go to Pharaoh, and in his name demand their dismission ; assuring him, that those who fought his life were now dead, and that he had nothing to fear from the Egyptians. Moses made several excuses, and at last objected, that he very much doubted, whether the Israelites had not so far forgot the God of their fathers, that, when he should acquaint them with his commission from him, they would

God ap-pears to him in the burning bush.

Commands him to re-turn to E-gypt.

be apt to ask what his name was ; in which case he would be at a loss what answer to make (T). Here God was pleased

(T) The cabbalistical Jews, and after them Josephus, and some Romanists, think that Moses did not ask for the name of God, but for the true pronunciation of it, which they say had been lost through the wickedness of mankind : for which reason the former affirm, that the word holam, used by God presently after, being written without a vau, should not be rendered *for evre*, but *hid*, from the root halam, to *hide*, not considering, that, if that was the case, it should be written halum, and not holam. Upon this account the name is by all the Jews called Shem-hamphorash, *the unutterable Name*, which Josephus, in the place just now quoted, says, was never known or heard of, before God told it to Moses ; and adds, that he does not so much as mention it : for which reason they never pronounce it, but use the words Adonai, or Elohim, or plainly the word Hashem, *the Name*, to express it. Thus, in their letters and common discourse, instead of saying, "The Lord bless or protect you," they say, "The Name blesses you, &c." Not but their high-priest did pronounce it Jehovah once a year, on the day of expiation, from the time of their return from the Babylonish captivity, to the last destruction of the temple : but they had but few disciples near them that could learn its pronunciation ; and, during the time of the blessing in

which this name was repeated, the priests and Levites sung louder than ordinary, that none else might hear it. But even then they were far from thinking it the right pronunciation of the tetragrammaton : for they think, that any man that could once attain it, might shake heaven and earth with it, work the greatest miracles, and dive into the deepest secrets of Deity ; upon which account, the Talmud have denounced a most horrid curse upon those who shall dare to utter it, because they think the angels themselves are not allowed to pronounce it. The truth is, those who think that Jehovah is the right pronunciation, are far enough from being sure of it. It is plain, that the ancients wrote it very differently from them. Sanchoniatho spells it Jevo ; Diodorus Siculus, Macrobius, Clemens of Alexandria, St. Jerome, and Origen, pronounced it Jao. The Samaritans, and after them Epiphanius and Theodoret, call it Jave or Jabe. Others of the ancients write it Jahoh, Javo, Jaou, Jaho, and Jahoæ. Among the moderns, Capellus is for pronouncing it Javo ; Drusius contends for Jave ; Hottinger for Jehva ; Mercer will have it Jehovah ; Castilio says Jovah ; and Le Clerc, Jaivoh, or Jawoh. Something like these the Romans had in their Jovis, to which Varro seems to allude, when he says, "Deum Juðorum esse Jovem," that Jove was

pleased to answer a question he had formerly refused to Jacob^a, though in such terms as seems to have implied reprobation. "I am that I am," said he, bidding him tell his brethren, that "I am" had sent him unto them; that he was the God of their fathers, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and that he would be remembered and acknowledged by that name throughout all generations, as their great Redeemer and Deliverer. Not, continued he, that Pharaoh will let you go at your first or second asking, nor indeed at all, till I have convinced him both of my justice and power, by the terrible punishment I shall send upon him and his land, for their oppression of my people: nor shall the Hebrews come away altogether unrewarded for their long and cruel servitude^b.

After such ample assurances, one would hardly expect, that Moses would have started any new difficulties: nevertheless, he freely owns, that his doubts were far from being wholly dispelled; he knew the temper of the Israelites too well, not to foresee, that they would most likely call his mission in question. He therefore begged to be informed what he must do in that case; and God was pleased to clear this doubt also, by two miracles, which he wrought in his presence. The first was by turning his rod into a frightful serpent, and then into a rod again. The second was by smiting one of his hands with leprosy, upon his pulling it out of his bosom, and then restoring it to its former sanity. God, moreover, declared, that if the working of these two miracles before the Israelites did not give a sufficient sanction to his mes-

^a Gen. xxxii. 29.

^b Exod. iii. per tot.

was the God of the Jews, as St. Austin alleges out of him, in the first book of his Defence of the Gospel, cap. 22. The Moors likewise call God Juba, or Jubah, and the Mahomedans, Hou, which, with them, signifies the same as Jehovah, i. e. *He who is*. This name

they write at the beginning of all their patents, passes, and the like, and often repeat it in their prayers. Some of their devotees will sometimes repeat that word so often, and with such quickness and vehemence, that they grow giddy, and drop down (1).

(1) Vide Jos. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 12. Berruyer Hist. du Peup. de Dieu, tom. ii. p. 36. Sanchoniat. ap. Euseb. Praep. lib. x. cap. 9. Diod. Sic. Biblioth. lib. ii. Macrobius Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 18. Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. v. Origen. conr. Cels. lib. vi. Epiph. Haeres. 40. Theodoret. in Exod. Quest. 15. Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. p. 460. sub voc. Hou. & p. 336. sub Esma.

sage, he should then have liberty to try the success of a third, by taking some water out of the Nile, which, upon its being spilt on the ground, would immediately turn the river into blood.

Moses had still one material objection to make; namely, an impediment in his speech, which he said rendered him unfit to speak either to Pharaoh, or to the Israelites. But this also the Divine Being was pleased to remove, by telling him, that his brother Aaron, who was now by his appointment to meet him, should be his interpreter both to Pharaoh, and to the Hebrews. There was certainly something very surprising in this reluctance of Moses, as well as in the patience with which God heard him: yet, after all these assurances, he had recourse to prayer, earnestly begging of God, who certainly knew many among the Hebrews more fit for the work than himself, to make choice of some other to execute his command. Finding, however, that his service could not be dispensed with, and afraid, lest he should incur the divine displeasure by a farther refusal, he made the best of his way towards Midian, in order to prepare himself for his journey, and to meet his brother Aaron.

Obeys at last, and leaves Midian.

Expressing to his father-in-law Jethro, a desire to go and visit his brethren in Egypt, he easily obtained his dismission; and taking his wife Zipporah, and his two sons with him, the least of which, being too young to walk, he set upon an ass, he departed in a very mean equipage for Egypt, having the miraculous rod in his hand.

Aaron's children during his brother's absence.

He goes to meet him at Horeb.

During Moses's retreat in Midian, Aaron his brother had married Elizabeth, the sister of Naason, both descended from Judah by their father Aminadab, the son of Ezron. He had already had four sons by her, viz. Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar^a; the first of whom had likewise a son named Phineas, by a daughter of Phutiel^b. This was the state of Aaron's family, when God commanded him to go and meet his brother; but before he could reach the Mount of God (Horeb), a dreadful accident was like to have happened to Moses, the particular occasion and circumstances of which we are left to guess at, he not having thought fit to commit them to writing. The account we have of it, being but darkly expressed in the original, and having been misunderstood, and mistranslated in most versions, and particularly our own, we shall venture to depart from it, where the original, and the

Exod. iv. 9.

^a *Exod. viii. 23.*

^b *Ibid. ver. 25.*

authority

authority of those, who by their diligent application, have been able to give it a better light, will justify our deviation.

Yr. of Pl.
857.
Ante Chr.
149¹⁴.

Mofes was upon his first day's journey, between Midian and Horeb, where he afterwards met his brother; when God appeared again to him, and charged him to perform all those wonders which he had shewed him, before the king of Egypt, and to demand of him the dismission of his people Ifrael, whom he calls by way of excellency, his "first-born;" assuring him, that he would be with him, and that in case of an obstinate refusal, which he foresaw, he would slay all the first-born of Egypt^a. Moses was no sooner arrived at the inn, than he was struck with a terrible disease (U): he doth not tell us, whether the divine anger was occasioned by his incumbering himself with a wife and two children, when he was sent upon so important a message, or because he had deferred to circumcise his youngest son, either out of regard to his tender age, or in complaisance to his wife, who might fear, lest such an operation should make him unfit to travel for a while, if not endanger his life in that hot country. Zipporah, however, taking it in the latter sense, made what haste she could to get a sharp stone, with which she cut off the child's prepuce, and laid it at his feet, telling him at the same time, that he was now become a joyful bridegroom to her by the blood of this circumcision. The ceremony was no sooner performed, than Moses was restored to his former health, and able to pursue his journey towards Mount Horeb, whilst his wife returned with the two children to her father Jethro, resolved to wait there till a more favourable opportunity should offer to rejoin her husband.

Mofes smitten by the angel in the inn.

Zipporah circumcises her son, and Moses is restored.

In the mean time Mofes and Aaron met at the foot of Mount Horeb, and the former acquainted his brother with the commission he had received from God. Aaron expressed great joy at the news, promised to be obedient in all things to the divine will, and they continued their journey towards Egypt. Being arrived at the land of Go-

Joins his brother at Mount Horeb.

^a Exod. vi. 23, & seq.

(U) Many things which have been written in explanation of this adventure, by Jews and Christians, we omit, in defer-

ence to the reader's understanding, which we should be loth to insult.

Declares his commission to the Israelites.

then, their first care was to assemble the elders or heads of the Israelites, and to impart to them the joyful tidings of their speedy deliverance: on which occasion, Moses, in order to remove all hesitation on their side, wrought those miracles before them, by which God had commanded him to establish his credit and authority. These first essays were received with incredible joy by the whole assembly, every one bowing himself in token of gratitude and adoration to the divine goodness, which had at length taken pity of their miserable slavery *. But this disposition lasted no longer than they thought their deliverance would cost nothing but miracles, and that the care and danger of it would only fall upon Moses and Aaron; for when it came to touch them a little nearer, Moses found them as hard to be persuaded to embrace their freedom, as Pharaoh was to grant their dismission (X).

Declares his message to the king of Egypt.

Moses and Aaron did not delay to open their commission before the Egyptian king: but the preamble, "Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews," founded so strangely in his ears, that he could not forbear wondering at their presumption, telling them that he knew no such God; and that as to the Israelites, they should not find him so easy to part with them. They answered, that the God, whom he refused to acknowledge, had enjoined them to go three days journey to celebrate a festival to him; and that if they should omit complying with his command, he would soon punish their disobedience, either by pestilence, or by the sword. This threat more amazed the haughty monarch, who thereupon dismissed them with a severe reprimand, for putting such idle notions into the heads of

* Exod. iv. per tot.

(X) Some historians have ventured to give us the name of this Pharaoh, though Josephus only calls him the new king. Apion calls him Amorisor Amasis; Eusebius, Chenecris; but Archbishop Usher thinks, after Manetho, that it was Amenophis, the son of Rameses Miamun, and father of Sethosis, called also after his grand-father, Ramesis. He

is also of opinion, that this Amenophis is the same monarch, whom the Greeks call Belus, the father of Ægyptus and Danaus, though the fable-writers have confounded him with Belus the Assyrian, and father of Ninus. The truth is, we have so little light from history as to this point, that it is very dangerous to affirm any thing about it (3).

(3) Vide Jos. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 9. Usher sub A. M. 2427.

their

their people, and debauching them from their work ; bidding them return to their own tasks, and they should soon know the success of this wise embassy. Thus began that famous contest between Moses and the king of Egypt, the fatal source of new complaints and sorrows to the Israelites. For Pharaoh dreading their excessive numbers, and thinking that idleness and wantonness had occasioned this rambling fit of religion, ordered their task-masters to double their labour, and instead of giving them straw to dry their bricks, make them wander over the land, since they had such an inclination for a change of air, and gather stubble instead of it, without diminishing one tittle of their work. This order was soon obeyed by their merciless task-masters, who failed not to punish their overseers, whenever they found them short of their appointed task. These therefore came in a body to make their grievances known to the king, who, instead of minding their piteous complaints, only accused them of being grown idle and wanton for want of work, and dismissed them with the most barbarous indifference. In their return from the palace, they were met by Moses and Aaron, against whom they began to inveigh in the bitterest terms, as the authors of this new addition of misery, which could terminate in nothing but death and despair. It would have been in vain for Moses to offer any thing either in his own defence, or by way of comfort to them at that time ; he thought it more adviseable to apply himself to God, and in the humblest terms to expostulate with him upon the ill success of this first message^f.

God gave him fresh assurances of his love and compassion for his groaning people, bidding him assure them from him, that he would speedily let all Egypt see, he was their God, and would be their deliverer and conductor into that land, which he had promised to their fathers. He said he had indeed appeared, and been known heretofore by the name of El Shaddai, *God Almighty*, or *all sufficient*, though never till now by his great name Jehovah (Y). He also declared he would signalize the deliverance, by such examples of justice on that obstinate prince, and people, as should force the proud monarch to

The Israelites burden increased.

Moses is bid to go again to Pharaoh.

^f Exod. v. per tot.

(Y) Writers on this passage seem to forget, that Abraham alled the mountain, on which he was to have sacrificed his son, Jehovah-Jired.

dismiss them in safety. All these divine promises, however, were so little regarded by the desponding Israelites, that when God commanded Moses to go again to Pharaoh, and renew his demand in his name, he was so disheartened at his ill success, that he could not forbear expressing great reluctance to obey. Alas! said he, if my words can find so little credit with thy own people, how can I expect that they will be regarded by that unbelieving monarch, especially considering with what difficulty I am forced to utter them. To this observation God replied: "Behold, Moses, I give thee a miraculous power over Pharaoh, and thy brother shall be thy prophet and interpreter to him, and though I suffer his heart to continue hardened (Z), till thou hast wrought all the miracles I have charged thee with; yet be assured, that I will bring Israel out of their bondage, like a triumphant army, and the Egyptians shall know, that I am the Lord. Go therefore, and let your mighty works convince that proud tyrant at Icaſt, that your message is from a greater and more powerful monarch than he^a." Moses and Aaron forthwith obeyed; and having presented themselves before Pharaoh, confirmed their commission by the first miracle, Moses throwing down his rod, which turned immediately into a serpent. Pharaoh, still incredulous, sent to try what his magicians could do, and these likewise turned their rods into serpents; so that all the superiority which Moses shewed over them at this time was, that his rod swallowed up those of the Egyptians (A). However, this advantage made no great impression on Pharaoh, who might attribute it only to his superior skill in magic. The miracle, therefore, was soon followed by

*Miracle
first.
Moses's rod
turned into
a serpent.
The magi-
cians do the
same.*

* Exod. vi. per tot.

(Z) We have ventured to depart from our own, and almost all other versions, which make God the chief hardener of Pharaoh's heart, that he might inflict the more severe punishments on him. A notion, which, however embraced by the predestinarians, seems so shocking to reason, that one would sooner choose to say with the fool, "there is no God," than to believe him

capable of such manifest injustice.

(A) St. Paul gives the names Jannes and Jambres to the two principal magicians who withstood Moses; but from what has been written on this subject by all the commentators, Jews as well as Christians, we learn nothing more than that these Egyptian conjurers, understood the art of legerdemain.

another,

another, which changed all the running and standing waters into blood, so that there was not a drop of water left in the whole land for the Egyptians to drink. This metamorphosis was likewise imitated by the magicians, but whether upon sea-water brought on purpose, or fresh water from the land of Goshen, or some of that which they had drawn from their new-dug wells, is not easy to guess. However that be, Pharaoh's heart being still hardened^c, Moses was again sent to threaten him; that if he did not let Israel go, his whole kingdom should be so filled with frogs, that their ovens, their beds, and tables, should swarm with those animals. As the king persisted in his refusal, this calamity was brought upon the land accordingly; but his magicians found means again to persuade him, that Moses was only such another miracle-monger as they were; for they imitated also this miracle, by bringing a fresh swarm of frogs into the country. Wherefore Pharaoh was reduced to send for Moses, and to promise him that he would let Israel go, if he would but deliver him from this odious vermin. Moses took him at his word, and desiring him to name the time, when he should rid the land of those creatures, performed his part so effectually, that by next day there was not one frog left alive in all the land. But whilst his subjects were gathering them up in heaps, in order to carry them off, lest their stench should breed an infection, Pharaoh was thinking how to elude his promise, not considering that he only made way for another plague.

Moses finding himself again deceived, touched the ground with his rod, and the dust was immediately turned into lice, or, as some think, into gnats, a kind of small insect more common and more tormenting in Egypt, than any where else. But our version seems to us more agreeable to the original, and to the generality of ancient and modern translations and expositions^r. These infected man and beast in such quantities, that one would have imagined all the dust of Egypt had been turned into lice. Pharaoh once more sent for his magicians, and bid them try their skill, which they exercised in vain; for either their power proved too feeble, or was curtailed by a superior hand; so that they were forced to acknowledge, that the finger of God did plainly display itself in this miracle. The tyrant nevertheless disregarding their words,

*Second
miracle.
The waters
turned into
blood.*

*Third mi-
racule of
frogs.*

*Fourth mi-
racule of the
lice.*

* Exod. vii. per tot. r Chald. Targ. Jos. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 14. Rabbini. Montan. Munster. Vatabl. Jun. Bochart. & al.

*Fifth mi-
racle of
swarms of
flies.*

and continuing obstinate, Moses and Aaron met him next morning, as he was going down to the river, and told him, that his obstinacy would only bring upon him more and worse plagues, the next of which would be such swarms of flies, as would darken the air. They likewise gave him to understand, that God would make a difference between his people and the Egyptians, and that there should none be found in all the land of Goshen, though the rest of the kingdom swarmed with them. Accordingly by the next day the air was filled with those insects, whose bite was so venomous and painful, that the mischief which they did to Egypt became intolerable. Pharaoh now startled, sent for the two Hebrew chiefs, and told them, that he would give them leave to sacrifice to their God, provided it was done within his dominions. To this intimation they answered, they could not comply with his command, without imminent danger of their lives, seeing they should be obliged to sacrifice such creatures as the Egyptians worshipped, who would therefore be ready to stone them, as guilty of the most horrid and abominable sacrilege. They therefore insisted upon going three days journey out of the land, that they might safely perform that command of their God. He was puzzled by this answer, which gave him just reason to suspect, that they did not intend to return; but at length he consented that they should go, provided it was at no great distance from Egypt; and they promised him faithfully to return in a little time. Moses assured him, that he would immediately go out, and intreat the Lord for him, and desired him to keep his word; but no sooner had his prayer obtained a reprieve, and delivered the kingdom from those venomous insects, than the king incurred another plague by his obstinacy, and breach of promise ^b.

*Sixth mi-
racle.
The cattle
of the E-
gyptians
killed by the
murrain,
Seventh
miracle.
Boils upon
men and
beasts.*

The next judgment fell, according to Moses's prediction, on all the cattle of the Egyptians, the greatest part of which died by the next day, whilst those of the Israelites remained unhurt. But this calamity not touching the king near enough, the next that followed was more affecting, being a violent and painful boil, which broke out upon man and beast. Pharaoh, according to custom, had recourse to his magicians, who being themselves smitten with boils, durst not appear before Moses. Nevertheless the king remained inflexible; so that the He-

^b Exod. viii. per tot.

brew was sent again to threatē him with a more terrible judgment. He was told, that the voice of the God of Israel should be heard in thunder, and his vengeance felt in such dreadful storms of hail, as had not been known, since the foundation of Egypt. Moses gave him but one day to consider of it, assuring him, that the next would prove dismal to the Egyptians, unless he consented to dismiss the Israelites before that time, between whom and the Egyptians God would put such a difference, that the land of Goshen should be entirely free from the terrible punishment, with which Egypt would be afflicted. Moses accordingly lifted up his rod towards heaven on the next morning; whereupon thunder, lightning, and hail, followed one another so thick, that Egypt was half destroyed. The hail was of such prodigious size, that it killed man and beast, broke all the trees, and destroyed all the barley and flax. The wheat only and the rye escaped, because they were not sufficiently grown; for the barley-harvest in Egypt begins about the middle or latter end of March; whereas, that of the wheat and rye doth not begin till six or seven weeks after. As for the land of Goshen, it was found, upon enquiry, to have been as free from this, as it had been from all the former plagues.

*Eighth mi-
racle.
Hail-stones
and thun-
der.*

This dreadful visitation, especially the hail, which was the more extraordinary, as it seldom or never rains in that part of Egypt, so frightened the proud king, that he sent immediately for Moses and Aaron, and expressed himself in such terms to them, as might have passed for sure tokens of a real conversion. He earnestly begged to be delivered from the noise of those dreadful thunders; at the cessation of which he promised not to detain the Israelites one moment longer. Moses, though he gave no credit to this promise, yet engaged to obtain a speedy cessation of the plague, which being removed accordingly in consequence of his prayers, the Egyptians had an opportunity of examining the mischief done by the hail, which they found to be much greater than they had imagined. This observation inspired many of them with a real fear of the God of Israel; but Pharaoh and his council no sooner perceived the storm was over, than they returned to their former obstinacy and deceit. Whereupon Moses was sent to threaten them with a more fatal curse; namely, such an infinite number of locusts, as should cover the face of the earth, and eat up what the hail had left undestroyed. There were some individuals about the king, who now took the liberty to represent

*The great
mischief
done by it.*

represent to him the inconceivable damage which his kingdom had already received ; that Egypt was half destroyed, and that it was high time the Hebrews were sent away to serve their God. Pharaoh was now persuaded to let them go, but having sent for Moses and Aaron, to enquire which of them were to go, and which to stay, he was so highly provoked at their insisting upon taking with them their wives, children, cattle, and all they had, that he could not forbear upbraiding them with their ill intentions, which, though concealed with so much art, and cloaked with the specious pretence of religion, did yet but too plainly shew, that they had no mind ever to return to Egypt. He warned them of the danger they would incur, and advised them to content themselves with taking only the men with them, leaving their wives and children behind. Having thus threatened them severely, he caused them to be thrust from his presence.

*Ninth mi-
racle of lo-
custs.*

Moses no sooner quitted the palace than he lifted up his rod over the land of Egypt, and this motion was immediately followed by an east wind, which blew all the night, and brought such myriads of locusts by the next morning, as had never been seen before. These spreading themselves all over the land, in a little time eat up every blade of grass, and every thing that had escaped the storm of hail. Pharaoh did not fail to send for Moses, to own his fault, and beg for one reprieve more ; but having obtained it by means of a west wind, which blew all the locusts into the sea, he continued as obstinate as ever. Egypt was presently after smitten with such horrid darkness, that Moses chooses to express it by a darkness that may be felt. During the three days it lasted, the Egyptians did neither see one another, nor dare to stir out of their houses, whilst the land of Goshen enjoyed the usual day-light. The horror of this obscurity, which could not be removed by the common methods then used to supply the place of the sun, caused such dreadful apprehensions in the king and all his subjects, and was so heightened by the dismal outcries of men, women, and children, that their consternation may be much easier imagined than expressed. As soon, therefore, as the light was restored to them, Moses and Aaron were immediately summoned, when the king, according to custom, told them that he was willing to grant their request, and that they might go with their wives and children, but insisted that their flocks should be left behind. Moses, after many expostulations, observing Pharaoh's unwillingness to consent,

*Tenth mi-
racle of
great dark-
ness during
three days.*

sent, told him, in express terms, that they would take all their cattle with them, and that not a single hoof should remain in Egypt. We need not wonder if so proud a king could not bear so bold a declaration without the highest resentment. He caused him to be thrust from his presence with the utmost indignation, threatening him, that if he dared to come before him any more, it should certainly cost him his life. Such impotent menaces had nothing in them that could frighten a man like Moses: however, it is supposed that at this last interview he signified to the king the finishing stroke of the divine vengeance upon all the first-born of men and cattle throughout Egypt, which would occasion such consternation among all his subjects, that they should come with bended knees to the Israelites, "and beg of them, in the most submissive terms, to depart out of their country"; whilst God would still shew such regard to the latter, that they should enjoy their usual calmness and tranquillity, not a dog daring to open his mouth against any of them. Moses having finished this last prediction, retired to his people into the land of Goshen, where the Israelites celebrated the Passover that very night, according to God's command. It was on this occasion that he advised them to borrow jewels, fine raiment, and other precious things, from their Egyptian neighbours, assuring them from God, that they should find them very ready to accommodate them with the best ornaments in their possession^a.

The Passover celebrated.

This ceremony of eating the Passover, as well as the *its first institution.* method of doing it, had been prescribed by Moses to the Israelites, during those transactions that passed between him and the king of Egypt, though they are postponed to the twelfth chapter, to avow an interruption in the history of those wonders which God had wrought by his ministry. He commanded, that this month, which was then the sixth of the year, according to the common or civil computation, should from thenceforth be the first month in the year in the sacred calendar; and that all the other annual feasts, which were afterwards to be instituted, should be regulated by that of the Passover. This injunction was to be perpetual, but on this night they were moreover to save the blood of the lamb in a basin, and sprinkle the two side and cross posts of their doors with it, that the destroying angel might leave their houses untouched, when he passed by to destroy the

The order and manner of it.

^a Exod. xi. 8, & seq. Vide Usher Annal. Sub. A. M. 2513.

^b Exod. xi. & xii. per tot.

Unleavened bread.

first-born of Egypt, and to execute the divine vengeance on their gods, whether it were their princes, who, in the language of Scripture, are often called gods, or those animals which that superstitious nation worshipped. In memory of which great deliverance, they were to keep this feast of unleavened bread seven days, that is, from the fourteenth day at even, until the twenty-first day at even; during which, whosoever was found among them eating leavened bread, whether he was an Israelite or a stranger, was to be cut off from Israel. The first and last of these seven days were to be kept holy, and free from all manner of work. Lastly, no stranger was to be admitted to eat of the Passover, unless he consented to be circumcised. As for the Israelites, they were strictly to remember this great and glorious night, and to instruct their children in the meaning of this institution, that they might likewise perpetuate the memory of it to future ages.

The Israelites obey, and kill the Passover.

The people, whom so many judgments executed on the Egyptians had rendered more tractable, received Moses's orders with the utmost respect, and went to prepare for putting them in execution.

The first-born of the Egyptians slain by the destroying angel.

Moses and Aaron sent for, and ordered to depart.

The fatal hour being come, whilst both sides were in the greatest tranquillity, the Egyptians thinking now all the plagues past, and Pharaoh flattering himself that Moses's menaces against the first-born had proved abortive, because four days were elapsed since they were denounced, God sent his destroying ministers, who suddenly dispersed themselves all over the kingdom, and smote all the first-born with immediate death, from the eldest son of him who sat on the throne, to the first-born of the imprisoned captive, and even to that of the meanest animal in the land. The first expedient this affrighted monarch could think of was to send for Moses and Aaron, who being settled at Rameses, not far from his capital city, were soon brought into his presence. Instead of repeating his usual menaces, he was now urgent and pressing for their departure, with their children, cattle, and all that they had. The Egyptians likewise were no less impatient to see them depart, fearing lest every minute of their stay should prove fatal to the kingdom; and the Israelites found them as ready to lend them the most valuable things they had, as they themselves were to borrow. Moses, who was well acquainted with Pharaoh's changeable temper, made all the haste he could to seize the present opportunity. He forthwith settled the best order he could reduce to practice among that vast multitude, and in

in the general confusion that reigned, gave the signal for their departure long before break of day. Leaving therefore the Egyptians to mourn for and bury their dead, the Israelites, loaden with the spoils, began their march under the conduct of Moses, to the number of six hundred thousand men able to bear arms, besides old men, women, and children, servants, and an innumerable multitude of strangers, who joined, and followed them in their march (M). As soon as they arrived at Succoth, Moses directed them to encamp according to their tribes and families, which was likewise the order they had followed in their march. It is to be observed, that the distance from Rameses to the utmost borders of Egypt, on the side of the land of Canaan, was not much above three-score miles, so that Moses could, in a few days march, have brought them out of Pharaoh's territories; yet God so ordered it, that they were full forty years before they arrived in the Promised Land.

Whilst they continued at Succoth, Moses was commanded to consecrate the first-born of man and beast to God; the first-born of men to be redeemed at the price of five shekels of the sanctuary, each worth double the common shekel, that is, about two shillings and six pence; so that the whole sum amounted to about twelve shillings and six pence; which money was afterwards to be given to the priests. This redemption was founded not only upon the right which God has over all his creatures, but more particularly on his indulgence in having spared the first-born of the Israelites, when he smote those of the Egyptians (N).

Moses,

(M) There was yet one thing wanting, viz. a sufficient quantity of provisions for all that multitude; and perhaps they expected to have had time enough to procure it before their march, but the Egyptians drove them away with such eagerness, that the people were forced to carry their paste with them unleavened, with which they baked cakes upon the coals. What other provision they could get they took with them undressed, and marched from

Rameses to their first encampment at Succoth. Josephus tells us that their dough, and other provision, which they carried from Egypt, lasted a whole month; but it is not likely that they would load themselves with such luggage, which in all probability they knew not how to preserve so long, when they were already burthened with the valuable spoils of the Egyptians (1).

(N) This law concerning the first-born of men did not at all

(1) Vide Exod. xxii. per tot. Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 15.
regard

The num-
ber of the
Israelites
that went
out to
Egypt.

The first.
born of
Israel con-
secrated.

The History of the Jews

Moses, instead of taking the nearest way to the land of Canaan, through that of the Philistines, wheeled about along the coasts of the Red Sea towards Arabia Petraea. They proceeded from Succoth to Etham, towards Arabia Deserta, which is therefore called in the original the Wilderness, near the borders of which Etham was situate, where they arrived on the second day after their departure out of Egypt. But next day, it seems, God directed him to turn towards Pihahiroth, which lies between the Red Sea, Migdol, and Baal-Zephon (O). The Supreme Being was also pleased to shew his care for them in another miraculous manner; for though he might have notified to them when, and whither to march, or where to halt and encamp, as he signified his other commands by

regard the women; for if the first-fruits of a marriage proved a female, no redemption was to be paid for her. Secoally, as to that of beasts, it extended only to the clean; the unclean beasts were either to be redeemed, each by one that was clean, as an ass by a lamb, or to be killed and flung away. They were ordered to teach the reason of this law of redemption to their children, and grand-children, that their posterity might never be at a loss to account for it, nor the wonders which were wrought in favour of them be forgot. Among all the cares which Moses and Aaron had, they did not forget to bring Joseph's coffin and bones with them, pursuant to the oath which that patriarch had exacted from them. The Jews tell us they placed them in a sumptuous car, or open bier, which proceeded under the guard and conduct of the tribes of Ephraim and Ma-

nasseh, his two children (2).

(O) We know but little of the geography of all these places. Etham is supposed to be the Buthee of Herodotus; and Pihahiroth, the city of Heroum, on the extreme part of the Arabic gulph, or the Phagroriopolis, placed by Strabo near the same place. All that we know of Migdol is only, that it signifies a tower. Baal-Zephon seems wholly unknown to the ancient geographers. The Jewish rabbies, and, after them, Grotius, believe it to have been an idol set up to guard the confines of Egypt. Eusebius takes it for a town, and not a statue, and places it near Clyisma; though St. Jerom has omitted it in his translation. It stands upon the most northern point of the Red Sea, where the ancients, especially the Jews, think the Israelites passed it, and where stands to this day a Christian monastery (3).

(2) Vide Elie Shemoth Rabbah.

(3) Vide Calm. Hist. M. T. Comes, in Exodus. & Dissert. on Passage of the Red Sea.

the mouths of Moses and Aaron, yet; considering their untractable temper, and how apt they would be to murmur against their leaders at every difficulty they might encounter, he condescended to conduct them by the miraculous appearance of a pillar of fire in the night, and a column of smoke in the day. These phænomena never forsook them during their forty years wandering in the wilderness, but guided their progres from place to place through forty-two encampments. But whether it was exhibited at their first, second, or third march, at Succoth or Etham, does not appear from the text^u.

*The mirac-
ulous pil-
lar of fire
and smoke.*

*They are
led by the mi-
raculous
pillar.*

*Pharaoh
pursues
after,*

By this time the king of Egypt began to repent of his parting with the Israelites, who, he perceived, had no intention to return. Thinking they might easily be surprised among the mountains, and cut off, he prepared a considerable army, together with six hundred of the choicest chariots, besides all the chariots of war that could be found in Egypt, and began his march in pursuit of the fugitives. Moses has not given us any farther particulars concerning that army; but Josephus, who seldom fails to improve the text, whenever it serves for the honour of his country, makes it amount to six hundred chariots, fifty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot^x; and Ezekiel, the poet quoted by Eusebius, hath increased it to a million of men. But, whatever the army was, Pharaoh put himself at the head of it, and led it with such speed, that he overtook them at Pihahiroth, and encamped there in full sight of the Israelites, who being a pusillanimous race, inured to bondage, could not behold the enemy so near without the utmost consternation. Instead of having recourse to that mighty arm, that had so visibly stretched itself out in their favour, they ran in a tumultuous manner to Moses's tent, complaining that he had brought them to be slaughtered in the wilderness; and that they had now nothing to expect but the most cruel death in that dismal place. Moses, instead of upbraiding them with their cowardice and ingratitude, endeavoured to assuage their fears with the assurance, that this would be the last time of their seeing the Egyptians. He had consulted God, who ordered them forthwith to begin their march towards the sea, directing him, at the same time, to stretch out his rod over it, when the waters would instantly divide, and make way for them to pass through, as on dry land; whereas Pharaoh,

*and over-
takes them.*

*Moses
comforts
the despair-
ing Israel-
ites.*

^u Exod. xiii, ver. ult.

^x Jos. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 15.

The Red Sea is divided.

and his whole army, should they venture to pursue, should be finally overwhelmed. Accordingly, a strong east wind dividing that arm of the sea, afforded a passage, and the Israelites were beginning their march towards it, when the angel of the Lord, who conducted them in the pillar of fire, removed from the front to the rear of the army, and stood between them and the Egyptians; thus producing a double effect, giving light to the Israelites in their march, and dazzling the eyes of their enemies, to prevent their perceiving what was doing among the Hebrews. We are given to understand, that whilst these were passing through the sea, the waves arose in heaps, and stood as a wall on each side them (R). The Egyptians, perceiving that the Israelites were marching off, that the cloud which conducted them was removed towards the sea, resolved upon a close pursuit, not dreaming that they were launching into another element, much less could they suppose that it would prove as fatal to them as it was friendly to those whom they so eagerly pursued. For it doth not appear by the text that the Egyptians were sensible of their entering into the sea; and it is more than probable that they were too eager in the pursuit, and had too little light to perceive the danger they were running into, unless we will suppose, with the Jewish historian^y, that, because they saw the Israelites march

^y *Jos. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 16.*

(R) Many Jews and Christians have imagined that this passage was effected by coasting one end or corner of the Red Sea at low water, without any miraculous interposition in their behalf. In effect, it is not at all impossible, that a strong wind, co-operating with the ebb, might leave space enough for a considerable army to pass within high-water mark; and that the return of the tide, reinforced by a strong gale from the opposite quarter, might overwhelm their pursuers. Indeed Artaphanes, an ancient writer, quoted by Eusebius, assures us, this was the opinion of the priests of Memphis, while those of Heliopolis be-

lieved it to be altogether a supernatural phenomenon. Josephus seems to speak doubtfully on the subject, mentioning the Pamphylian sea, which retired from the shore, and opened a passage for Alexander and his army, in his expedition against the Persians; while Grotius and Le Clerc declare for the passage of the Israelites along shore, though they acknowledge the interposition of a Divine Providence in the strong wind that blew, causing the waters to retire farther than usual, so that they recoiled with greater violence upon the Egyptians.—The whole transaction was undoubtedly miraculous.

fascly

safely through the sea, they vainly hoped they might take the same route, and were not undeceived till it was too late. By break of day they began to find their chariots move more and more heavily, and had so many indications of God's fighting against them, as made them resolve upon turning about, and fleeing from those whom they so eagerly pursued. But all their haste could not save them : God commanded Moses to stretch again his rod over the sea, and he had no sooner obeyed, but the waves, which had been till then miraculously suspended, fell in again by their own weight, and overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host, so that not one of them escaped from the common ruin ; whilst the Israelites beholding, with wonder and amazement, the carcases and the rich spoils of their enemies thrown upon the sea-shore, began to fear the Lord, and resign themselves implicitly to his direction (S).

*They are
all drown-
ed.*

Moses well knowing the levity and fickle temper of the people whom he had to govern, took hold of this happy disposition to celebrate this miraculous victory, and to inspire them with the deepest sentiments of gratitude to their Almighty Deliverer. To this end he composed a hymn, in which he extolled the greatness of God's power, displayed in this signal miracle, and his amazing mercy towards his people. Having divided the Israelites into two great choirs, he placed himself and his brother Aaron at the head of the men, and his sister Miriam at the head of the women ; and while the former sung the canticle, the women answered alternately to each verse, repeating the first words of it : "I will sing to the Lord ; for he has

*Moses's
sing for
this deli-
verance.*

(S) The exact situation of the places, at which the Israelites entered, and came out of the sea, are so much unknown to us, that it is next to impossible to describe their route with any tolerable certainty. For should we so far depend upon Eusebius, as to believe Baal-zephon to have been Clyisma, and that the ancient tradition were true, that it was at this latter place they passed the sea ; yet the generality of geographers differ so

much about its situation, that we are still to seek for the side on which it stood, whether on the north, on the east, or south or west shore of the Arabic gulph. For which reason we hope the reader will excuse us from entering into any farther enquiry about them, and for referring him to a learned author, who hath obliged the world with a curious and elaborate dissertation on this subject (1).

(1) Shaw's Supplement, chap. viii. See also his Travels.

greatly triumphed, and has overthrown the horse and its rider into the sea." Their music was likewise accompanied with dances, and the sound of such instruments as they had brought with them from Egypt.

And now the Israelites began to think that a few days march would easily bring them to the borders of the Promised Land, the conquest of which could not but appear easy to them, who had God for their protector, and Moses for their guide. Indeed, if they had met with no other difficulties than the ruggedness of the way, and the hatred and opposition of those warlike nations that inhabited it, Canaan would soon have been in their possession. But their stubborn and ungrateful temper, their continual murmurings and rebellions against God, joined to an invincible fondness for idolatry and superstition, proved not only a constant obstacle to their hopes, but an endless source of misfortunes to them, and of grief and vexation to their leader, though otherwise famed above all men for his meek and gentle disposition. They had scarce travelled three days from the Red Sea, into the wilderness of Shur, before their excessive thirst, and want of water, exhausted all their patience, insomuch, that when they came to discover the waters of Marah, and found them too bitter to drink, they filled the air with

The Israelites murmur for want of water.

their complaints against Moses; who, fearing the ill consequence of this murmuring, addressed himself to God in the humblest manner, and was directed to a tree, which, whether by any intrinsic virtue, or by a new miracle, sweetened the waters as soon as he had cast it into the source. The people, indeed, ceased to murmur as soon as they had quenched their thirst; but as this was neither a satisfaction for their late riot, nor a security against future relapses, God was pleased to make a farther trial of their future obedience, by giving them here some new statutes, adding a promise, that if they observed them with an upright mind, he would shower down upon them continual blessings. In memory of the bitter waters, the place was called Marah, from whence they went and encamped at Elim, where they found twelve fountains of water, and seventy palm-trees; and there they continued about three weeks².

From Elim they marched towards the wilderness of Sin, by which route they removed still farther from the frontiers of the Promised Land; but as they were directed by

² Exod. xv. per tot.

the miraculous pillar, they were forced to follow whithersoever it led the way. Here their provisions becoming exceeding scarce, they began to murmur more violently than ever, repeating from their hearts that they had suffered themselves to be decoyed from the flesh-pots and plenty of provision, which they enjoyed in Egypt, into a barren wilderness, where they could expect nothing but to die with hunger. This tumultuous deportment, which seemed levelled at God himself, whose directive column they had followed into that desert place, provoked no reproof, but a gracious promise to rain down bread from heaven. The Lord commanded them to go and gather a certain quantity of manna every morning, and on the sixth to provide a double portion, because they were not to expect any to fall on the seventh, which was afterwards to be kept holy. Aaron, in communicating this message to the people, failed not to give them a severe reprimand for their murmurings. He had scarce made an end of speaking, when the people, looking towards the wilderness, beheld the glory of God displayed out of the cloud; from which God confirmed again what Aaron had promised to the people, assuring them, that they should that very evening be satisfied with plenty of flesh, and next morning find that heavenly bread which he had promised to provide.

The first part of this promise was accordingly fulfilled that very evening, by whole clouds of quails, which came pouring down upon them out of Egypt, and alighted in such numbers, that they quite covered their camp (T); the other was accomplished by the manna, which descended by the very next morning. This last did not, indeed, fall close to the camp, but at some distance from it, towards the wilderness. By break of day, therefore, the Israelites followed Moses towards the place, where he shewed them

(T) It must be remembered, that this was about the middle of April, which is the time in which that bird is observed to cross the Red Sea in vast numbers, and incredible quantities are still caught there about this time. Ludolph, in his *Treatise of Locusts*, at the end of his Appendix to his Description of Abyssinia, has offered some probable arguments to

prove that these were such, and not quails. He affirms them not only to be in great plenty in those parts, and all over Africa, but likewise declares they were esteemed a delicious food. We own, indeed, that the word is, even by the confession of the Jews, of very uncertain signification, and may as well signify a locust as a quail.

A new
murmur
for want
of provi-
sion.

Manna
promised.

Quails
promised.

a kind of white dew, resembling a small hoar frost, which covered the face of the earth ; and told them, that this was the bread which God had promised to feed them with during their abode in the desert ; commanding them to gather a homer for every head, which is about five pints, or forty-three eggs^a. The people no sooner saw this new bread, than they exclaimed, "What is this ? Whence cometh it ?" for they were surprised at the strangeness of it ; and from thence they gave it the name of man, or manna (U). For a memorial of this miraculous bread Moses was ordered to preserve a homer-full in a vessel, to be afterwards deposited in the ark of the covenant, and preserved in it, as a witness to future ages^b. Leaving this desert of Sin, and advancing a few days journey towards Mount Horeb, they raised fresh murmurs at Rephidim, for want of water. Moses strove in vain to persuade them to wait God's leisure ; they only grew more desperate, and were ready to stone him to death. In this emergency he had recourse to the Lord, who soon dispelled his fears, promising to signalize this place by a miraculous source of water, as he had distinguished the last by a supernatural supply of food. He commanded him to conduct the elders of Israel, and all the people, to Mount Horeb, assuring him that, upon smiting the rock with his miraculous rod, the waters should immediately gush out, in such plentiful streams, as would be more than sufficient to allay their thirst. Moses, obeying the injunction, God vouchsafed to send them plenty of water ; and in memory of this new murmuring the place was called Massah, *tempting*, and Meribah, *contention*.

*A new
murmur
for want
of water ;*

*which
flows from
a miracu-
lous rock.*

About this time, the Israelites being attacked by the Amalekites, Moses was forced to detach his servant Joshua,

^a Le Scen. *Essay on a New Translation*, p. 170. R. Salom.
^b *Exod. xiv.*

(U) *Man hu*, in the original, signifies *what*, or *whence is this ?* Not so easy is it to know the meaning of the word *gad*, which we translate *coriander-seed*, though, according to the original, it should be rendered, *and it was white like the seed of Gad*, whereas coriander is of a brown colour. Some Jews, therefore, trans-

late it *mustard-seed*, because one sort of it is whitish ; and Aben Ezra frankly owns, that he knows not what seed it is. In another place it is compared, in colour, to bdellium, of which we know as little ; for the gum so called is quite a different substance to which this name has been given by the moderns.

with a sufficient force, to make head against them, whilst he himself should ascend to the Mount, to intreat God for his success. Accordingly, next morning, he went up, with his brother Aaron and Hur, to a neighbouring hill, whence they could have a full view of the field of battle, and held up his hands in prayer, whilst Joshua was fighting with the Amalekites. And here God paid a singular regard to his intercession, for, whilst he held his hands up Joshua prevailed, and when he let them down Amalek had the advantage; but at length they grew so heavy, *Amalek discomfited.* that Aaron and Hur were forced to stay them up on each side till the going down of the sun, that is, till Israel gained the victory, and Amalek was discomfited. Moses was ordered to record this signal victory, and to vow perpetual war against the Amalekites, till their very remembrance should be quite blotted out. He also reared up an altar to God, and called it Jehovah-nissi, *the Lord is my banner;* to intimate, that God, who had made them denounce war against Amalek, would not fail to crown it with success.

The defeat of Amalek opened a way for the Israelites to Mount Sinai, where their abode was signalized by the wonderful promulgation of the law, and the appointment of the principal ceremonies which they were afterwards to observe. Mean while, God, who foresaw what an addition the office would be to the other cares and fatigues of Moses, did, in good time, conduct his hospitable father-in-law, with Zipporah and her two sons, to the camp of Israel. Jethro, observing with what patience his son-in-law stood to hear the people's complaints from morning to night, and fearing lest he should in time sink under the fatigue, advised him to select a competent number of elders, who should help him to bear such a part of the burden, as would otherwise have proved too much for his strength; an account of which we have already given in the history of Midian. Moses was thus eased of a great load by the appointment of those inferior judges, some of whom he set over thousands, others over hundreds, and others over tens, reserving the most momentous causes to his own cognizance. Soon after this transaction his father-in-law took leave of him, while he gave the signal for decamping from Rephidim, and marched to the wilderness of Sinai: a removal which was made about the

Jethro comes to Moses.

beginning of the third month after their departure from Egypt⁴.

Yr. of Fl.
857.
Ante Chr.
1491.

*They en-
camp near
Sinai.*

His next care was to order their encampment so, that there might be a considerable space between it and the mountain. Whilst they were pitching their tents, according to his directions, Moses went up to the mountain, where he was commanded to remind the Israelites of all the wonders which God had wrought in their favour, and to assure them, if they proved obedient to God's laws, he would still look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal priesthood. Moses, descending from the Mount, assembled the elders, and charged them to acquaint the people with the gracious message, who likewise promised all possible obedience to God's commands; upon which he directed them to prepare themselves, against the third day, for the glorious scene that was to be acted; to wash their cloaths, and abstain from all nuptial commerce. He cautioned them from approaching the mountain under the severest penalties, observing, that either man or beast transgressing this injunction, should be immediately stoned, or shot to death. The signal for their coming out was to be the sound of the miraculous trumpet: accordingly, on the third day, the people having prepared themselves in obedience to the divine injunction, and being in the utmost expectation for this wonderful sight, they saw, by break of day, the mountain surrounded by the thickest cloud, from whence issued forth such thunders and lightnings, as filled them with terror and amazement. The sound of the trumpet being heard, Moses brought the people out of their camp towards the Mount, as far as the barrier which he had set; and there they observed the top of Sinai covered with fire and smoke, whilst the foundation of it seemed to shake under their feet. In the midst of this dreadful scene, the trumpet being heard still louder and stronger, God called to Moses, and bid him bring his brother Aaron with him; they immediately went up, and were both involved in the cloud. The thunders and the trumpets ceased soon after, when God was heard from the midst of the fire and smoke, which continued all the while, to pronounce the ten principal laws, which were to be the foundation of all the rest, and of which an account hath already been given⁵: these Moses was ordered

*The moun-
tain cover-
ed with
fire and
smoke.*

*The Deca-
ogue de-
livered.*

⁴ Vide Ulster Ann. A. M. 2513. Riberam de Templ. lib. v. cap. 7, & al. * See Sect. ii. of this Chapter, p. 116—183.

ed afterwards to write upon two tables of stone^f. In the mean time the people, astonished at what they saw and heard, removed farther off, and Moses descended. The divine voice had no sooner done speaking, than they approached Moses, and, in a transport of fear and surprize, promising all possible obedience to the divine precepts, besought him that he would, for the future, speak to them in God's stead, lest, if they shoud hear his dreadful voice again, they should die with horror and amazement. Moses, commanding the awe and regard which they expressed, went up again to the mountain, where, for that time, God was pleased to add a few ceremonial laws to those moral precepts, which he had couched in the Decalogue; all which, as well as those he received afterwards from time to time, we have also already given in one body. To prevent needless repetitions, we shall avoid following the divine historian too close in all the intercourse he had with God; wherein the observance of the same laws is inculcated over and over, the same assurances of the divine favour and assistance, and severe threatenings in case of their disobeying, and the same promises of their possessing the lands of the Canaanites, Amorites, Hittites, Hivites, Perizzites, Gergashites, and Jebusites, being repeated almost upon every fresh occasion. What might induce Providence to deliver them in that seemingly irregular and interrupted method, is not easy to be guessed, unless we suppose, that a more methodical manner would have favoured too much of human wisdom. But, neither the frequent repetition of these promises and denunciations, nor the grievous punishments which were inflicted upon them, in consequence of their disobedience, proved sufficient to bend their stubborn necks, or cure them of their passion for the gods of the Egyptians. In vain, it seems, had the true God declared that he would send his angel to facilitate their way, and to bring them to the Promised Land; and that, if they proved obedient to his voice, and kept themselves from the pollutions of those nations which they went to conquer, he would infuse a panie fear into their enemies, so that they should not be able to resist; at the same time he gave them to understand, that they should not make a complete conquest of them at once, lest the wild beasts should prove too strong for them; but that they should carry it on gradually, till they had extended it from the Red Sea unto

*Some cere-
monial
laws in-
stituted.*

^f Exod. xix. per tot. cap. xx. per tot.

the Sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto the river ^a.

The covenant between God and the people ratified.

Immediately after this communication, Moses reared an altar to God, and offered burnt-sacrifices and peace-offerings upon it; and having caused the contents of this new covenant to be read to all the people, and exacted a solemn promise from them, that they would keep it faithfully, he ratified it by sprinkling the altar, the book, and the people with the blood of the victims; then ordered twelve pillars to be erected, one for each tribe, as a standing monument of this alliance between God and them. Having made an end of this ceremony, he took with him Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, some part of the way towards the mountain, where they beheld the God of Israel in a kind of vision; and Moses having committed the care of the people to them, took Joshua up into the mountain with him, and stayed there full forty days. It was during this interval, that God gave him the two tables of stone, whereon were written the Ten Commandments by the finger, that is, by the immediate command and direction of God himself; together with the whole plan of the Jewish religion, of the tabernacle, and all the utensils belonging to it; and several other laws concerning the priests, Levites, and laity; in particular an order for exacting a free-will offering from all the children of Israel, according to their abilities, of gold, silver, bras, scarlet, silk, wool, oil, spices, and all other necessary materials for the tabernacle, ark of the covenant, priestly robes, and all other things that were to be appointed for the public worship ^b. The care of making all these things was committed to Bezaleel of the tribe of Judah, and Aholiab of the tribe of Dan, two persons whom God had endowed with an extraordinary skill and wisdom to contrive and execute all these designs, according to his directions ^c.

Is given over by the people.

In the mean time, the people who had seen Moses enter into the cloud, whilst the top of the mountain was all in flames, after they had waited above a month for his return, began to give him over for lost. In this apprehension they assembled in a tumultuous manner about Aaron's tent, and told him, that as they despaired of Moses's return, it was very expedient that he should make them some gods to direct and protect them in their pro-

^a Exod. xxiv. 31. ^b Exod. cap. xxv. ad cap. xxx. ^c Exod. xxxi. passim.

gress. Aaron does not seem to have hesitated one moment, but directed them immediately to bring him sufficient quantity of their gold ornaments, to make them a golden calf. So eager were the people for this new god, that they willingly parted with their gold ear-rings to Aaron, who lost no time to have it cast according to his promise. Having set it upon a pedestal, in full sight of all the camp, and reared up an altar before it, he told them in their own dialect, that these were the gods which brought them out of Egypt, and appointed the next day as a solemn festival, which they began with offering burnt-sacrifices and peace-offerings, and concluded with feasting and dancing.

Moses, accompanied by his servant Joshua, coming down from the mountain with the two tables, was not a little surprised to hear their loud shouts; but when he drew near and beheld them worshipping the calf in imitation of the Egyptian Apis, which his brother had set up, he was overwhelmed with confusion and concern. In the first transports of his passion, he broke the two tables, then advancing to his brother, upbraided him in the severest terms, for having been accessory to such an impious apostacy, which laid them open, naked, and defenceless to all their enemies; as they undoubtedly forfeited the divine protection, which alone could bring them safe into the Promised Land*.

Aaron failed not to lay the blame on the tumultuous people; but Moses, instead of listening to his excuses, set himself immediately about the destruction of the idol, and the punishment of such of the delinquents as his presence had not driven away from the place where it was adored. He caused the calf to be taken down, burnt, ground into powder, and cast into the water, of which he made all the people afterwards drink. During this transaction, he called aloud, "Who is on the Lord's side?" and finding that the sons of Levi immediately joined him, he commanded them to gird on their swords, and slay indifferently all that they found still at the idolatrous feast, without regard to age, quality, kindred, friendship, or acquaintance. These went forthwith from Moses's presence, and punished with immediate death about three thousand of the delinquents, whom they found still in the midst of their mirth (X). The people seeing this

Yr. of Fl.
857.
Ante Chr.
1491.

*Moses
comes down
from the
Mount ;
breaks the
two tables.*

*The Le-
vites kill
three thou-
sand delin-
quents.*

* Exod. xxxii. 1, & seq.

(X) This zeal of the tribe did not go long unrewarded: of Levi against those idolaters, it not only wiped off that ble-

Moses returns to the Mount.

this dreadful example, and having heard with what severity Moses had reprobated his brother, were struck with the greatest consternation: but he went up to the Mount again, and interceded so powerfully for them, that he at length obtained, not only their pardon, but a renewal of God's former promise, of bringing them into the land of Canaan under the conduct of his angel. Both the pardon and promise were so far conditional, that the people should make some atonement for their rebellion, by a solemn and public act of humiliation, and a promise to be more obedient for the future; for in case of relapse they were told this crime would be remembered in their punishment¹.

One of these conditions the people immediately embraced, and a solemn fast was kept throughout the whole camp, during which they divested themselves of all their gaudy apparel, and costly ornaments; and in memory of this sin and of the breaking of the two tables, the Jews observe that fast yearly even to this day. At the same time God, to administer some comfort to Moses, whom he saw labouring under such a heavy load of grief and care, was pleased at his request, to grant him a sight of his glory, that is, as the context explains it², a sight of that angel under whose direction and care they were to go and conquer the Promised Land (Y).

Moses having stayed in the Mount other forty days and nights, made two other tables, like those which he had

¹ Exod. xxxii. per tot.

² Exod. xxxiii. 12, & seq.

mish, which their progenitor had intailed upon them, for the bloody massacre of the Schemites, but in a very short time procured them the Levitical priesthood, which, though subordinate to that of Aaron and his posterity, intitled them to the tenths of all kinds of beasts, fruits, and grain in Israel; to the inferior ministry of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple; to a place in the judicial courts of every city, and town; to the property of thirty-five cities and towns, with all their lands, some of which were appointed cities of refuge; and to several

other privileges and immunities, of which an account hath been given in a former section.

(Y) The account, which Moses gives us of this divine vision, is none of the clearest; and some of the expressions which he uses, such as, that he should not see God's face, but only his back, &c. have induced some free-thinkers to tax him and all the Jews after him with being anthropomorphites, till they learned a more refined divinity from the Babylonians. But let it be remembered, that Moses spoke to a gross people, in a manner adapted to their ideas.

broken,

broken, and received some farther instructions from God, came down again to the people, who were not a little surprised to observe that his face had acquired such a lustre during his recess, that they could not look upon him without being dazzled; so that he was obliged to cover it with a veil whenever he was to speak to them^u. By this time the people were become so tractable, that upon his exacting from them a free-will-offering of all sorts of materials for the tabernacle, ark, utensils, priestly garments, &c. both men and women readily contributed their richest jewels, metals, and other precious things, the spoils of the Egyptians and Amalekites, including oils, spices, ointments, and perfumes; all which he distributed to proper persons to be wrought; and Bezaleel and Aholioah were appointed overseers of all the work. These exerted such diligence, and employed so many hands, that the tabernacle and all its rich furniture, and costly apparatus, were finished, and set up at the foot of Mount Sinai, in less than six months; there Aaron and his sons, being solemnly consecrated priests, began to offer up all kinds of sacrifices upon the new altar, according to the law of Moses. Soon after this transaction, the head of each tribe came and appeared before Moses and Aaron, and presented a very considerable offering to God in six waggon drawn each by two oxen; all which were set aside for the service of the tabernacle. Thus was this pompous worship of the Israelites begun, in framing and instituting which, consideration was had to their gross and carnal minds, which were incapable of being affected with a purer and more spiritual cultivation^v.

Aaron had not been long installed in his office of high-priest, before he had the mortification to see his two sons Nadab and Abihu, struck dead by fire from heaven, for presuming to burn incense in the tabernacle with strange fire, contrary to the command of Moses^w, who ordered them to be carried forthwith out of the camp, and buried without any mourning or funeral pomp.

The people were soon ready for another rebellion, because he had made them take too long a march at their departure from the wilderness of Sinai; so that the divine anger was already kindled, and had shewed its effects in an extraordinary fire, which began to consume the extremities of the camp; but at the intercession of

A general offering of all the people.

*Yr. of Fl.
858.
Ante Chr.
1490.*

*Aaron con-
secrated
high-priest.*

*His sons
killed by
fire from
heaven.*

*The rebel-
lion at Tar-
berah.*

^u Exod. xxxiv. per tot. from chap. xxxvi. to the end.

^x Numb. vii. 1, & seq. Exod. ^y Levit. x. 1, 2, & seq.

Moses

Moses the fire ceased, and in memory of it the place was called Taberah, or *burning*^a. Moses began to find by this fresh instance of their stubborness, that the burden of government was like to prove too heavy for him, notwithstanding his having thrown a great part of it upon those magistrates, which he had chosen by Jethro's advice. On this occasion he presented his complaint to God, who, to ease him of this load of care, commanded him to make choice of seventy of the most considerable of the elders of Israel, both for wisdom and integrity, and erect them into a supreme court, that they might bear their share of the burden. It was not long before he found the advantage of this institution; for they were no sooner removed from Taberah, than their very next encampment was signalized by a fresh insurrection. A mixed multitude, of the dregs of Egypt, and other nations, who had followed the Israelites hitherto, began to murmur at the manna, and to regret their forsaking the garlick, onions, and flesh-pots of Egypt; and their discontent soon infected the whole camp with a longing after better food. Moses's tent was beset on all sides with crowds, who came, and in a tumultuous manner, demanded that he should provide them flesh to eat, instead of the manna, which their souls began to loath.

In this emergency, God commanded him to call together the seventy elders to the door of the tabernacle; and, in the face of the whole camp, he promised to send them such a present supply of flesh, as should serve them, not for a day or two, but for a whole month, till it became as loathsome to them as the manna was; at the same time he inspired the seventy elders with such a share of his spirit, that they all began to prophecy (Z); and the same gift continued with them as long as they lived. The camp was at that time in Arabia Petreæ, at a small distance from the Red Sea; from the other side of which, a strong wind brought such infinite flights of quails, that they not only covered the whole camp, but all the ground round about it for several miles^b. These birds, being tired with their long flight, and not able to soar above

The great council of seventy appointed.

A murmur for want of flesh.

A supply of quails sent which lasted thirty days.

^a Numb. xi. 1, & seq.

^b Numb. xi. 31, & seq.

(Z) This assembly of the seventy elders, the Jews, and after them Grotius, and some other Christians, have affirmed to be the same that became af-

terwards so famous under the name of the sanhedrim, to which even their kings and high-priests were subject.

two cubits from the ground, were easily caught by the people, and in such quantities, that the least that any of them gathered was ten homers (A). Their first care was to glut themselves with them; then they began to think how to preserve the rest from being corrupted. But in the midst of their feasting, God was pleased to smite a great number of them with a sore disease, which carried them off with the meat, as it were, in their mouths: in memory of this severe punishment for their unreasonable lust, the place was called Kibroth-hatavah, or the sepulchres of concupiscence; from whence they removed to Cadesh-Barneah, and afterwards advanced to Hazaroth. In this encampment Miriam, Moses's sister, having been smitten with leprosy for some reflections which she had cast upon him and his wife, Moses, at her's and Aarou's request, obtained a cure for her; yet so that she was to remain without the camp, as a polluted person, seven days; after which they returned towards Cadesh-Barneah, in the wilderness of Paran. Here Moses was commanded to choose twelve proper men, one out of each tribe, and to send them to search the land of Canaan; among which was Joshua and Caleb. These twelve having received Moses's directions to view the whole land, to examine the strength of its cities and inhabitants, together with the nature and fertility of its soil, set out upon their progress, which they performed in forty days.

At their return from Rehob, which is at the foot of Mount Libanus, they passed through the valley of Eshcol, so called from the great quantity of the largest grapes, a large cluster of which they pulled, and fixing

(A) Homer, or rather chomer, is a measure which contains ten baths, or five bushels: the Jews think chomer is the same with chamer, *an ajs*, because the letters are the same, and chomer is *an ajs's load*. However, as we would not enlarge the miracle more than is needful, we have ventured to depart a little from our own, and most other versions, which render the words of Moses as if the quails had lain two cu-

bits, that is above a yard thick upon the ground, whereas the original may properly enough be rendered, that they flew no higher than two cubits from it: and this quantity was more than sufficient to serve them a month; considering that not only the camp, but all the country for a day's journey round, was covered with it, and that the flesh of quails could not be eaten in great quantity.

*A fresh
plague de-
stroys a
great num-
ber of the
rebels.*

*Miriam
struck with
leprosy.*

*Twelve
spies sent to
view the
land.*

it upon a staff, brought it to the camp upon their shoulders.

These spies made their report to Moses and Aaron, in presence of the elders and all the people. They began with extolling the richness of the land, and shewed a specimen of it in the bunch of grapes which they had brought with them, together with some of their finest pomegranates, figs, and other fruits; but as soon as they observed that this account had inspired the rest with a desire of becoming the happy possessors of it by a speedy conquest, ten of them immediately altered their note, and began to represent it as a thing impossible, by reason of the strength of their fortified towns, and the bravery and gigantic stature of its inhabitants*. Joshua and Caleb were of a different opinion; and the latter, who observed a kind of despair in the people, endeavoured in vain to encourage them, by assuring them, that such a glorious enterprize was by no means impossible: but the Israelites gave such credit to the report of the other ten, that they wholly despaired of overcoming such powerful and gigantic nations, in comparison of whom they looked upon themselves as mere grasshoppers and reptiles. Their murmurings grew to such a height before next morning, that a return into Egypt was again looked upon as vastly preferable to such an undertaking; and they were already consulting how to choose themselves a leader, to conduct them back to the land of their former thraldom. The uproar, however, was in some measure suppressed by the appearance of the glory of God in the cloud, which then covered the tabernacle, and from which he was heard to speak to Moses in such threatening terms, as gave them cause to fear some terrible judgment would be the reward of their rebellion and ingratitude.

Moses was forced again to become their intercessor; but the ingratitude and infidelity of those miscreants, who had been eye-witnesses of the wonders which he wrought both in Egypt and in the desert, and of the punishment which he had inflicted upon other rebels, was of too trying a nature, not to exact some conspicuous mark of the divine displeasure. Wherefore, God did then swear, that none of those that were above twenty years of age, except Joshua and Caleb, should ever enter into the Promised Land; but that they should wander from place to place during the space of forty years, till all their carcasses

*Ten bring
an evil re-
port;*

*and cause
an insur-
rection.*

*All above
20 years of
age exclud-
ed from en-
tering into
the Promis-
ed Land.*

should be rotted in the wilderness (B). As for the ten wretches, whose pusillanimous report occasioned this rebellion, they were all destroyed by a sudden death, and became the first instances of the punishment denounced against the whole nation^b.

This severe sentence so terrified the multitude, that they presented themselves early in the morning before Moses, ready armed, and told him, that they were now ready to retrieve their credit by some noble exploit against the Amalekites, or some of the Canaanitish nations. Moses strove in vain to divert them from such a rash enterprise, by representing to them, that they would certainly perish in the attempt, because they had now forfeited the divine assistance and protection: his remonstrance served only to whet their unseasonable ardour; ever indocile, and deaf to good counsel, they resolved to try their fortune, and to gain the passes of the neighbouring hills; but the Amalekites and Canaanites falling upon them, made a great slaughter; and pursued them as far as Hormah¹. All this while Moses, who foresaw the consequence of this rash enterprize, wisely remained with the ark of the covenant in the camp (C).

During

^b Numb. xiv. 36, 37.

1 Ibid. 40, to the end.

(B) Moses here makes use of a round number, alluding to the forty days of the spies searching the land; though it is plain, that their children entered it, thirty-nine years after this sentence was pronounced against their fathers. It is farther to be observed, that though this exclusion excepts none but Caleb, and in other places where it is repeated, it mentions only Joshua along with him; yet there were certainly some others not included in it, such were Moses and Aaron, who had no part in the mutiny, but were excluded afterwards upon another account; together with Eleazar, and a few more, especially of the tribe of Levi.

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Yr. of Fl.
858.
Ant. Chr.
1490.

*Their rash
and ill
timed ex-
ploit against
the Amalekites pu-
nished.*

In memory of this rebellion, the Jews have ever since kept a strict fast, on the seventh day of Elul or sixth month.

(C) After some stay in this camp, they continued moving from place to place, but still in the same wilderness of Seir, during which time Moses received many other laws; but we have given an account of the most remarkable in a former section. However, it is to be observed, that their encampments from this time were much longer than they had formerly been, seeing we read but of seventeen during the remaining thirty-seven years, whereas this removal from Kadesh-Barneah was the fifteenth from their coming out

Y of

During this long interval of thirty-nine years, the Divine Providence displayed itself in the most conspicuous manner, forming and polishing this new generation, for whom the conquest of Canaan was reserved. The miraculous pillar continued still to direct them, and the manna to afford them nourishment. Moses still maintained his intercourses with God; and such was the Almighty's paternal care of his people, that their raiment, particularly their shoes, remained whole, and their feet unburt, notwithstanding their long and frequent marches. If at any time the people relapsed into their usual murmurs and rebellions, as they often did, their punishment followed so close and so severe, that their disobedience could neither be countenanced by the number of delinquents, nor flatter itself with hopes of impunity. And this may be, perhaps, the main motive, which inspired them with such a laudable zeal against the sabbath-breaker, whom they brought to Moses, and on the next day, according to his sentence, led out of the camp, and there stoned to death^k.

God's wonderful care of this new generation.

The sabbath-breaker accused and put to death,

*Yr. of Fl. 877.
Ante Chr. 1471.*

Korah's rebellion and accou-

It was not long, however, before their conductor discovered a most dangerous conspiracy hatched against him, by one of the chiefs of the tribe of Levi, and countenanced by some of the most considerable men of the whole camp, especially of the tribe of Reuben^l.

Korah, the great-grand-son of Levi by his father Jahar, as Aaron also was by his father Amram, and consequently one of the heads of that tribe, repining at the fortune of Aaron and his family raised to the high priesthood, had drawn a considerable number of eminent persons into his interest; and among them, Dathan, Abiram, and Hor, chiefs of the house of Reuben. Whether he thought that he should never gain his point against his rival, whilst Moses enjoyed the supreme power, and consequently, that it was necessary to inspire them with a desire of supplanting their chief; or whether he had already observed some such design in those three chiefs, he played his part so well, that he engaged them and two hundred and fifty more

^k Numb. xv. 32, & seq.

^l Ibid. xvi. passim.

of Egypt. We shall not trouble our readers with a farther detail of them at present: those who are desirous to have a more particular account of them, may find it in the Annotations of the learned archbishop Usher (3).

(3) Vide Ann Usher, sub A. M. 2513. p. 22, & seq.

into his party. As soon as he found things ripe for an open rupture, he appeared at their head, and confronting Moses and Aaron, began to upbraid them with their unjust ambition. He charged them with ingrossing all the power into their hands; and excluding the rest of the congregation, whom he affirmed to be holy as they. Moses, surprised at the boldness of this address, rebuked them for their presumption in the severest terms; but waved farther debate till next morning, when they might appear at the door of the tabernacle, with each his censer in his hand; at which time he promised that the Lord should declare himself openly in favour of those whom he designed for that high office.

Mean while he sent privately for Dathan and Abiram, whom he supposed to have been inveigled by Korah into the conspiracy, with a design to argue the case more calmly with them; but they not only refused to come, but sent his messenger back with an insolent answer; in which they upbraided him with having decoyed the whole nation out of the rich and fertile land of Egypt, under pretence of bringing them into a better, instead of which he only detained them in that barren wilderness to make them greater slaves to his ambition¹.

Early next morning Moses and Aaron repaired to the tabernacle, whither Korah failed not to come soon after, at the head of his two hundred and fifty men, each having a copper censer in his hand. These were followed by a vast multitude, assembled, either to be spectators of this famous contest, or to support the seditious, in case of opposition. The first object that drew their eyes, was the glory which appeared in the cloud over the tabernacle, from which God commanded Moses and Aaron to withdraw themselves from the rebellious crew, lest they should perish in the ruin which was ready to fall upon them. Here Moses became intercessor again with their divine conductor. When the crowd had separated themselves from Korah and his company, that followed him to the quarters of the Reubenites, where Dathan and Abiram with their families, stood at their tent doors, Moses declared to the assembly, that if those rebels died a common death, he would give them leave to question his divine mission; but that if the earth immediately opened in a miraculous manner, and swallowed them up alive, he then hoped they would look upon him as sufficiently authorized

¹ Numb. xvi. 12, & seq.

*Their
dreadful
punishment.*

*Causes a
new insur-
rection a-
gainst Mo-
ses.*

*Aaron's
priesthood
confirmed
by the bud-
ding of his
rod.*

for all he did. He had scarce pronounced these words, when the earth clove asunder under the feet of the conspirators, and buried them alive, with all their families and substance. At the same time Korah and his whole company, who stood with their censers before the court of the tabernacle, were destroyed by a supernatural fire; though their children were spared because, in all likelihood, they had no share in their father's guilt^m (D).

Nevertheless, the people, though they had fled, terrified at the sight of so dreadful a spectacle, were scarce recovered from their fright, before they began to murmur afresh, and to accuse Moses and Aaron of having murdered the people of the Lord. Those two ran immediately into the tabernacle, from whence the glory appearing again in the cloud, suspended for some time the fury of the insurrection. Moses, who foresaw that some terrible judgment was just ready to fall on the rioters, immediately commanded his brother to take his censer and make atonement for the people: but though Aaron made all possible haste to obey him, the plague was already begun, and raged so furiously, that it had destroyed fourteen thousand and seven hundred men, besides those who had perished in Korah's rebellion: all that he could do was to put a stop to its further progress, by standing with his censer between the living and the dead. But here, to prevent Aaron's authority from being any more called in question, God was pleased to confirm it by one miracle more (E). So that from this day all but the sons of Aaron

^m Vide Num. xxvi. 11.

(D) In memory of this dreadful judgment, and to deter, for the future, any but the sons of Aaron from presuming to burn incense before the Lord, Eleazar was commanded to take the censers of Korah and his men, and to beat them into broad plates, for a covering of the altar.

(E) Aaron, on the one side, and the head of every tribe on the other, were ordered to bring an almond-rod with their names written upon it; and these were to be deposited

in the tabernacle till next morning, by which time the Lord would decide in favour of that family, on whose rod some visible and miraculous change was found. Accordingly, when they came to examine them on the morrow, Aaron's rod alone was found to have budded, and brought forth leaves, and ripe almonds; and Moses was commanded to lay it up in the ark as a standing monument of their rebellion and unbelief.

were

were expressly prohibited from going into the tabernacle, under pain of death.

The Israelites wandered near thirty years in the desert of Arabia Petræa, and near thirty-nine were elapsed since they quitted Egypt : during which peregrination, they had continued moving from place to place, about the mountains of Idumæa, still murmuring against their leader, from time to time, and abandoning their God, to worship the idols of Remphan, Malchom, and many others. At length the time drawing near for their entering into the Promised Land, they moved from Ezion-Gaber towards Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin, designing probably to enter Canaan by the narrow passes, called the Way of the Spies ; but they were discomfited in their first attempt by Arad, one of the kings of the Canaanites, who killed a great number of them, and took some considerable spoil. Upon this disaster they vowed all the cities of Arad to destruction : after some respite, they made a second attempt, wherein they defeated the king and destroyed some of his towns, calling the field of victory Hormah, or rather Chormah, that is, *anathema*, or *utter destruction*ⁿ ; though the total ruin of that country did not happen till the time of Joshua^o.

Several
idolatries
not record-
ed by Moses.
Yr. of Fl.
895.
Ante Chr.
3453.

About this period also it was, that the king of Edom, having refused a free passage through his country to the Israelites, they were in all likelihood going to take some kind of revenge for the affront ; but God, who would not suffer them to commit any hostilities against that people, because they were their brethren, caused them to take a turn round their country, and to march peaceably away towards Mount Hor^p, where Miriam, Moses's sister, died soon after, in the hundred and thirtieth year of her age^q.

Whilst they remained at Kadesh, a new murmuring arose for want of water ; and Moses was again commanded by God to bring them a fresh supply out of the rock ; but he performed the operation in such a manner as proved displeasing to the Lord, who for his intemperate deportment on this occasion, excluded him and his brother from the benefit of the Promised Land (F). In memory

A new
murmuring
for want of
water.

ⁿ Numb. xxi. 1, 2, & seq.
xx. 22. Deut. ii. 8, 9.

^o Josh. xii. 14.
^q Numb. xx. 1.

^p Numb.

(F) God had commanded whether out of impatience at him to call for the water by their loud murmurs, or from only speaking to the rock ; but diffidence of the promised sup-

Aaron's death.

memory of this new rebellion, the place was called Meribah, *strife*; from which they went and encamped at the foot of Mount Hor, on the frontier of the land of Edom. Here Moses was commanded to conduct Aaron and Eleazar his son, to the top of the mountain, in sight of all the people; the father was stript of his priestly robes, with which the son was invested. The ceremony was no sooner performed, than Aaron died, and was buried on the spot: but the place was kept so private, that none of those countries could ever find it out. The children of Israel mourned thirty days for him, and Eleazar succeeded him in the high priesthood^b.

Soon after the days of mourning were past, they went and encamped at Zalmona; so denominated from the image, or figure of the brazen serpent, which Moses caused to be set up in this place^c. The people being tired with the length of their peregrinations, and labouring under a scarcity of provisions, began to murmur afresh against him, in so grievous a manner, that God was provoked to send large flights of fiery serpents, which destroyed such multitudes, that the survivors applied to Moses, and, in the humblest terms, begged him to deliver them from that destroying vermin (S).

The brazen serpent set up. Accordingly he had recourse to God, who commanded him to cast a brazen serpent of the same figure with those that infested them, and to set it on a pole on some eminent ground; that as many as were bit by the serpents, might be healed by looking upon this image^d. Being de-

^b Numb. xx. 23, & seq. ^c Ibid. xxii. 9. ^d Numb. xxii. 4, & seq;

ply, he smote it twice with his rod, and used some indecent expression, either to the rock, or the people, for which he was excluded from entering the Promised Land, and condemned to die in the wilderness (1).

(S) Bochart tells us that these flying serpents are short, and spotted with divers colours, and that their wings resemble those of a bat. He quotes a great many ancient

and modern authors to prove that they are the same with the hydra of the Greeks and Latins. Herodotus, who went on purpose to the city of Butos to see them, says that they are not unlike the hydra; and that he had seen a vast quantity of their skeletons, whose flesh had been devoured by the ibis, which bird is peculiar to Egypt, and a continual destroyer of those serpents (2).

(1) Vide Ps. cv. 31, 33.
lib. iii. cap. 33.

(2) Bochart de Animal. Sac. p. 11.

livered from this plague, they marched towards Phunon, since known by the name of Metallo-Phunon^c, because of the copper-mines with which it abounded; and from thence proceeded to Oboth, called by Pliny Eboda. This was their thirty-seventh encampment; their next was Jie-Abarim(T), upon the borders of Moab, in that part of the desert which lies over-against the land of Moab eastward^f, and is therefore called the Desert of Moab^e. As they were afterwards removing to pass the brook or valley of Zared, God forbade them to commit any hostilities against the Moabites and Ammonites, because he had given to these nations that land for their habitation, and obliged them to take a large turn round their country to reach Canaan. They arrived at length at Bamoth, or Bamoth-Amon, that is, *the high places of Arnon*, under which is a fine valley belonging to the Moabites, watered by the brook or torrent of Arnon, and pitched their tents at the foot of Mount Pisgah. From thence they proceeded to Beer, so called from the well, which the heads of Israel dug there by God's direction; and this incident produced that song of Moses, sung by the Israelites; the burden of which begins with the words, "Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it^b."

After several marches between the countries of Moab and Ammon, they came at length to the land of the Amorites, and sent again to beg a peaceable passage through the territories of Sihon, king of Heshbon. But that prince, having refused to let them pass upon any terms, and making ready to attack them, was overthrown in a pitched battle. The Israelites having seized upon his kingdom, from the torrent of Arnon to that of Jab-bok, put men, women, and children to the sword, and saved nothing but the cattle¹. Og, king of Bashan, at-

^c Vide Euseb. loc. Hebr. sub Phenon. ^d Numb. xxi. 15.
^e Deut. ii. 8. ^b Numb. xxi. 17, & seq. ^f Judg. xi. 13,
& seq.

(T) It must be remembered, however, that when Moses tells us, that they encamped at Oboth, Jie-Abarim, and other cities belonging to the Edomites and Moabites, he must not be understood as if he actually occupied those places, but only

that they encamped at such a convenient distance from them, that they might easily send thither to buy provisions, without giving them the umbrage of their having any hostile design against them.

Yr. of Fl
896
Ante Chr
1452.

tempting in like manner to obstruct their passage, underwent the same fate ; as we have already shewn in the history of the Canaanites.

Balak sends or Balaam. By this time Balak, king of Moab, near whose territories the Israelites were encamped, with a design to cross the river Jordan, in order to enter the land of Canaan, began to look upon them with such a jealous eye, that he did not think it sufficient to make a strong alliance with the Midianites and Ammonites, his neighbours, in order to stop their progress ; but resolved, before he commenced hostilities, to try how far Balaam's enchantments might prevail towards turning the fortune of war. We need not repeat what has been said in the history of Moab concerning the ill success of Balak's project, and the too successful advice of Balaam, for debauching the Israelites by the help of some of their most beautiful women ; which fully answered their hopes, as the Hebrews failed not to give into the snare, and to make repentance again necessary. Balak had ordered his subjects to celebrate a grand feast to Baal-Peor, (generally supposed to have been the same with Priapus or Adonis⁵, in which the most shameful kinds of lewdness were perpetrated), and to invite the Israelites to the festival. These were soon enticed from one crime to another by the beautiful women that were sent among them ; and plunging from intoxication into lewdness, and from lewdness proceeding to idolatry, they became so enamoured with those fair deluders, that observing in them a more than ordinary forwardness to follow them, they made no scruple to bring a great number of them into their camp ; so that the infection soon became universal, and was punished by a plague, which carried off about twenty-four thousand of the offenders. As this severe punishment did not put an effectual stop to their disobedience, God commanded Moses to erect a court of judicature, consisting of the heads of all the families, and try and hang all that had been guilty of this rebellion and idolatry, without respect to friendship or kindred (U)

This

Cath. Dissert. Le Clerc's Com. in loc.

(U) We have given this place a different sense from that of our own versions of the Bible, which makes God command Moses to take all the heads of the people and hang them up in the face of the sun. The words in the original are capable of our interpretation, and the reason of the thing naturally suggests it ; otherwise it would be impossible

This command was accordingly executed, and about one thousand more were put to death. By this time the greatest part of the people, having attained a due sense of their sin, and bewailing their folly at the door of their tabernacle, were surprised with an instance of the most unparalleled presumption in one of the chiefs of the tribe of Simeon, named Zimri, who had brought a young Midianitish princess into the camp ; and in sight of Moses, and the whole congregation, was leading her into his tent. Phineas, the son of Eleazar the high-priest, followed them close with a spear in his hand, and, fired with holy zeal, at one stroke joined their bodies in death, as they were before joined in their transgression ; for which pious exploit the high-priesthood was confirmed to him and his posterity. Neither did the authors of this defection escape unpunished : Balaam was killed in a battle, which Israel fought against five kings of Midian, who likewise fell on that day. The conquerors made a terrible slaughter, putting all to the sword, women and children excepted ; plundering and burning their cities, and carrying off a considerable booty, which they brought to Moses and Eleazar ; who ordered one fiftieth part of it to be distributed among the priests, and another fiftieth to the Levites.

In a little time after this defection, Moses was ordered to take an account of all the children of Israel that were able to bear arms, that is, from twenty years old and upwards ; Josephus says, from twenty to fifty ; and these were found to amount to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty, besides the Levites, who being numbered from one month and upwards, amounted to twenty-three thousand. This account was taken in the plain of Moab, near the river Jordan, over-against Jericho ; and it is supposed that the last punishment which befel the two thousand four hundred adorers of the Midianitish deity, made a total end of the murmuring generation,

ble to reconcile the command to our ideas of common justice. Josephus was so well convinced that it could not be palliated by any arguments, that he has chosen to suppress it wholly ; an argument, that he understood neither the Hebrew nor the Chaldee, else he might easi-

ly have fallen upon our sense of that command, as the Targum of Onkelos, Rabbi Salomon, and other Jews have done, as well as the learned Fagius, in his comment on the place, and others among the Christians,

Zimri and
Cofbi,

are severely
punished.

Balaam
with five
kings of
Midian
slain.

The Israel-
ites num-
bered.

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which

which had been excluded entering the land of Canaan, because, upon examination, there was not one of them found in this new list which Moses took of the people, except Joshua and Caleb. The numbering of the people was no sooner finished, than Moses received orders to direct the distribution of the Promised Land among the tribes by lot; not into equal parts, but in proportion to the number of men in each tribe. As for that of Levi, it was not to have any inheritance with the rest, being otherwise provided for, as we have already shewn (X).

*Moses com-
manded to
take a
view of
Canaan
from Nebo.*

Immediately after this transaction God commanded Moses to ascend Nebo, which is one of the mountains that make that long ridge called Abarim, and take a view of the Promised Land, which he was not permitted to enter because he had misbehaved in the desert of Zin; and he was given to understand that he should die very soon in this mountain. Moses was nothing surprised at the news of his approaching death, which he only looked

g Numb. xxvi. 64, 65.

(X) When this order was published, there came five of the daughters of Zelophehad, of the tribe of Manasseh, the son of Joseph, to petition Moses and Eleazar for an inheritance with their father's brethren, that his name might not be lost in Israel, seeing he had left no sons, but was dead in the wilderness; not for any sedition, but had shared in the common fate with the rest. Their request was approved by God, and readily granted by Moses, who allotted them a portion in their kindred's inheritance accordingly. Then God enacted a law, that, for the future, the estates of those who died without issue male should be inherited by their daughters; and if they had no daughters, that then they should go to the next of the male, and that failing, of the

female line (1). But there being still some doubt remaining, namely, whether the latter might marry out of their tribe, that of Manasseh came to Moses, and represented to him the inconvenience of such marriages, seeing those heiresses would carry their inheritances into other tribes, which might, in process of time, cause a great deal of confusion, and probably lessen one tribe and enrich another. This remonstrance was likewise approved by God, who immediately declared, that neither these daughters of Zelophehad, nor any heiresses for the future should marry out of their tribes, or even out of their own family. As for the other females, who had no inheritance, they were permitted to marry into what tribe they pleased (2).

(1) Numb. xxvii. 1, 2, & seq.

(2) Numb. xxxvi, ad fin.
upon

upon as a haven of repose after a life of the greatest trouble and fatigue. Neither was he solicitous to have his commission transmitted to his children, or in the least displeased to see his own servant appointed his successor; but finding his end so near, he made it his chief business, during these few remaining days of his life, to settle things in the best order he could establish. The first care he took was to have Joshua confirmed his successor, in the most public and solemn manner, to prevent any opposition from his own family after his death. To this end he brought him forth, in the sight of all Israel, laid his hands upon him, and having presented him to Eleazar the high-priest, and given him all necessary directions, in particular that of consulting God upon all emergencies, by the urim and thummim (C), he caused him to be proclaimed head and general of all Israel ^a.

*Causes
Joshua to
be pro-
claimed his
successor.*

As

^a Numb. xxvii. pass.

(C) As for this divine oracle of urim and thummim, which, in the original, signifies *light* and *perfection*; and the Septuagint and Philo render by the words διάλων and ἀληθεα, *manifestation* and *truth*, as having those two distinct virtues; it was not to be consulted by private persons, but only by the judges, whilst Israel was governed by them, and afterwards by the kings, or such as were sent by them; or, according to the Talmudists, by the ab-beth-din, or the head of the Sanhedrim, and even by the general in time of war, as in the case of Joshua. Spencer, indeed, thinks, that the head of the nation alone, and he in his person, was allowed to consult the urim; but the contrary seems more probable, from David's consulting the Lord by Abiathar, before he was settled upon the throne. However that be, this ordinance of consulting by urim, &c, was not performed without

great ceremony. The high-priest, dressed in his pontifical robes, particularly his breast-plate, went into the holy place, though not into the holy of holies, towards which he was only to turn his face when he enquired of the Lord. But how this divine oracle gave its answer, whether by the unusual lustre of the stones in the breast-plate, when the omen was favourable, and by their dimness in the contrary case, as Josephus, and others after him, have imagined; or by virtue of the name נַעֲנָן, written or engraven in or between the double breast-plate; or thirdly, by the prominence of the letters engraved upon the twelve stones of it, which the high-priest, being then inspired, knew how to range so as to give a true answer: or lastly, whether God answered the high-priest viva voce, by an articulate voice from the mercy-seat, where the cherubim covered the ark of the testimony.

As somewhat more than a month elapsed between Moses's receiving the intimation of his approaching death, and the day in which he expired, he spent the best part of that time in making some farther regulations. Amongst other things, he had the pleasure to see the twelve thousand men, whom he had detached, return from the total overthrow of the Midianites, loaden with the richest spoil, and to order the distribution of it; one half of which he allotted to the conquerors, and the other to those who had not gone to the war, reserving, as we said before, one fiftieth part of each for the priests and Levites; which distribution seems to have passed afterwards into a law.^b What added still more to his joy was, that the chief captains, upon a strict enquiry, had not found one man missing of all that went upon this expedition; a circumstance, for which they were so thankful, that they presented to the Lord an offering of the gold rings, bracelets, and ornaments they had taken, amounting to the weight of sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels; all which was deposited by Eleazar in the tabernacle, as a monument of their gratitude. It is likewise supposed, that, during this interval, he distributed the land of Sihon and Og to the two tribes and half^c.

*Part of the
Midianitish
spoils offer-
ed to the
Lord.*

Yr. of Fl. And now, as the Israelites were on the eve of entering the Promised Land, he appointed the limits of the country which they were to conquer, and the distribution of it by lot, according to God's command; and committed the whole care of it to Joshua and Eleazar the high-priest, & the head of the chiefs of every tribe. Some farther direc-

^{897.}
Ante Chr.
^{3451.}

*The limits
of the land
appointed.*

^a Vide Numb. xxxi. 30, & seqq. ^b Maccab. viii. 28. ^c Usher's Ann.

testimony, called, therefore, the oracle, we are not able to determine. All these opinions are conjectures equally idle and unsatisfactory. A certain Jewish rabbi declared, that he was on the safest side who roundly owned his ignorance of the matter. How long the urim and thummim continued is not difficult to decide: the Jews, in general, agree, that it lasted no longer than the tabernacle. We do not meet with one single instance of the urim's being

consulted, from the building of Solomon's temple; on the contrary we read, that when Hilkiah, the high-priest, found the book of the law in Josiah's reign, and that good king was not a little perplexed at the terrible threatenings pronounced against the transgressors of it, he sent to consult the prophetess Huldah about it; a step which he needed not to have taken, had the urim still subsisted.

tions were also given concerning the forty-eight cities, and their suburbs, or rather districts, which were to be allotted to the tribe of Levi; six of these were to be cities of refuge for the manslayer; to which he added a permission to appoint three more, whenever the enlargement of their borders should make it necessary. We have given an account of them in a former section.

The nearer Moses drew to his end, the more solicitous he was to complete his arduous task. Accordingly, on the fifth day of the eleventh month, answering to our Saturday, February the 20th, of the fortieth year of the exod, the Israelites being still encamped in the plain of Moab, he assembled the people, and, in a long and pathetic speech, recapitulated to them all that had happened, since their departure out of Egypt, to that time. He also gave them to understand, he had earnestly requested of God that he might be permitted to enter the Promised Land, but that his prayer had not been able to prevail.

*Moses's
speech to
the Israel-
ites.*

He now directed Joshua and the elders to erect a capacious altar, upon Mount Ebal, of unhewn stones, covered with plaster, upon which they should write a fair transcript of all these laws, copies of which he delivered to the Levites to keep⁴; to set up the blessings and curses upon Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizzim, in full sight of all Israel, six tribes of which, namely, Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali, should stand upon the former, and those of Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin, on the latter; and that the people should alternately answer Amen to all the blessings and curses, when they should be set up and proclaimed; a ceremony which was accordingly performed in the government of Joshua^c. Finally, that there might be nothing wanting in these his last instructions, he prescribed a kind of exhortation, to be pronounced aloud at the head of the army, by a priest appointed for that purpose, whenever they were going to engage their enemies, in order to inspire the people with an unshaken trust in God, and assurance of victory. He ordered, likewise, that proclamation should be made, at the same time, by proper officers, permitting not only all that had left new wives, houses, or vineyards unenjoyed, but even all such as were afraid of the battle, to return home. Finally, he instructed them in what manner they should behave towards those cities that accepted of their proffered peace, and to those

*Blessings
and curses
to be set
upon Mount
Ebal and
Gerizzim.*

⁴ Deut. xxvii. 5, & seq. xxxi. 9.

^c Josh. viii. 33, & seq.

The old covenant ratified by the whole nation.

Moses's song.

His last blessing to the twelve tribes.

Moses goes up to Mount Nebo.

His death, burial, and character.

by which it was rejected^f. These dispositions being made, he soon after assembled the whole nation, men, women, and children, that they might renew the covenant which their fathers had made with God in Horeb; and, as he enforced the observance of it by the most engaging motives, so did he, at the same time, endeavour to deter them from the breach of it, by such menaces, as proved no less than prophetic of those miseries they underwent in the sequel for their disobedience^g. Having caused this covenant to be ratified by the whole assembly, he commanded the Levites to deposit a copy of it, which he delivered to them, in the ark, and concluded with calling heaven and earth to witness for the truth of what they had heard from him, for the reasonableness of those laws which God had given them, and for the certainty of those blessings or curses which would infallibly follow their obedience or apostacy. However, to fix these important truths more strongly in their minds, he composed a psalm or canticle, in which they are expressed. This being read before all the people, he delivered it to Joshua, to be learned by heart by them and their posterity^h.

The lecture of it being ended, Moses delivered a duplicate of the laws to be preserved in the ark, with an order, that this latter should be publicly read, before the whole assembly, at the feast of the tabernacles, every sabbatic or seventh year.

And now his task being at an end, he had nothing left to do but to gather the tribes about him, and to pronounce his prophetic blessing.

This being finished, he went up, in the sight of all Israel, to Mount Nebo, from the summit of which he beheld all the land which God had promised to Abraham's posterity. Josephus addsⁱ, that he was accompanied by Joshua, Eleazar, and the seventy, to the Mount; and that, whilst the two last were taking their sorrowful farewell of him, a cloud conveyed him away to a certain valley; but the text seems rather to intimate, that he went up alone; be that as it will, the author of this last chapter, whoever he was, assures us, that he died immediately after, and that the Lord conveyed him into a valley in the land of Moab, over-against Beth-Peur, and there buried him in so private a place, that his sepulchre

^f Deut. xx. per tot.

& xxxi. xxxii. ad ver. 45.

^g Deut. xxix. pass.

^h Ant. lib. iv. cap. 8.

ⁱ Deut. xxx.

was not known at the time of his writing ^k (D). His death happened on the first day (according to Josephus and archbishop Usher^l, or on the seventh, according to the generality of the latter Jews ^m) of the twelfth month, which is called Adar, and in the hundred and twentieth of his age, the last forty of which he had spent in the government of the Israelites. The people mourned for him one whole month, according to the custom of the nation for the death of any eminent person; after which Joshua entered into his office, and soon after into the land of Canaan, as shall be shewn in the next section (E).

Before we dismiss this section, it will be expected that we should give some account of the order and manner of encamping of the Israelites in the wilderness, because it is not only curious but useful, in order to understand several places of Scripture that allude to it, both in the Old and New Testament.

The text tells us, that "they were to pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, tribe, and standard, throughout the whole host: that the tribe of Levi was to encamp round the tabernacle, and have the charge and custody

^k Deut. xxxiv. 6.

^l Ant. & An ubi supra.

^m Vide

Sedar Holam Rab. cap. x. Maimon. Praefat. ad Misnaioth, &c.

(D) Nothing is plainer from the text, than that Moses did really die and was buried; but some wise Jews and Christians believe he was translated into heaven. St. Jude mentions a contest which the archangel Michael had with the devil about his body. This circumstance seems, in all probability, to be quoted by the apostle from an apocryphal book, intituled Περὶ ἀναλήψεως Μωϋσέως, of the Assumption of Moses, something like which we find in some Jewish writings. Other rabbies, though they believe that he was so far dead, as that there was a separation of soul and body, yet deny his dying a common death, because he is said to have died "according to the word of the Lord;" but

in the literal sense, "upon the mouth of the Lord;" from which expression they conclude, that Moses, having begged of God not to deliver up his soul to the angel of death, breathed it out in a kiss, which the Lord was pleased to give him. As to his writings, besides the Pentateuch, which is generally received by Jews and Christians as penned by him, there have been some other works attributed to him, though without any certainty.

(E) In the mean time it may be proper to observe, that the ceremony of circumcision was discontinued during the whole time that the Israelites abode in the wilderness, an omission for which no proper reason can be well assigned.

of it!'" This area composed not a perfect square, because the tabernacle and its court were oblong, much less a circle, as some have fancied it, from the words *round about* taken too literally, but an oblong-square, in the center of which was the tabernacle and its court, in length a hundred, and in breadth fifty cubits^m. Parallel to each of the four sides of it, and at a proper distance between it and the other tribes, was that of Levi; along the east end was Eleazar the high-priest, with the rest of the family of Aaron at the head of the four classes of Levites. As for Moses' pavilion, all that he has told us of it, is only that it stood on the same side with those of Aaron's childrenⁿ; though we may reasonably suppose, that it was in the most honourable place of the whole camp, as he was their chief and law-giver, and nearest the tabernacle, to which he was obliged to repair upon all emergencies. On the west side were the Gershonites under Eliasaph the son of Lael, in number seven thousand five hundred^o. The Kohathites, under Elizaphan, the son of Uzziel, in number eight thousand six hundred: and lastly, the Merarites, under Zuriel, the son of Abihail, in number six thousand two hundred; and these two last encamped along the south and north sides. All these together made an army of twenty-two thousand three hundred. Each of these had their particular functions and charges allotted to them, both as to the worship of God and the custody of the tabernacle, with all its apparatus^p.

As the tribe of Levi constituted four small bodies on each side the tabernacle; so did the other twelve make four large camps parallel to them, each body consisting of three tribes. That of Judah, whether because it was the most considerable, mustering seventy-four thousand six hundred fighting men, or in consideration of the sceptre, or the Messiah, promised to it, held the post of honour, and encamped on the east side behind the priests, at the head of two other tribes; namely, that of Issachar, consisting of fifty-four thousand four hundred, and that of Zebulun of fifty-seven thousand four hundred men; so that this body amounted to one hundred eighty-six thousand four hundred fighting men^q; but whether he encamped on the right hand of the other two tribes, as the Jews think, or, which is more probable, seeing he was,

^m Numb. i. 52, & seq. ii. 1, 2, & seq.

ⁿ Numb. iii. 38.

^o Ibid. ii. 3-9.

^p Exod. xxvii. 18.

^q Numb. iv. per tot.

as it were, their head and general, in the centre betwixt them, is neither certain nor material; the same may be said also of the heads of the other three bodies.

Reuben was at the head of the next body, and his camp on the south side; his tribe consisted of forty-six thousand five hundred men; and Simeon with fifty-nine thousand three hundred; and Gad with forty-five thousand six hundred and fifty, marched under his banner; this division consisted of one hundred fifty-one thousand four hundred and fifty.

The next was Ephraim at the head of forty thousand five hundred of his own tribe, under whom Manasseh led thirty-two thousand two hundred, and Benjamin thirty-five thousand four hundred, in all one hundred and eight thousand one hundred; these encamped on the west side.

The last was the tribe of Dan, amounting to sixty-two thousand seven hundred, with that of Asher, consisting of forty one thousand five hundred, and Naphtali of fifty-three thousand four hundred; in all one hundred fifty-seven thousand five hundred and fifty, and these were on the north side of the tabernacle. Thus the Israelitish host amounted to six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty fighting men, exclusive of the Levites. To which if we add the old men above sixty, and the young men under twenty, their wives, daughters, servants, slaves, and strangers, which amounted to little less than three millions, their vast number of cattle, waggons, and other lumber, the least space that can be allowed for such a prodigious camp must be twenty miles, though we suppose the spaces between each tribe to have been much less than the Jewish doctors affirm (N).

These four large divisions had each their general standard, to which their own and the other tribes were to repair; under these were twelve more, one to every tribe; and under these again were those of all the heads of families, amounting to fifty-seven, according to Moses's own account^k. What the colours, emblems, and devices of these ensigns were, neither Moses nor any inspired writer has recorded.

^k Numb. ii. & xxvi. pass.

(N) This prodigious army is by the ancient Jews called threefold, whereof the tabernacle, with its precinct, is called "the camp of the divine Majesty;" the next the camp of Levi, or "little host of the Lord;" and the largest "the camp of Israel, or the great host."

They had likewise a separate camp for lepers, for those who had running sores, or any infirmitieis of that nature, or had defiled themselves by touching a dead body, and the like ; all these were excluded from the great encampment.

With respect to the order of their decamping, marching, and engaging in battle, as they are more particularly described by Moses, we shall content ourselves with mentioning the principal heads relating to each, and removing some few difficulties that occur ; and refer our readers, for a more circumstantial detail, to the text itself, and to those who have treated of them more at large ^e.

In their decamping, whilst in the wilderness, the first thing they were to observe, was the signal from the miraculous pillar, of which we have already spoken ; which Moses immediately took care to communicate throughout the camp, by means of two silver trumpets. These were also used for other signals, such as calling the elders to the tabernacle, proclaiming anniversary festivals, and the like ; and these were differently sounded, according to the signal they were to give. As soon, therefore, as the first signal was given for marching, every tribe began to prepare ; and this preparation took up some considerable time, especially with respect to the priests and Levites, who had the tabernacle with all its utensils, to take down, cover and pack up ; part of which was set upon waggons made for that purpose, and part carried upon men's shoulders. The Levites having got every thing ready for the march, the second signal was given ; then all that bore arms repaired to their several standards, whilst the invalids, women, children, and carriages, assembled in the rear. Upon the next signal, the tribe of Judah, at the head of the other two that belonged to his camp, began to march ; and these were followed, according to the most general opinion, by the Gershonites and Merarites, who guarded the waggons loaded with the boards, pillars, &c. belonging to the tabernacle. Upon the next signal, Reuben, and his two tribes, began to move ; after whom proceeded the Kohathites, bearing the ark, altar, table, and other utensils upon their shoulders ; so that by the time these were at their journey's end, the Gershonites and Merarites had set up the tabernacle, and got all things ready for their reception. The ark, and its bearers, were guarded by the tribes of Ephra-

^e Busnage, ubi supra, chap. 19.

im, Benjamin, and Manasseh. Last of all came the tribes of Dan, Asher, and Naphtali, escorting the invalids, that none might be left behind. For which reason this body is called the rear-ward, or as our margins more properly name it, “the gathering host” (O). ”

Concerning their order of battle and method of fighting, we have nothing certain but what has been occasionally mentioned before. One priest was anointed to be consulted by urim, instead of the high-priest, who never went to the wars; the amercol, or exhorting priest, is thought to be the same with the former by some authors^s, and his speech (at least the substance of it) has been preserved to us by the ancient Jews (P). All that we can say

^f Josh. vi. 9. Vide Munk. in loc. Goodwin's Mos. & Aaron, lib. vi. cap. 4. art. 3. See also Numb. x. 21, & seqq. ^g Calmet & Basnage, ubi supra.

(O) However, it is plain, that this order was not always observed; for, first, as to the ark, there are some places where it is said to have gone before, upon some emergencies (1); and with respect to the whole body, though they kept this order of marching in columns, as often as the lands through which they passed, would permit; yet when they crossed mountains, they were often forced to make their way, some over heights, and other difficult ground, preserving still the best order they could for their own safety. All that can be added upon this subject is, that when the ark was taking up for the march, Moses used to say, “Arise, O Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and, let them that hate thee flee before thee.” And when the priests set it down, he said, “Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of If-

rael (2). ” These words are still used by the Jews, when they fetch the roll of the law out of its repository, and when they carry it thither again.

(P) Among other remarkable expressions in this speech were those that follow; “Hear, O Israel,—you are now going to engage, not against your brethren, not one tribe against another, by whom if you chanced to be taken, you might expect to be used with mercy:—but against your enemies, into whose hands if it be your misfortune to fall, you must expect no quarter:—let not your courage fail you; let not the neighing of their horses, the brightness of their spears, the clattering of their shields, or the sound of their trumpets dishearten you.—God is in the midst of you;—your foes come against you with an arm of flesh, but you trust in the strength of the Almighty.”

(1) See Numb. x. 33. Josh. iii. 6. (2) Numb. x. 35, 36.

Their man- farther on this head with any certainty, is, that as soon as
war of en- the trumpets had given the signal for the engagement, the
raging. combatants raised a great shout, and fell immediately upon
 their enemies ^s.

S E C T. VII.

*The History of the Jews under Joshua. The Conquest
and Partition of the Land of Canaan.*

Yr. of Fl. THE Israelitish camp continued at Shittim, near the
^{897.} Jordan, in sight of the land of Canaan, during the
Ante Chr. days of mourning for Moses; and the people were only
^{1451.} waiting for the signal to pass that river, when their new
 general received fresh and repeated promises of the divine
 assistance in the conquest of the Promised Land ^b.

Two spies sent to Jericho; His first care was, to make choice of two proper persons to go privily to the land of Jericho, and examine what condition their cities and people were in. These spies having crossed the Jordan, went and lodged at the house of an innkeeper called Rahab (Q); where they had not been long, before a strict search was made after them, by order of the alarmed king of Jericho. Their fear, however, was soon dispelled by their hostess, who sent away the searchers, by telling them out of her window, that two strangers had indeed refreshed themselves at her house, but that they were gone, and might be easily overtaken, if closely pursued. Their backs were no sooner turned, than she went to the two spies, to whom she freely owned the panic dread that had seized not only that city, but all the land of Canaan, at the news of what the God of Israel had done in favour of their nation, both at the Red Sea, and against those kingdoms, which they had so lately conquered. She said for her own part, being fully persuaded, that he was the only true God, against whose decrees all opposition would be vain and dangerous, she was now ready to save them from

^s Vide Cun. & Goodwin, ubi supra.

^b Josh. i. per tot.

(Q.) We have ventured to give Rahab a more favourable appellative than most versions have done, who make no scruple to call her a harlot, though it is plain, that the word zonah signifies an innkeeper, as well as a harlot; for it is derived from the root zoan, which signifies to give food, and is the feminine participle active of that verb.

their

their imminent danger, upon condition they would swear to save her and her family, when they became masters of the city. The two spies, who in the condition they were in, would have purchased their safety upon much harder terms, gave her all the desired assurance, that not only she and her family, but all that were found in her house at the taking of the city, should be exempted from the common ruin. She therefore kept them concealed during the remaining part of the time under some hempen stacks, and about midnight let them down by a rope out of one of her back windows, which was contiguous to the city wall, after she had charged them to keep themselves concealed in some cliff of the neighbouring mountains for two or three days, till their pursuers should be returned home. Before they took their leave, they agreed, that she should hang a scarlet line out of her window as a signal to them, and a safeguard to her house. The risk they had run put a stop to their farther progress; and what they had learned at Jericho, made it as needless as dangerous; so that they returned to their camp on the third day, where they related to Joshua all that had happened to them in their excursion.

The consternation which, they told him, had overspread the whole land, was universally looked upon as a sure omen of their future success.. Joshua failed not to improve it, by assuring them, that it was God himself who had struck their enemies with such a terror; and that they had now nothing to do, but to fight valiantly under his banner and protection. He then reminded the two tribes and a half of their former promise of assisting their brethren in the conquest of the land. But as those tribes composed an army of a hundred thousand fighting men, Joshua contented himself with less than one half, and left the rest to defend their new possessions and families. He then caused it to be proclaimed through the camp, that they should pass the Jordan within three days; during which time they should make provision of viands, seeing the manna was to cease as soon as they had set foot on the other shore. These precautions being taken, he gave the signal for marching from Shittim to the neighbouring banks of that river, where, as soon as they were encamped, he sent and communicated to every tribe the order to be observed in this solemn march. The priests bearing the ark were to begin the procession; and as soon as their feet, touching the water, had opened a miraculous way to them, each tribe was to follow in the same

*They
swear to
save her
and her's*

*Return to
the camp,
and make
their re-
port.*

*They pre-
pare to
march to-
wards
Jordan.
The order
of crossing
that river.*

order as they had observed in all their marches, keeping however the awful distance prescribed of two thousand cubits, from that sacred symbol of the divine presence, whilst those that bore it were to continue in the middle of the river, till the whole host of Israel should have reached the other side.

To inspire the people with a still greater regard for this wonderful passage, they were commanded to sanctify themselves, as had been formerly done upon such solemn occasions; and Joshua charged every tribe to send a man to him to be ready to execute such orders as he should give them on the morrow. At the dawn, the priests began their march towards the river, and the people made themselves ready to follow them in two columns, one above, and the other below the ark. As soon, therefore, as the priests that bare the ark had touched the extremity of the stream, God, who had promised to signalize their new general here, in as miraculous a manner as he had distinguished their old leader at the Red Sea, caused the waters of the river from above to retire, and rise up in heaps far beyond the city of Adam, which is by that of Zaretan, whilst those below, continuing their course towards the Sea of the Plain, otherwise called the Salt or Dead Sea, opened a passage of about sixteen or eighteen miles to the Israelites, till they had all safely passed.

Which divides itself to open a dry passage.

Two monuments of it reared up.

During all the time of their passing, the priests remained with the ark in the midst of the river, and waited only for Joshua's orders when to come out, and join the rest of the camp. But Joshua, who designed to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful transaction, commanded them to stand, till he had made those twelve men, whom he had directed to wait about him, take twelve large stones, one for each tribe, and lay them on one heap in the place where the ark stood, so that they might be seen afterwards from each shore, when the waters of the river were abated. At the same time, he directed them to take up twelve other stones from the bottom of the river, and to erect a monument with them on the bank. This work being performed, the priests had orders to march with the ark, and leave the waters to resume their usual course. From this place, Joshua commanded the van-guard, which consisted of the forty thousand men of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, to march towards the plains of Jericho; these were soon followed by the rest of the army, and encamped at Gilgal, about seven or eight miles from

from Jordan, and about three or four from the city of Jericho ^b.

In the mean time, the feast of the Passover drew nigh, unto which no uncircumcised person was to be admitted, under the severest penalties; and yet that ceremony had been intermitted during their forty years wandering, as has been lately hinted; it was therefore necessary, before all things, that it should be renewed out of hand: wherefore, Joshua was commanded to see it immediately performed; and God, highly pleased with their obedience, told them, that he had now removed, or rolled away from them the reproach of Egypt; that is, that he no longer looked upon them as uncircumcised Egyptians, but as his own people; in memory of which transaction, the place was called Gilgal, or *rolling*.

Circumci-
sion renew-
ed.

It was happy for them that they enjoyed the immediate and miraculous protection of heaven, otherwise this operation performed on their whole host, would have disabled them for some time from using their arms in their own defence, consequently rendered them an easy prey to their enemies. The Israelites being thus qualified, were permitted to keep the feast of the Passover.

In this place it was, that God, or his angel appeared to Joshua in the shape of a warrior, standing at some distance from him with a drawn sword. Joshua being surprised to see a man stand so near him in that hostile posture, asked him, whether he was for or against Israel? Upon his answering, that he was the captain of the Lord's host, the other fell down at his feet, and worshipped him, and in the humblest terms expressed his readiness to receive his commands ^c. The Lord was pleased to direct the wonderful manner in which he would have Jericho besieged, that the rest of the Canaanites might be made sensible, that it was not an arm of flesh that fought against them.

God ap-
pears to
Joshua.

We have already given some account of the siege and reduction of this place in the history of Canaan. All that needs be added here, is, that the city, into which great numbers out of the neighbouring villages had retired, some to defend it, and others to save themselves, had been closely shut up by order of the king, who commanded there in person; and that on the seventh day,

^b Jof. iv. 12, 13.
per tot.

^c Grot, Le Clerc, & sl. Jof. v.

The manner of taking Jericho. which was the sabbath, the circumvection of the ark was repeated seven times, with the usual solemnity; the priests sounding with the rams-horns, and the same guard of armed men marching before and after it, as on the first six days. As soon as the seventh circuit was performed, the sound of the trumpets was accompanied with an universal shout of all the besiegers; and this was followed by the fall of the city-wall, opening a way into it, at which every man mounted the breach that was nearest. Their first care was to convey Rahab and all her family

Rahab and her family saved. out of the city. These were no sooner safely withdrawn, than the Israelites massacred all the men, women, children, and cattle that were found in it; after which

Yr. of Fl. 897. Ante Chr. 1451. slaughter, having seized upon all the gold, silver, brass, and other baser metals, and deposited them in the treasury, they set the place on fire, and levelled it to the ground.

Joshua added a prophetic curse on the man that should afterwards attempt to rebuild it, importing, that he should lay the foundation of it in his first-born, and set up its gates in his youngest son^d; by which expression the Jews understand, that all his children should die an untimely death before he had finished the work. This curse, it seems, was literally fulfilled about five hundred and fifty years after, by Hiel, the Bethelite, who laid the foundation of it in his eldest son Abiram, and set up its gates in his youngest son, Segub^e (C). Such was the fatal end of Jericho, which Moses chose to call by the name of the City of Palm-trees^f, on account of the great number of them that grew in the adjacent plains. Josephus adds, that the tree, from which flowed the best balm of Gilead, grew in its neighbourhood^g, from whose fragrance it is supposed to have been named Jericho, which in the original, signifies odour. As for Rahab and her family, they had a place assigned them out of the Israelitish camp; and she was soon after incorporated into their commonwealth, by her embracing the Jewish religion, and her marriage to Salmon, head of the tribe of Judah.

She is married to Salmon.

^d Josh. vi. per tot. ^e 1 Kings xvi. ver. ult. ^f Deut. xxxiv. 3. ^g Joseph. de Bell. lib. v. cap. 4.

(C) In this interval, however, betwixt Joshua and Hiel, we read of the City of Palm-trees in Eglon's time (1), and of

Jericho in David's days (2). So that one would be apt to think there was a mistake somewhere in the history.

In the mean time Joshua, considering the time that the making and dividing of future conquests would take, during which his numerous army must be supplied with provisions, chose to make that fruitful plain his head quarters, from whence he might constantly send detachments to invade other territories, till they had so far enlarged their own, as to admit of a distribution among the tribes which were not settled till six years after this event. He began with sending a detachment of three thousand men against the king of Ai, whose capital was about ten or twelve miles distant from Jericho, where they received an unexpected repulse. This small check so damped the people's courage, that Joshua was forced to have recourse to God, who immediately answered by urim, that a sacrilegious had been committed, and ordered him to discover the guilty person by lot (D), and punish him with immediate death. Joshua lost no time, and having cast lots from the tribes to the families, Achan the son of Carmi, of the tribe of Judah, was found to be the guilty person, who, at the general's request, confessed, that he had concealed some of the accursed plunder of Jericho. His crime was no sooner verified by the search that was made in his tent, than he and all he had were conveyed to the adjacent valley, which was from that time called the Valley of Achor, or trouble, and there stoned to death; after which execution, they reared up a heap of stones for a monument of his crime ^e.

The Israelites repulsed at Ai.

Achan's crime punished.

^e *Jos. vii. per tot.*

(D) How these lots were cast, is neither clear from Scripture, nor explained by commentators, though we have a great many instances of their being made use of by the Jews, as well as others. Josephus (1) only says, that it was done before the high-priest and seventy elders. Other Jews add, that they were made to pass before the ark, and that the high-priest was directed by the urim to pitch upon the tribe,

family, &c. However that be, the lawfulness of this way of casting lots cannot be denied, seeing it was not only countenanced, if not prescribed, by God, but afterwards practised by the apostles (2); though the heathenish superstition, which since mixed itself with it, and the vile purposes to which it was put, hath made it exceeding dangerous, if not altogether criminal.

(1) *Vide Jos. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 1.*

(2) *Acts i. ver. ult.*

*Canaan
conquered
in six years.*

*The sun
stands still
at Joshua's
prayer.*

The army being thus purged, they had much better success, not only in their next expedition against Ai, but also against the whole land, the conquest of which was (though not perfectly) finished in six years. But as we have given an account of it in a former part, we shall only mention two miraculous transactions which happened at this time; namely, the stopping the course of the sun by Joshua, and the remarkable rain of hail-stones that did such terrible execution upon the confederate army of the Canaanites, both which events happened on the same day. Many, otherwise learned men, among the Christians, have scrupled to fall in with the Copernican system, upon a notion, that it is directly contrary to several express testimonies of holy writ, amongst which this of the sun and moon standing still is strenuously urged by them; whilst others, from a contrary principle, have been induced to question the authority of the Bible, because it favoured so absurd a system as that of Ptolemy is now generally allowed and proved to be. Alphonso, king of Naples, said, that "if the system of the earth's standing still were true, the whole universe was but a bungling piece of mechanism" (E).

As the case is undoubtedly miraculous, there is nothing farther to be said; however, a great number of authors, both Jews and Christians, have ransacked their brains to find out more satisfactory solutions, though with so little circumspection and success, that they have multiplied the difficulties, which they endeavoured to remove.

*The rain of
stones that
fell upon the
Canaanites.*

The shower of stones hath likewise proved a stumbling-block to many scrupulous enquirers. The text expressly declares that "the Lord caused great stones to fall, or to be cast upon them, and many more died by the abne habarad, the hail-stones, than by the sword." This last expression hath induced the Septuagint, and after them, Josephus, and the author of Ecclesiasticus, to believe

^f Bacon's Apophthegms. ^g Vide Chald. Paraph. R. Levi Ben. Gersh. & al. Munit. in loc. Calmet. Dissert. Jos. & Dav. Kimchi. Maimonid. More Nevoch. partii. cap. 39. Grot. Tract. Theolog. Politic. cap. 2. Peirer. Praeadamit. lib. iv. cap. 6. Le Clerc post Majmon.

(E) The words literally run thus: "Sun, be thou silent in, or upon Gibeon, and thou moon in the Valley of Aja-

Ion;" and in the next verse it is said, that they "stood still" accordingly.

it was real hail, of more than ordinary size, in which there is nothing but what is agreeable enough to the genius of the tongue. But on the other hand, it is certain, that it is so far from being the obvious meaning, that the word *hail* seems rather to be used here to express the vast quantity, prodigious sore vehemence, and execution of those stones which then fell ; and the expression of “ flying and falling as thick as *hail*,” is not only common to all the ancient, but is likewise retained in most modern languages ; for which reason, several learned men have understood it of a miraculous shower of real stones, as being the most easy and natural meaning of the text.

We return now to Joshua, whom Providence had by this time so far signalized, not only by the two miracles last mentioned, but by the passage of the Jordan, and the destruction of Jericho, that the terror of his arms, soon became so formidable to all the Canaanites, that great part of them abandoned their country, and fled, some into Asia, others into Africa, to avoid the consequence of his vengeance (F). All these circumstances greatly facilitated the conquest of the country, which was, in some measure, completed in less than seven years, and divided among the tribes by lot, in the manner we have shewn in the geography of Palestine. Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, was immediately put in possession of the mountainous parts of Judah, and of Hebron, which had been assigned to him by God : then the tribe of Judah, of which he was chief, that of Ephraim, and the other half tribe of Manasseh, had likewise their several assignments. Joshua having sent proper persons to survey the land, and to bring him an account of it, whilst he and the rest of the tribes were assembled at Shiloh ; he divided to each their portion, according to their respective lots ; then he had the territory of Timnath-Serah, in the mountains of Ephraim, allotted

*The land
divided.
Yr. of Fl.
904.
Ante Chr.
1444.*

(F) This fact the learned Bochart hath taken great pains to prove ; though Shuckford seems not altogether so well satisfied with his arguments. We have not room to enter into the merit of the controversy ; but if there be any truth in the inscription, which Procopius, who lived in the reign of the emperor Justinian,

tells us was engraved on some pillars, near the place where Tangier now stands, importing that those who set them up were the fugitives from the face of that great robber Joshua, the son of Nun, be of any weight, there will be no doubt made, that great multitudes fled from the conquering sword of the Hebrew general.

The History of the Jews

for his own inheritance by the whole people ; and there he built the city of that name, and made it his chief residence during the remainder of his life.

Cities of refuge.

His next care was to appoint three cities of refuge on this side Jordan ; and those likewise which were to be allotted to the priests and Levites, in number forty-six, which we have already spoken of elsewhere. As for the altar, set up on Mount Ebal ; the blessings and curses on that, and Mount Gerizzim ; together with an epitome of the Mosaic law^b ; all these matters had been transacted soon after the destruction of Jericho and Ai, and before

*Fr. of Fl. 901.
Ante Chr. 1447.*

his victory over the Canaanites. Soon after this event, he made that treaty with the Gibeonites, by which they saved themselves from the common destruction. He had

now nothing to do, but to dismiss the two tribes and a half, which had been seated on the other side the Jordan. Having accompanied and assisted their brethren in the conquest of Canaan, they now begged leave to return to their families. Joshua readily complied with their request, and caused them to be honourably dismissed by the heads of the tribes ; but in their return homeward, before they landed on the other side the Jordan, they resolved to erect an altar of a prodigious size upon the border of that river, in order to perpetuate the memory of the relation they bore to the other tribes, and of the wonders which God had wrought in their favour.

*Fr. of Fl. 904.
Ante Chr. 1444.*

This laudable design was so far mistaken, however, by Joshua, and the rest of the people, that they took great umbrage at it, insomuch that he assembled the heads at Shiloh, where it was resolved to commence a bloody war against them, in case they did not disbelieve themselves from the crime of rebellion and apostacy, which this new altar had given cause to suspect them guilty of. He accordingly deputed ten of the chiefs, with Phinehas, the high-priest's son, at their head, to go and enquire into the reason of their erecting the altar : seeing they could not

A deputation sent to them by Joshua.

be ignorant, how expressly they had been forbid by God to offer up sacrifices any where, but at the place which he himself should appoint ; and to declare to them that in case they had formed any such schismatical design, the other nine were resolved to oppose it with all their might.

Phinehas failed not to deliver his message in the strongest terms, and to remind them of the danger which

^b Deut. xxvii. 4, & seqq.

the introduction of any new worship would expose them to ; but was agreeably surprised to hear them take God to witness, that they had not built that sumptuous altar with a view of offering sacrifices upon it ; but on the contrary, to prevent their posterity's being debarred, in process of time, the privilege of coming and offering them at the place which God should appoint, under pretence that Providence had separated them from the commonwealth of Israel, by setting the river Jordan as a barrier between them. Their answer was couched in such submissive terms, and accompanied with such plain tokens of sincerity, as afforded to the deputies, and soon after to Joshua and all the Israelites, all the satisfaction they could wish¹. After this explanation, Joshua governed the Israelitish commonwealth peaceably during the space of seventeen years ; when, finding himself drawing near his end, he caused all the heads of the tribes to assemble at Shechem. There, having reminded them of all the wonders which God had wrought in their favour, and how much it was their interest as well as duty to continue stedfast in their obedience to him, he exhorted them to renew their covenant, which they readily did, and confirmed it with an oath, which he caused to be registered, and a new monument to be erected in memory of it, near the great oak that is in Shechem. He expired soon after, in the one hundred and tenth year of his age^k, and was buried in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-Serah, in the tribe of Ephraim, on the north side of the hill of Gaash^l (G).

His death was soon followed by that of Eleazar the high-priest, who was succeeded by his son Phinehas ; by degrees the rest of the seventy elders, who had out-lived Joshua, died also ; and with them, one would think, not only all the remembrance of Joshua, and of their late co-

¹ Josh. xxii. passim.
^{30.} See also xix. 50. & Judg. ii. 9.

^k Ibid. cap. ult. ver. 29.

^l Ibid.

Yr. of Ft.
911.
Ante Chr.
1416.

(G) This famous general, whose original name of Oieah was changed, as is supposed, by Moses, into that of Joshua, signifying *a saviour*, is supposed to have been the author of the book called by his name ; and it is plain by the word *we*, used by the historian in speak-

ing of the miraculous passage over Jordan, that he was one of those that passed it ; and the book itself concludes with affirming, that Joshua wrote all these transactions in the Book of the Law of God, or as an Appendix to those which Moses had written before.

tenant so solemnly ratified by all the tribes, but likewise all sense of religion, fear of God, or regard of his laws ; for Joshua had been dead scarce twenty years, when we find them sunk into the most brutal vice and the grossest idolatry.

S E C T. VIII.

The History of the Jews under the Judges, from the Death of Joshua to Saul their first King.

Yr. of Fl.
905.
Ante Chr.
1443.

*Judah's
war.*

AT the death of Joshua, a great part of Canaan remained still unconquered, so that the Israelites could not, without pursuing their conquest, secure the possession of what they had. The tribe of Judah was appointed by the oracle to begin the war ; Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, was chief of that tribe, and engaged that of Simeon, with which his own was interwoven, to join him against the king of Bezek, who was routed and taken. He afterwards undertook the siege of Jerusalem, at that time possessed by the Jebusites. The city was accordingly sacked and burned ; but the besieged retired into the fortress of Zion^a. After this exploit he turned his forces towards the south, against the cities of Hebron, or Kirjath-Arba, and Debir, called also Kirjath-Sepher, inhabited by the gigantic sons of Anak. These had been formerly promised to him by Moses, as a reward of his fidelity, and yielded to him accordingly by Joshua, a little before his death^b. Caleb being then above four-score and five years of age, though still strong and vigorous, thought it prudent not to exhaust his strength too far in the siege of those strong places. He, therefore, proposed his daughter Achsah as a reward to the man that should take Kirjath-Sepher ; and it was not long before it was gained by Othniel, a man of his own family (A), whose conduct and bravery, upon this occasion, raised him, soon after, to the dignity of judge.

Whilst Caleb, and his new son-in-law, were employed in thus enlarging their inheritance, the other tribes neglected the express order of their law-giver, and, instead of extirpating their enemies, contented themselves with

^a Judg. i. 2.

^b Josh. xv. 13, & seq.

(A) The text calls him the son of Kenaz, brother to Caleb, so that it is not easy to determine whether he or his father was Caleb's brother.

laying them under tribute. The Canaanites, in appearance, patiently submitted to their yoke ; so that they became less cautious, and were, by degrees, so far ensnared with the beauty of their women, as to contract affinities with them. These intermarriages soon reconciled them to the worship of Baal, Ashtaroth, and other idols of Canaan, and provoked the true God to forsake them; then their enemies seized the opportunity of regaining their liberties, and of oppressing them in their turn.

During this period of apostacy and confusion, Micah, a wealthy man of the tribe of Ephraim, is supposed to have erected that idol in his house, which was soon after taken from him by the Danites, and set up at Dan.

Micah having from remorse restored to his mother eleven hundred pieces of silver which he had seized, she was so transported with joy, that she resolved to consecrate the greatest part of it to what she called a religious use, such as might prove an equivalent blessing to him for the curses he had extorted from her. Accordingly, with part of that silver, she and her son purchased two idols, one molten, and the other carved, and with the rest built a chapel, where they were placed, together with some teraphim, which they had, in all likelihood, already in the house. To this apparatus they added an ephod, or priestly garment, with which Micah installed his son in the priesthood of his new gods; but, in the sequel, a young indigent Levite, wandering that way, was hired, as a more proper person, for that office.

Micah thought himself highly blessed, and that nothing could hinder him from the favour of God^b, when the Danites, who found themselves strengthened in their own tribe, sent out some spies to seek for a new habitation. These chancing to pass that way, consulted the Levite about the success of their journey, and having received a favourable answer, went directly to Laish, a considerable town, whose rich inhabitants, like those of Zidon, lived in the most careless security, without magistrates, soldiery, or strength. They returned, and acquainted their tribe with the joyful news; upon which the Danites of Zorah and Eshtaol armed six hundred of their men; and these, with the five spies at their head, marched immediately toward Laish. In their way the spies acquainted them with Micah's having a young Levite, named Jonathan, the son of Gershom, from whose mouth they had received

Yr. of Fl.
936.

Ante Chr.
1410.

*The story
of Micah.*

a promise of success in this expedition. The Danites, therefore, instead of reproofing Micah for his apostacy, entered by main force; took away the idols, teraphim, and ephod, and forced the young priest to go along with them to Laish. Micah followed them, and made loud complaints, that they had robbed him of all that was valuable in life; all the answer they gave him was, that his outcries might cost him his life, and that it was his safest way to go home quietly. They soon arrived at Laish, which they took and destroyed, with its inhabitants. Having built a new city, and called it Dan, after the name of their progenitor, they set up their idols there, and retained young Jonathan and his sons to be their priests. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and some Jewish rabbies, call him the grandson of Moses, but the original says he was the grandson of Manasseh^c.

Yr. of Fl. During these years of anarchy the inhabitants of Gibeah, in the tribe of Benjamin, were guilty of so horrid a breach of hospitality towards a wandering Levite, as proved the cause of much bloodshed, and was like to have occasioned the ruin of that whole tribe. The Levite was bringing his eloped concubine home, and coming to that place about sun-set, was invited to lodge with an old man who met him in the street. They had scarce refreshed themselves, when a band of profligate youths surrounded the house, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded the stranger to be sacrificed to their brutish lust; the Levite could find no other means of saving himself but by delivering up his concubine to them, and next morning he found her dead at the threshold of the door, whether of shame or of the grievous abuse she had suffered. It was in vain to complain of this cruelty in such an abandoned place; he took, therefore, the dead body with him, and brought it to his own house, where he divided it into twelve pieces, and sent one to each tribe, with an account of the outrage. The incensed tribes assembled from all parts of Israel to Mizpeh, to the number of four hundred thousand fighting men; and there the Levite gave them a farther detail of the injury he had sustained^d. The whole assembly rose up as one man, and resolved not to return to their respective homes till they had punished the authors of that unheard-of abuse with the utmost severity. They sent deputies to the heads of the tribe of Benjamin, to demand the delivery of the profligate Gibea-

^c Judg. xxiii. 30.

^d Judg. xx. 5, & seq.

thites;

shites; but that haughty tribe, instead of complying with their request, armed twenty-five thousand of their best warriors, besides seven hundred of the inhabitants of Gibeah, to go out against them. This unexpected obstinacy exasperated the Israelites to such a degree, that they made a vow to take a fuller revenge on the tribe of Benjamin. They consulted the Lord which of the tribes should go against them, and were answered, by the mouth of Phineas, the high-priest, that Judah should go forth. A battle ensued, and Judah was repulsed with the loss of two and twenty thousand men. This tribe tried their fortune in a second engagement, but met with the same fate; at length, having recourse to God with fasting and prayer, they obtained a favourable answer; and the high-priest promised them, that the Lord would, on the next onset, deliver the Benjamites into their hands. This answer inspired them with fresh courage, and they devised a stratagem which had the desired effect. They divided themselves into three bodies, one of which lay in ambush, ready to enter the city as soon as the men should sally out; another made a false attack, and pretended to fly before them, on purpose to draw them out into the plain, whilst the third and main body lay concealed in the neighbourhood of Baal-Tamar. The children of Benjamin gave easily into the snare. The Jews giving way, they pursued them with great eagerness, till finding themselves surprised in their pursuit by the main body, they attempted a retreat into the town, which, by this time, their enemies had possessed; so that, turning about, and seeing it in flames, they were so disheartened, that they allowed themselves to be cut off without farther resistance, to the number of twenty-five thousand. About six hundred saved themselves by flight, and fortified themselves upon the tops of the rocks of Rimmon, where they remained four months.

This victory served only to whet the fury of the other tribes, which did not cool till they had burnt down all their cities and villages, massacred all the inhabitants without distinction, and made, as they thought, an utter end of that unfortunate tribe. It was then, indeed, that they began to reflect, with some remorse, upon what they had done, and to bewail the loss of one of their tribes. They went up to Shiloh again, and, having been informed that the six hundred, who were escaped from the slaughter, were still upon the rocks of Rimmon, they entreated God to direct them how to recall them peaceably, and to re-

store the lost tribe by their means. There was, indeed, one main impediment to it, namely, a rash oath they had made at Mizpeh, that none of them would give their daughters to any of that tribe. The oath, being unlawful in itself, might have been dissolved by the high-priest, who was there present; but whether their consciences were become more tender than usual, they bethought themselves of another expedient, which would answer their end, though it was scarcely so justifiable as the breach of such an oath would have been. They caused strict search to be made in their muster-rolls, whether any of the tribes had failed to come to the camp at Mizpeh, and found, that the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, belonging to the half-tribe of Manasseh, on the other side Jordan, had not come to the general assembly; they forthwith sent twelve thousand armed men, with orders to destroy all the inhabitants of the place, except the virgins. These soon executed this bloody command, and brought four hundred virgins captive, which were given to as many of the remaining men of Benjamin. There were still two hundred unprovided for, and no more towns to be condemned to the fate of Jabesh; however, rather than break their oath, the victors bethought themselves of a way of evading it, by giving them leave to take that by force, which they thought not lawful to give of their own accord. The men took their advice, and lying in ambush among the vineyards of Shiloh, when the young damsels came out with tabrets to dance, in some solemn feast, every man seized upon a female, and carried her off, whilst the rest of the tribes returned also every man to his habitation^f. These six hundred men soon restored the lost tribe to its former strength, and ever after it continued attached to that of Judah, and gave the second judge and first king to Israel.

Yr. of Fl.

**943.
Ante Chr.**

1405.

**Othniel the
first judge.**

The first slavery which the defection of the Israelites brought upon them was under Cushan-Rithathaim, king of Mesopotamia, who held them in subjection about eight years; at the end of which, the warlike Othniel found means to raise an army against him, with which he gained a signal victory, and freed Israel from the yoke of that potent prince. His success obtained them a peace, which lasted forty years; that is, till the death of their judge and deliverer^g.

^f *Judg. xix. & xx. per tot.*

^g *Judg. iii. 8, & seq.*

Soon after it they were enslaved by the Moabites; and, at the end of eighteen years, Ehud, their second judge, of the tribe of Benjamin, being deputed to carry the yearly tribute to Eglon, freed them, by the death of that prince, whom he privately stabbed whilst he was delivering to him a pretended message from God. Having escaped undiscovered, he blew the trumpet, and raised a sufficient army, with which he shook off the Moabitish yoke, and procured his people another peace of forty years¹.

Shamgar, their third judge, delivered them from some small oppression which they suffered under the Philistines. The text gives us no farther particulars about him, than that he slew six hundred of them with an ox goad, or, as the Latin and Greek versions render it, with a plough-share². How long he judged Israel, is not to be determined: he was succeeded by

The prophetess Deborah, soon after the smart of a fourth servitude, worse and longer than any of the three former, had brought them to a sense of their sins and ingratitude. After the death of their judge, they fell into new crimes; and God, to punish them, raised up a more powerful adversary against them in the person of Jabin, king of Canaan, whose strength, besides a numerous army, and a valiant general, consisted in an incredible number of iron chariots, whereby he held them in severe subjection twenty years; when their cries and repentance had obtained a promise of a speedy deliverance, lest they should arrogate to themselves any share in the glory of their future victory, two women were chosen to be the main instruments of it, and Jael completed what Deborah had concerted. Barak, at the head of ten thousand men, discomfited Sisera and his numerous army, though strengthened with nine hundred chariots of iron. A victory, in consequence of which Israel enjoyed a respite of forty years³.

The ungrateful Israelites, having forgot their signal deliverance, were plagued with a fresh bondage. Under the last, Deborah was allowed to judge Israel in the face of the sun; but now they were left not only without judge, but even without habitation, except what they were forced to seek for among the clefts and caverns of the rocks; and if they found time and convenience to sow, their enemies poured in upon them, and reaped the

Yr. of Fl.
1023.
Ante Chr.
1325.
*Ehud, sec-
ond judge.*

Yr. of Fl.
1044.
Ante Chr.
1304.
*Shamgar,
third judge.*

Yr. of Fl.
1263.
Ante Chr.
1285.
*Deborah,
fourth
judge.*

¹ Judg. iii. 12, & seq.
& v.

² Judg. iii. ver. ult.

³ Judg. iv.

fruits of their labour. While they groaned under this miserable bondage, God sent a prophet to convince them how justly they suffered ; and he afterwards made choice of a proper person to undertake their deliverance. Gideon privately threshing his corn, to save it from becoming a prey either to Midian or Amalek, the angel of the Lord saluted him with the title of Saviour of his People, and convinced him, by repeated miracles, that Israel, whom he now looked upon as forsaken by God, should be speedily and miraculously restored to their freedom by his means. Gideon was too well acquainted with the dejected condition of his nation, to think that such a deliverance could be wrought by an arm of flesh ; and, far from expecting supernatural assistance, he seemed to doubt of the truth of all that the angel foretold. He nevertheless prepared a sacrifice, which the heavenly messenger no sooner touched with the end of his staff, than a fire rising out of the rock on which it was laid, consumed the whole. Then the angel vanished ; and Gideon, in memory of this supernatural visit, erected on the spot an altar which he named Jehovah-Shalom¹.

That very night, the Lord commanded him to begin his heaven-appointed task with the destruction of the altar and grove of Baal, the fatal source of Israel's defection and punishment ; and to expiate their crime by the sacrifice of a bullock of seven years, in the place where they had served that Midianitish deity. Gideon obeyed with great alacrity. Next morning, however, the citizens surrounding the house of his father Joash, demanded that he should deliver up his son to be put to death, for his sacrilege against Baal ; but the old man soon made them sensible of their absurd zeal for an impotent deity, which could not defend his altar and honour against his son, who thus acquired the surname of Jerubbaal, that is, *let Baal break to himself*.

Gideon was soon after assured, by a repeated miracle, of gaining, with a handful of men, a complete victory over the combined armies of the enemy. God, in order to convince the Israelites of their folly and ingratitude in depending upon their own strength and valour, commanded Gideon to disband all his soldiers that were faint-hearted ; and accordingly twenty-two thousand of his daftardly troops were immediately dismissed. He was again commanded to lead his troops to the water-side,

¹ *Judg. vi. 24.*

and there separate those who kneeled to drink, from such as lapped the water out of the hollow of their hand. There were found but three hundred of the latter, and God promised him the victory by these, ordering the rest to be sent away. We have already given an account of his stratagem and success against the confederate army, by which the Israelites gained, with their freedom, an immense quantity of the richest spoil⁴.

Gideon, resolving to make the best advantage of this victory, summoned several tribes to pursue the enemy, and to secure the fords of Beth-Barah and Jordan. Those who had shrunk from danger, began now to take courage, when they saw the enemy flying, and to pursue them one way, whilst he himself and his three hundred men gave chase to another body of the fugitives who passed the river Jordan. Gideon and his followers arriving at Succoth, found themselves so tired and faint, that he sent to entreat some refreshment out of the city, that he might continue his pursuit after the princes of Midian, Zeba and Zalmunna; but he was refused by the inhabitants, who sent him word, that it would be time enough for him to expect such a supply of provision when he had made those two princes prisoners. Gideon contented himself for the present, with threatening to punish the insolent Succothites in the severest manner; and continued his journey to Penuel, where he again sent the same message, and met with the same repulse. Hearing the two princes were in the neighbourhood of Korkor, with fifteen thousand men, the poor remains of one hundred and twenty thousand, he continued the pursuit, fell upon them by surprize, and secured their persons, after having routed their army. Mean while the Ephraimites had overtaken and slain Oreb and Zeeb, two other princes of Midian, and brought their heads to Gideon, as he was returning from Korkor with his two royal prisoners; but at the same time they insolently demanded why he had not summoned their tribe to the war against Midian? Gideon thought proper to temporize, extolling their achievement, and telling them, that the gleanings of Ephraim's laurels vastly outweighed the vintage of his own tribe. Having pacified them with this compliment, he went to discharge his resentment against the cities of Succoth and Penuel. In his way he met with a youth of Succoth, who gave him the names of seventy-seven of its

* See the History of Midian, vol. i. p. 369.

chief magistrates and elders, whom he severely punished for having treated him with such indignity; at the same time he commanded the inhabitants of Penuel to be put to the sword, and their tower to be demolished. He then examined his two prisoners, Zeba and Zalmunna, concerning some men whom they had slain at Mount Tabor, and finding they were his own brethren, caused the assassins to be put to death on the spot*.

The Israelites, thus delivered from their cruel slavery, and loaden with the spoils of their enemies, began to think they could not shew their gratitude to their brave deliverer, nor secure their retrieved freedom more effectually, than by offering to settle the supreme authority upon him and his posterity; and Gideon, who had three-score and ten sons by several wives, might easily have been tempted to accept it, had he not been so lately convinced, that their greatest security chiefly depended upon their obedience to their divine Protector: he therefore advised them not to put their confidence in their own strength, nor in their general's valour, but in God; and to make sure of his protection, by a stricter obedience to his laws. But Gideon soon fulfilled his glory, by an action no ways answerable to this mark of piety and moderation. He demanded, as an acknowledgement of his late services, all the golden ear-rings they had got from their enemies; so that a garment, being spread upon the ground, was presently covered with those ornaments, amounting to seventeen hundred shekels, or eight hundred and fifty ounces of gold, besides collars, chains, and other ornaments of the same metal, and some purple and other costly garments, of which they had stripped the confederate princes. With these the Jewish general caused an ephod, or, as most interpreters think, an idol, to be made, which he set up in his own city Ophrah; and the text adds, "that it proved a snare both to him and to his house, because it became the occasion of a new kind of idolatry to the Israelites." As for Gideon, he returned to his own inheritance, and judged Israel forty years, during which none of their enemies dared to invade their quiet. The Midianites had received so total an overthrow, that they never made any attempt against Israel from that time. Gideon died in a good old age, and was buried with his ancestors; but the Israelites, whom he left in a peaceful and flourishing condition, forgetting both God

Yr. of Fl.

1112.

Ante Chr.

12, 6.

* Judg. viii. 28.

and

and him in a very little time, adopted Baalim, and other new gods, and repaid Gideon's services with the blackest ingratitude. He had left, besides his other children by his wives, a natural son by a concubine^b; and he it was who succeeded his father by the most horrid treachery, even by the destruction of his whole race.

His name was Abimelech, a man of a base and intriguing genius, full of ambition and cruelty. The first step he took, after his father's death, was to go and infuse into the Sechemites some strange jealousies against the sons of Gideon. He artfully asked them at first, whether they thought it better for Israel to have one master or seventy; and whether it were more for the interest of the Sechemites to have their city, or that of Ophrah, appointed to be the seat of the supreme judge? By these, and such like insinuations, he obtained from them a sum of seventy shekels of gold, out of the treasury of Baal-Berith, with which he hired a number of profligate men, capable of the wickedest enterprize, and led them directly to Ophrah, where, having surprised his brethren, the seventy sons of Gideon, he murdered them all, except the youngest. This unnatural fratricide, which ought to have been held in abhorrence by all, who had the least grateful remembrance of Gideon, brought all the Sechemites, and those of Millo, into his interest. They even proclaimed him king, in a conspicuous part of the plain of Sechem, in hopes that all the rest of the nation would follow their example.

Abimelech's usurpation and cruelty.

Jotham, the only surviving son of Gideon, took that opportunity to ascend Mount Gerizzim, which was near the place of this tumultuous assembly; and, being within hearing, though out of their reach, made use of the following apologue, to dissuade them from their rash and iniquitous enterprize^c: "The trees, once upon a time, assembled to make choice of a king: they offered that dignity to the olive-tree, which answered, that it could by no means divest itself of its oil and fatness, so acceptable to God and men, to reign over them: they then invited the fig-tree, which also refused them, on account of its sweetnes: the vine being applied to, preferred her juice, which affords gladnes to gods and men, to the empire over them. At length, the bramble, being invited to accept of that dignity, answered, that, if they really meant to make him king over them, they should come and shel-

^b Judg. viii. ad fin.

^c Judg. ix. ver. 7, ad 22.

ter themselves under its shadows ; if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon."

Some interpreters suppose, that by the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine, he alluded to Othniel, Deborah, and Gideon, who were with difficulty prevailed upon to accept of the dignity of judge, and refused to have it intailed on their posterity * ; but whether it be so or not, it is plain, from his own application, that the bramble alluded to the traitor Abimelech, who was so far from being able to protect the Sechemites, that he would unavoidably prove the occasion of a bloody war, which, like a consuming fire, would end in their utter ruin : " For," added he, " I appeal to you, whether your choice of Abimelech, preferably to any of the sons of Gideon, your late benefactor and deliverer, be either grateful or just ; or rather, indeed, whether the murdering of all his children, for the sake of the son of a slave, be not an instance of the blackest cruelty and ingratitude ? If you think it is not, I wish you joy of your new king, and him of his new dignity ; but, if it is, may he prove a curse to Sechem and Millo, and you to him."

After this bold expostulation, Jotham fled to Beer, a city in the tribe of Judah, not far from Jebus, or Jerusalem, where he continued all the time of Abimelech's reign, which, according to his prediction, proved both thorny and of short duration ; for, besides his mortification, in not being acknowledg'd by any of the tribes, the text says, that God caused a spirit of jealousy to be sown between the Sechemites and him, which produced in them, a full resolution to expiate their folly by his death. But God suffered him to escape for the present, that he might shortly become the instrument of a more severe chastisement against them.

*Yr. of Fl.
1112.
Ante Chr.
1136.*

Abimelech,
fifth judge.

Gaal, informed of the hatred which they had conceived against their new-made king, came to Sechem, with a full design to blow it into an open rupture ; but Zebul, whom Abimelech had entrusted with the government of that city, a fit servant for such a master, failed not to acquaint him with their aim, whilst, in outward appearance, he sided with Gaal and his party. At length, after several bickerings on both sides, upon Abimelech's entering the town, the frightened inhabitants retired into the temple of Baal-Berith, as into a sanctuary, where they were soon made sensible, to their cost, what a god they had preferred to that of Israel. Abimelech

* N. de Lyr. & al.

commanded

commanded a detachment to follow him into the next wood, where every one, after his example, cut down a bough of a tree, and, having piled them round the temple, and set fire to them, the conspirators were all smothered to death, being about a thousand men and women. He then caused the city and tower to be rased to the ground, and to be strewed with salt; and thus was the first part of Jotham's prophecy fulfilled, "and the fire from the bramble burnt up the cedars of Lebanon."

Abimelech, flushed with his success, marched against Thebez, a city of Judah, which had also taken up arms against him, and there met with an ignominious death, where he expected a new conquest. The citizens, repulsed by his victorious troops, retired into a tower, where he thought to have burnt them alive, when a woman flung down a stone, which, lighting upon his head, delivered her people from his fury. Abimelech finding death approaching, and being more ashamed of the hand that gave it, than of his own parricides and tyranny, chose rather to die a second death, than to fall by the hands of a woman, and prevailed upon his servant Zebul to dispatch him with his sword¹. After the usurpation of Abimelech, which lasted three years, Israel was judged twenty-three years^m, by

Tola, the son of Puah, the son of Dodo, of the tribe *Tola*, six of Issachar. The text mentions nothing particularly of *judge*. him, except that he dwelt at Shamir, upon Mount Ephraim, where he was buried.

He was succeeded by Jair, a wealthy man, of that part of the tribe of Manasseh which dwelt on the other side Jordan, and possessed a vast territory in the land of Gilead, in which were thirty cities, which he gave to his thirty sons; whence they were called Havoth, or Hamlets of Jair^a. He judged Israel twenty-two years, and was buried in the city of Camon, in the same land. The text adds, as a mark of their wealth and greatness, that they all rode upon asses colts^b.

The ungrateful Israelites returned, soon after, to their idolatry, and even multiplied the number of their gods, a relapse which brought a fifth thraldom upon them of eighteen years, under the Philistines and Ammonites. Here they had recourse again to prayer and repentance; but they were bid to go and cry to those deities they had

¹ Judg. ix. per tot. ^m Judg. x. 1, 2. ⁿ Numb. xxii. 43.
Deut. iii. 14. ^o Judg. v. 10.

Judg. v. 10.

"Numb. xxii. 41.

adopted, for deliverance. This answer, and the pressing danger they were in from the Ammonites, who had already passed the Jordan, and were going to fall upon Judah and Benjamin, obliged them to put away all their strange gods, and to serve the Lord in earnest; upon which God was pleased to give them a promise, that they should be speedily delivered. They assembled at Mizpeh, to stop the career of the children of Ammon; but as God had not now nominated a judge or general, as at other times, they were forced to send an invitation to the valiant Jephthah to accept of the command, and, with it, of the place of judge or general during life.

Jephthah.

Yr. of Fl.
1160.
Ante Chr.
1188.

*His rash
vow.*

Jephthah was the son of Gilead, but by a concubine, for which reason he had been thrust out by his other brethren, and forced to retire into the land of Tob (N), where he became chief of outlaws and vagabonds, and signalized himself more by his valour than by his honesty; he therefore received their message with some mistrust, and did not accept of their offered dignity, till it was confirmed to him by an oath. As soon as he had put himself at their head, he sent an expostulatory message to the Ammonites; but finding them more bent upon conquest than partly, he assembled troops in the land of Gilead and Manasseh; and, having formed a sufficient army, marched directly against the enemy. Before he ventured a battle, however, he made a rash vow, that, if God would bless him with victory, he would sacrifice to him the first living creature that should come out of his house to meet him at his return; and this inconsiderate promise robbed him at once of the glory and pleasure of the ensuing action. The Ammonites were indeed totally defeated, and the Israelites laden with their spoil; but Jephthah's daughter, a virgin, and his only child, proved the unhappy victim of his rash vow. The welcome news of her father's success had brought her out, at the head of a company of maidens, to congratulate him, with timbrels and dances, and other expressions of filial joy; so that she chanced to be the unhappy object upon which he cast

(N) This land is on the most northern part of Manasseh's lot, on the other side Jordan. It is called Toby, and its inhabitants Tobinians, or Tubinians, in the first and second books of the Maccabees. As for Jephthah's brethren

driving him out of the inheritance, he could not justly complain of it, because it had passed into a constant law ever since Abraham's time, and was founded on the command which God gave him, to cast out the son of the concubine. His

his eyes, and which he had accordingly vowed to destruction. As soon as he saw her, he rent his cloaths, and disclosed the secret to her with the most pathetic expressions of grief. She heard him with a constancy, which one would hardly have expected in a person of her tender years; and only begged for a respite of two months, during which she would retire with some of her companions into the mountains, to hewail her virginity. Her request being granted, she absented herself during that short space, and, at the end of it, returned to her father, who did to her according to his vow^a; that is, according to the generality of Jewish and Christian interpreters^b, he offered her up for a burnt-offering; from which arose that custom mentioned in the text, for the daughters of Israel to go yearly to lament Jephthah's daughter four days in a year^c (O).

This dear-bought victory was like to have proved fatal to him from another quarter. He was scarce returned to his own house, when the turbulent Ephraimites surrounded it, and, in a tumultuous manner, threatened to set it on fire, and to burn him and all he had, for having dared to engage the Ammonites, without summoning them to arms. Jephthah, being of a rough disposition, upbraided them with their baseness, in not answering his summons, and leaving him to bear the brunt of the enemy; a reproach which stung them so to the quick, that they scrupled not, in the height of their resentment, to call the Gi-

^a Judg. xi. per tot. ^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 9. Rabbin. fer. omn Chald. Paraph. Jonath. in loc. Just. Mart. Ambros. de Off. lib. iii. cap. 12. Hieron. contra Joannian. lib. i. & alib. August. Quæst. in Judic. xlix. Chrys. Homil xiv. ad Pop. Antioch. Theodoret Quæst. in Judic. xi. Serap. Salian. Genebrard. Cajet & al. mult. Vide & Lud. Capel & D. Calmet. Disseit. Devot. Jeph. ^c Judic. xi. ver. ult. Pagnin. Arr. Montan. Tremel. Muns. Drus. Grot. N. de Lyr. & al in loc.

(O) The far greater part of the Jews, even Josephus, Philo, and the Chaldee paraphrast, acknowlege Jephthah to have been suffered by God, by the high-priest, and the whole people, to offer the fruit of his own body, an innocent young virgin, an only child, the sole object of his present comfort and future hopes, in a burnt-offering unto the Lord, who

had so often declared his utter abhorrence against all such abominations, and rejected the Canaanites upon that very account. A great deal hath been written to establish a probability, that she was not put to death, but restricted to a life of celibacy; but, all that has been alleged in support of both opinions, amounts to nothing but conjecture.

leadites spurious fugitives, and mongrels between Ephraim and Manasseh. A bloody fight ensued, in which those of Ephraim were discomfited with a great loss; after the Gileadites, having seized the fords of Jordan, suffered none of those, who had escaped from the slaughter, to live (P).

Yr. of Fl.

1166.

Ante Chr.

1181.

Ibzan.

Jephthah was succeeded by Ibzan, whom the Jewish rabbies will have to be the same with Boaz, who married Ruth the Moahite^s, but without any foundation. This was their tenth judge, a native of Bethlehem; but whether of the part appertaining to the tribe of Zebulun, or of that which belonged to Judah, is not certain ^x. He is only recorded for his numerous posterity, namely, thirty sons, and as many daughters, whom he lived to see married; so that he had one hundred and twenty sons and daughters, and sons and daughters-in-law, besides grand-children. Such a family was looked upon as a great blessing in Israel. He governed seven years ^y, and was succeeded by

Eli.

Elón, of the tribe of Zebulun, who judged Israel ten years. He was buried in Aijalon, in his own tribe, and the magistracy devolved to

Yr. of Fl.

1191.

Ante Chr.

1157.

Abdon.

Abdon, the son of Hillel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and native of Pirathon, in the Mount of the Amalekites; where he was buried, after having judged Israel eight years. He is recorded for his numerous issue, having left behind him forty sons and thirty grandsons, who rode on as many asses colts, after the manner of the great men in Israel.

Eli.

The sixth slavery began about the seventh month after Eli united, in his own person, the dignity of judge to that of high-priest ^z. He was of the family of Ithamar, the younger branch of Aaron's house, to which the high-

^x Ruth, iv. 8. & seq. Matt. i. 5. Vide Munk. in Judg. xii. 8.

^y Joshua xix. 15. ^y Jud. xii. 8. & seq. ^z Usher. Ann. sub. A. M. 1848, and the Chronol. Index at the end of our Bibles, Year before Christ, 1256.

(P) In order to detect the Ephraimites who attempted to cross the river, they made them pronounce the word shibboleth, which signifies *an ear of corn*, and which those of that tribe were known to pronounce sibboleth; so that as many, as were caught by that snare, were immediately slain; and

this unhappy contention occasioned the loss of forty-two thousand Ephraimites. As for Jephthah, we read no more of him, except that he judged Israel six years, namely, that part of it which was on the other side of Jordan; and that he was buried in one of the cities of Gilead.

priest-

priesthood had been translated from the elder branch of Eleazar. It is, indeed, surprising, that the people should have continued so long free from defection, during the lives of their lay judges, and fall into idolatry under the government of a high-priest. But Eli is particularly recorded for his indolence and remissness, especially towards his two sons, whom he suffered to run into the greatest excesses of debauchery and irreligion^a. However, he was the only ruler the Israelites had during this long thraldom, and seems to have been chosen by God as the properest judge for them at that time; for, as he was known to be incapable of undertaking any thing for their deliverance, he was the fittest to withdraw their usual confidence in the arm of flesh, and to make them look up to heaven for relief. Accordingly, when the severity of their thraldom had brought them to a better sense, God sent them a deliverer in Samson,

The miraculous son of old age. His birth and prowess had been foretold by an angel, first to his mother, then to Manoah his father, a native of Zorah, in the tribe of Dan, with a strict charge to the mother, that she should abstain both from wine and strong drink, and from all unclean meats, during her pregnancy, and that no razor should come on the child's head all his life, because he was to be a Nazarite from his birth. Samson soon exhibited marks of extraordinary courage and strength; and the text says, that the spirit of the Lord began to move him, at times, in the camp of the Danites between Zorah and Eshtaol^b, the place of his abode.

How he plagued the Philistines, during his twenty years government, and was at length betrayed into their hands by a treacherous harlot, shorn, and bereaved of his strength and eyes, become the object of their scorn and revenge; and in what manner, after a year's miserable servitude, he buried, with himself, all the Philistine nobles, under the ruins of a magnificent structure, we have seen in the history of that nation.

This extraordinary slaughter of the Philistine nobility, might have inspired the Israelites with fresh courage to attempt the regaining their liberty, had not their wickedness proved an invincible obstacle to their success. Eli, their judge, was almost a hundred years old^c, and his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, who acted under him, took the advantage of his extreme weakness to commit

^a 1 Sam. ii. 12, & seq.

^b Jud. xiii. pass.

^c 1 Sam. iv. 25.
the

Yr. of Fl.

^{1193.}

Ante Chr.

^{1155.}

Samson.

the greatest abominations. The Scripture stigmatizes them as “sons of Belial, who knew not the Lord; who committed such infamous irregularities, in the service of the tabernacle, as caused the people to abhor the offering of the Lord; and even debauched the women who assembled at the door of the tabernacle.” Eli was not ignorant of their profligacy; and yet, instead of correcting, or even degrading them, he contented himself with giving them a gentle reproof, and telling them, not that their actions were vile and abominable, but only that they were not good^d. No wonder then if such an expostulation made so little impression on those two profligate young men (S).

Such remissness, in a high-priest and a judge, was so displeasing to God, that he sent a prophet to upbraid him with his ingratitude, and to assure him, that the high-priesthood should be taken from his house, that his two sons should be cut off in one day, and that the survivors of his family should pine away in the utmost poverty and distress. This heavy sentence was again confirmed by God, to young Samuel, in a vision, and by him related to Eli.

Samuel's call.

Samuel was another child of old age and reputed barrenness, obtained by the prayers of his mother, dedicated to God by a solemn vow, and enrolled in his service at the age of three years. As he grew up he was appointed to minister to Eli, in the holy functions, girded with a linen ephod, and to open and shut the doors of the tabernacle. One morning, before break of day, as he lay in his bed, near Eli's chamber, he heard himself called, at three distinct periods, and as often ran to know his master's pleasure. Eli, finding something extraordinary in

^d Sam. ii. 12, & seq.

(S) Were we to follow the sense of our own, and some other versions, we should be apt to attribute their incorrigibility to what is said in the 25th verse of the 2d chapter, “That they hearkened not to the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them.” But we must remind our readers, that the conjunction *chi*, which is rendered *because*,

doth often signify, and ought both here, and in several other places, to have been translated *wherefore*, or *though*; so that the sense will be, “They did not hearken to their father; wherefore it pleased the Lord to slay them; or, they hearkened not – though the Lord threatened to slay them for their disobedience.”

that

that call, directed young Samuel what answer to make to the divine voice ; and it was then that God revealed to him the heavy judgments he had denounced against Eli's house. Samuel was fearful of disclosing the dreadful purport of the vision, till strictly charged and adjured to it by the high-priest. He afterwards distinguished himself as a prophet, and was established as a judge in Israel in the room of Eli. (T).

The Israelites being repulsed in an attempt against the Philistines, with the loss of four thousand men, resolved to bring the ark of God into their camp, in hopes, at least, that it would strike a terror into their enemies, and inspire the people with more than ordinary courage ; but the consequence of this wild project was, that they lost both the battle and the ark, and the two sons of Eli, that bare it, perished. The old priest, who waited with impatience to hear of the success of the battle, had seated himself on a bench in the highway to Shiloh, being under the greatest concern for the ark of God : as soon as he heard the news of its being taken by the enemy, he fainted away, and falling backward from his seat, broke his neck and died. His daughter-in-law, the wife of Phinehas, being then near her time, fell in labour upon hearing all these dreadful tidings ; she testified the excess of her

• 1 Sam. ii. iii. pass.

(T) Samuel was of the tribe of Levi, of the branch of Kohath ; but because he exercised several priestly functions, such as anointing of Saul and David, offering up sacrifices even out of the tabernacle, his wearing a linen ephod, and being named by the Psalmist with Moses and Aaron, the priests of the Lord, some ancient fathers have thought he was of the race of Aaron, and performed the function of high-priest after the death of Eli and his two sons. Josephus seems to hint something like it, when he says, that Saul

knew him to be Samuel, when he appeared to the witch of Endor in a priestly vest, though he calls his father a plain Levite, where he speaks of his birth ; but it appears from the Chronicles, that he was of the branch of Kohath, the second son of Levi ; and as for his wearing an ephod, David did the same ; and Gideon, Manoah, Saul, Elijah, and others, who were neither priests nor Levites, have sacrificed upon particular occasions ; and some prophets, and even their disciples, have anointed kings (1).

(1) August. in Ps. xcviij. cont. Faust. & alib. Chrysost. Ambr. & al. Vide Mendez. in 1 Reg. ii. 1 Chron. vi. 22. & seq. 1 Sam. vi. 14.

grief by calling the child she was delivered of Ichabod, to signify, that *the glory of Israel was departed*, and expired immediately^f.

What beset the ark of the covenant, and those that kept it captive, and its being sent back, we have already seen^g. Its wonderful and unexpected return to Bethshemesh occasioned universal joy in all the people, who came crowding from all the adjacent parts to feast their eyes with the sight of the sacred symbol, it being then the time of harvest. In the field where it stopped, was a large stone, upon which the priests and Levites offered up the two milch kine that brought it for a burnt-offering. This was accompanied with several others, which the inhabitants of the place sacrificed on the spot, and the ark and trespass-offering were deposited upon the same stone. But their joy was soon converted into mourning and lamentation, through the irreverence of the Bethshemeshites, whom an imprudent curiosity excited to look into the ark; for which presumption fifty thousand and seventy men were punished with immediate death (U). This terrible slaughter struck such terror into the survivors, that they sent to the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim, a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemesh, and in the tribe of Judah, desiring that they would fetch the ark away^h. It was removed accordingly, and placed in the house of one Abinadab, which stood on the highest part of the city, where it continued till David's time, that is, about seventy years, and Abinadab's son, Eleazar, was consecrated to be its keeper.

^f 1 Sam. iv. to the end.
vol. i. p. 419, & seq.

^g See the History of the Philistines,
^h 1 Sam. vi. per tot.

(U) This is what ours, and most other versions, make the original to say: for which reason we have not dared to depart from it; though we own, with the learned Bochart, that we can neither conceive how there could be such a multitude of people in a village on the borders of Judæa, nor how it could be consistent with the goodness of God to make such a slaughter of those men, who came with

joy to receive the ark, supposing such a number could really have all looked into it.

The original is capable of a two-fold sense, besides this in our version, and both greatly lessen that number. The first implies fifty men of a thousand, instead of fifty thousand, that is, in all, seventy. The other makes it seventy of the common people, and fifty of the captains.

Samuel, who acted by this time both as prophet and judge, took occasion, from the people's assembling in great multitudes before the ark, to lament their not yet recovered liberty, to persuade them to put away Ashtaroth, and the other strange deities, from among them, and to serve the Lord alone; upon which condition only he could promise them a speedy deliverance from the Philistine yoke. The people readily complied with his advice, and afterwards assembled at Mizpeh, according to his appointment, where they fasted and prayed, and expressed all the tokens of sincere repentance. This unusual meeting gave umbrage to the Philistines, who immediately took up arms, and came against them; but Samuel having offered up a sucking lamb for a burnt offering, by his prayers obtained such a storm of thunder and lightning as quite discomfited their enemies, whom the Israelites pursued, with great slaughter, unto Beth-Car. In memory of this signal victory, Samuel caused a great stone to be erected between Mizpeh and Shen, which he called Eben-Ezer, or *the stone of help*; and from that time, to Samuel's death, the Philistines were so far from making any farther attempt against Israel, that they suffered them to recover all the cities and fortresses which had been taken from them, from Ekron even unto Gath, and the adjoining territories¹. At the same time the Israelites were at peace with the Amorites, so that the land enjoyed profound repose all the days of Samuel's government, whilst he, to make it easier to the people, left Ramah, his residence, and the place of his nativity, once a year, to take a circuit round Beth-el, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, to administer justice; then he returned to his own city, where he had built an altar unto God, and whither the people might resort to him at all other times².

By that time Samuel had judged Israel twenty years with great integrity and uprightness, he had the mortification to hear, that his two sons, Joel and Abiah, whom he had, in his later days, made judges at Beersheba, suffered themselves to be bribed to pervert judgment; upon which account he saw himself surrounded by the elders of Israel, who desired that he would appoint to them a king, like other nations, since his sons were not worthy to succeed him in his office. Samuel expostulated with them in the strongest terms; upbraided them with their ingratitude, and forewarned them of their danger; and, among

¹ Sam. vi. & seqq.

² Ibid. vii. to the end.

Samuel's
exhortation
to the peo-
ple.

Yr. of Fl.
1152.
Ante Chr.
1096.

other dissuasives, laid before them all the mischiefs and grievances they were likely to suffer from a king. In a word, he omitted nothing that could possibly divert them from their design, though all to no purpose, till God commanded him to comply with their request, and to set such a king over them as he should direct. Samuel having, therefore, promised to gratify their wish, dismissed them for the present^a; and Saul was soon after appointed by God to be the first king of Israel.

S E C T. IX.

The History of the Jews under their monarchical Government.

^{Vr. of Fl.}
^{1235.}
Ante Chr.
^{1095.}
Saul, first
King of Is-
rael.

SAUL, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, was a comely youth, taller by the head and shoulders than the common size. He had been sent with a servant, about the time of this defection, in quest of some strayed asses. Samuel, who knew him to be the person appointed by God to the regal dignity, and was then going to bless a sacrifice which was held in his city, took that opportunity to introduce him to the feast, where he set him in the highest place, and distinguished him from all the other guests by regaling him with particular dainties. He detained him all night, and on the morrow, accompanied him some part of the way. On this occasion, having commanded his servant to go on before, he poured the oil upon his head, and saluted him king of Israel. Saul behaved, during this ceremony, with extraordinary modesty, alleging the small importance of his tribe and family, as an argument of his being unfit for so high a dignity; but the prophet assured him, that he should find himself endowed with such a superior portion of God's spirit, as would give him a new heart, so that he would shortly feel himself quite another man. He assured him that in his way home he would be met by a company of prophets, and that he would then receive the spirit of prophecy. This prediction was literally fulfilled, to the astonishment of his acquaintance, whose exclamation became proverbial, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" Soon after this transaction, Samuel called all the heads of Israel to Mizpeh, and caused them to present themselves

^a Sam. viii. 1, & seqq.

by their tribes before the Lord. As they passed in order, that of Benjamin was taken; then were the families of it called, and that of Matri was taken, and next to that the son of Kish ^a.

During this ceremony, Saul, who had concealed himself, being brought forth, Samuel presented him to the people, as the person whom God had chosen to be their head; and immediately the air rang with the people's shouts, "Long live the king!" Here Samuel, who, at their first tumultuous meeting, had forewarned them of all that a king might do in the plenitude of his power, and what they had to fear from him, now thought it necessary to instruct him, before the assembly, in all the duties of a sovereign. Finally, he caused him to be proclaimed and anointed king of Israel. The new king returned to his house in Gibeah, whither he was attended by a number of brave subjects; whilst another company of loose young men despised his youth, and refused to acknowledge him as their sovereign.

In a little time, however, he had an occasion to give them an earnest of his courage, and to let them see how well he could use his new authority. The inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead were strenuously besieged by the Ammonites, and upon the brink of losing not only their liberty, but their right eyes, as a lasting reproach to the whole nation, when, having obtained a respite of seven days from the Ammonitish king, they sent an account of their dismal state to the elders of Israel. Saul immediately *Saul's first exploit.* caused a yoke of oxen to be hewed in pieces, and distributed with the utmost speed through all the tribes, with this threatening message, that whosoever refused to follow him to the relief of their brethren of Jabesh-Gilead, should see his cattle destroyed in the same manner. The people, alarmed at this declaration, immediately repaired to Bezek, to the number of three hundred thousand, besides thirty thousand of the tribe of Judah. Saul, thus reinforced, sent the besieged word, that he would come to their rescue by the next morning, and marched all that night without halting. As soon as he approached the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and fell upon them by break of day with such fury, that they were forced to raise the siege, and fly with the utmost precipitation. The people, elevated with this signal victory, advised him to put to death all who had refused to ac-

*Yr. of Fl.
1255.
Ante Chr.
1093.*

^a Sam. x. 11. 21. 34.

knowlege Saul for their king ; but he generously withstood the proposal, alleging that it was not fit to stain the beginning of his reign with the slaughter of their brethren, after God had wrought so great a salvation in Israel. This moderate answer pleased the people still more ; and Samuel, who had accompanied him to the battle, invited the people to Gilgal, there to confirm the kingdom unto Saul by univerfal consent, since he had shewed himself so worthy to reign ; he was accordingly installed with great solemnity ^b.

Samuel took this opportunity to justify his administration as judge ; because his authority, now devolved upon Saul, would be no longer a check upon any of them from exhibiting their complaint, if any such they had against him. He therefore challenged them, as he was now old, and ready to leave the world, to accuse him openly before their new king, if he had committed any fraud, injustice, or oppression, that he might now make restitution before he died ; and he had the satisfaction of being cleared and commended by the general voice of the people. However, to convince them of their ingratitude in demanding a king, he recapitulated all the grievous thraldoms which their idolatry and disobedience had drawn upon them since their being seated in that land ; and the many signal deliverances which God had wrought for them upon their repentance ; and, to add a still greater weight to his words, and assure them how highly God was displeased at them, he reminded them, that it was then the time of harvest, when the air was generally serene, and free from clouds and stormy rains ; but he told them that he would, by his prayers, obtain such an extraordinary storm of thunder and rain, as should convince them that God had been highly provoked by their ungrateful demand. He put his threats in execution accordingly, and the people were terrified into a sense of their own unworthiness. They now earnestly begged he would use his prayers to avert the impending danger, and he readily complied with their supplication. He then assured them that he would continue his good offices to them ^{as} long as he lived ; that if they and their king would continue stedfast in their obedience to God, instead of confiding in their vain and deceitful idols, every thing would go well with them ; but that if

^b 1 Sam. xi. per tot.

they relapsed, both he and they must expect to feel the effects of the divine displeasure^c.

All these transactions happened in the first year of Saul's reign; in the next he dismissed his numerous army, and reserved only three thousand men, two thousand of whom he put into the garrisons of Michmash and Beth-el; and the other thousand he left at Gibeah of Benjamin, under his son Jonathan. This young prince, *Jonathan*, willing to achieve something worthy the son and successor *wishes* of Saul, went and smote a Philistine garrison at Geba; *the garrison of Geba*. the news of which having alarmed that nation, obliged his father to blow the trumpet, and to let Israel know that the Philistines were coming against them with a numerous host. They had indeed thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, besides an innumerable multitude of foot, with which they came and encamped against Michmash, eastward of Beth-Aven. The sight of so vast an army struck an universal terror through all Israel, insomuch that, forgetting their late victory, and the valour which their new king had shewn upon that occasion, a great part of that disorderly people hid themselves in caves, dens, and other lurking holes; whilst another part fled to the other side of Jordan for safety, leaving their country open to their enemies, and their king to make the best of the remains of the people that stood by him in the day of trouble. One misfortune, however, attended them, which may, in some measure, excuse their defection; which was, that the Philistines had taken care to strip them of all kinds of weapons, and even of the instruments with which they used to sharpen their rural tools, lest they should use them instead of arms. They had neither smith nor forge, and so naked were they at this time, that there was neither sword nor spear but those which Saul and his son used^d, when he came to muster his little army. The king, however, continued with them at Gilgal, expecting Samuel's coming according to his appointment; but after he had waited seven whole days, and found that Samuel neither came nor sent, and that his little army was almost dwindled away to a small handful, fearing lest he should be surprised by the enemy, before he had implored the protection of God in the usual way of sacrifices, he ventured, on the seventh day, to offer up some peace-offerings, and a burnt-offering. He had scarce made an end of sacrificing,

Yr. of Fl.
1255.
Ante Chr.
1093.

^c 1 Sam. xii. per tot.

^d 1 Sam. xiii. 19, & seq.

Saul reproved by Samuel.

when Samuel came, and blamed him highly for what he had done (A). Saul excused himself upon the pressing necessity he was in; but the prophet told him he had done a very foolish action; and that his disobedience to God's command would cause the kingdom to be transferred from him to a more worthy person. As soon as Samuel had departed from him, to go to Gibeon, Saul and his son followed him thither with his little army, consisting of only six hundred men unarmed. There they beheld, with sorrow, the Philistines, who were still encamped in Michmash, making a three-fold incursion into Israel, and committing great depredations by separate detachments; one towards Ophrah, another at Beth-Horon, and the third in the valley of Zoboom.

Jonathan's stratagem to surprise the enemy.

They were in this dismal situation, when Jonathan ventured, unknown to his father, or to any person but his armour-bearer, who accompanied him, to climb on his hands and feet through craggy rocks, and fall upon one of the enemy's out-guards, where he killed twenty of their men, and put the rest to flight. These fugitives running into the camp, spread such a panic through the host, that it was easily perceived by Saul; who, finding Jonathan was missing, easily guessed him to be the author of their confusion. Saul had with him the ark of God, and Ahiah the high-priest, the great-grandson of Eli; and was going to desire him to enquire of the Lord, whether he should fall on the enemy, when the noise and tumult increased in such a manner, as assured him they were put to the rout. He then bid Ahiah hold his hand, and with his followers fell on the flying Philistines, his army still increasing, as well from a number of Hebrew captives, who took that opportunity to make their escape, as from a greater number of those, who, observing from their lurking-holes the success of their brethren, came and joined their king.

Defeats the Philistines,

This victory might have been more complete, had not Saul unadvisedly adjured his army not to stop their pursuit to take some convenient refreshment. Jonathan, knowing of his father's imprecation, and being quite spent with that day's toil, had refreshed himself with a little honey which he found in his way; so that when his transgression came to be discovered by urim, Saul would infallibly have condemned him to die, had not the whole

(A) It is not easy to divine what Saul's crime was, which drew upon him such a severe sentence from the prophet.

army

army interposed, and sworn that not a hair of his head should be hurt, in consideration of the signal deliverance which he had effected. Saul returned home victorious, and put himself in a condition of pursuing his conquest, not only against the Philistines, but also against the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and the kings of Zobah and Amalek. His general was Abner, the son of his uncle Ner; he had also two sons besides Jonathan; and, next to that of his army, his care was to have a guard about himself, composed of the most valiant men he could find in his dominions.^e

*and Amale-
kites.*

The Scripture gives us no particular account of any of these wars, that against Amalek excepted, of which we have spoken in its proper place^f; neither is it easy to guess at what periods of Saul's reign any of them happened. All that we know is, that he reigned forty years^g; that he was a valiant and successful prince, continually at war with some of the neighbouring states; and that he over-awed all his enemies round about; so that, had he not been unmindful of God's command with respect to the king of Amalek, and the plunder of his subjects, he might, in all likelihood, have reigned all his life without misfortune. The sentence of rejection, which the prophet had pronounced against him, made so deep an impression upon Saul, that he owned his fault, and only begged of Samuel, for decency sake, that he would still shew some regard to him, and accompany him, whilst he went and paid his adoration to God. Samuel complied with his request, and soon after caused the proud Amalekitish king to be put to death, whose destroying sword had bereaved so many mothers of their children; and returned to Ramah, the place of his abode. From that period he never came more to Saul, but continued mourning for him^h, till he was reproved by God, and commanded to go to Bethlehem, and anoint one of the sons of Jesse in the room of the reigning prince.

*David an-
ointed
king.*

Samuel was forced to colour his journey with the pretence of offering up a sacrifice there; and accordingly took a young heifer with him, both to avoid giving any suspicion to the jealous king, and to disperse the fears of the elders of Bethlehem, who would be alarmed at his unexpected arrival. As soon as he came to Jesse's house, he called all his sons to pass before him in order; and

*Yr. of Fl.
1185.
Ante Chr.
1063.*

^e *1 Sam. xiv. pass.* ^f See the Hist. of the Amalekites, vol. i. p. 386, & seq. ^g *Acts xiii. 21.* ^h *1 Sam. xx. pass.*

when he beheld the eldest of them, who was a man of valour, he presently supposed him to be the person chosen to be Saul's successor: however, God rejected him, as he did also the other six in their turns. Samuel then asked their father, whether these were all the sons he had? who answered, that he had one more, his youngest, a stripling, who was then employed in keeping his sheep. He was directed to send for the youth; and, as soon as David came in, Samuel was ordered to anoint him in the presence of his brethren (D). Then he made a feast to Jesse's family, and to the elders of the city, and returned to Ramah, while David went back to his flocks.

Not long after this event, the Lord having forsaken Saul, he began to be tormented by an evil spirit, or by a deep melancholy; to dispel which, he was advised to have recourse to the music of the harp, and to engage as his minstrel, young David, who by this time had gained the reputation of an expert musician. He was sent for accordingly; and the ruddiness of his complexion, and comeliness of his person, joined with the sweetness of his music, won Saul's heart so far, that he made him his armour-bearer, and retained him always near his person. Whenever, therefore, Saul's distemper came upon him, David was ordered to divert him with his music, which never failed to give him ease^m. At length the king's disorder being to all appearance cured, David was permitted to go home and resume his former occupation.

A rupture ensuing between the Israelites and Philistines, Saul took the field, and encamped by the Valley of Elah, while the enemy pitched their camp at Ephes-Danimim,

^m *1 Sam. xvi. ult.*

(D) It is hardly to be supposed, that Samuel did then explain the whole mystery of his anointing of David; which might have had some fatal consequence, had it come to the ears of Saul; but as it was usual to anoint men to the office of prophet, as well as to the regal dignity, it is most likely, that he left them to suppose the former; as David was not much above fifteen years of age, and too tender to be ta-

ken for a promising warrior. Josephus says, that Samuel only whispered the secret into David's and his father's ear, and concealed it from the rest. And, indeed, had his brethren known, or even suspected, that he had been anointed to the regal dignity, it is not credible they would have used him with such roughness and ill manners as they did, when their father sent him to them to Saul's camp.

between

between Shochoh and Azekah, in the tribe of Judah. A valley parted the two armies, which had contented themselves with looking upon one another, without striking a blow, during the space of forty days, and nothing past but the repeated defiance or challenge of the gigantic Goliath. But that, which had chilled the hearts of all the Israelites, wrought a contrary effect upon young David, who was just arrived in the camp, sent thither by old Jesse with provisions to his three eldest brothers, who were then in Saul's army. Hearing that this champion had defied the army of Israel, and that Saul had promised his daughter as a reward to the man that should slay him, this young shepherd resolved to discharge the exploit which no other Israelite had courage to attempt. At his presenting himself to the king, all that beheld him, judged him altogether unequal to the combat; nevertheless, without any other weapon than a sling, and a few pebble-stones in his shepherd's pouch, he fellied forth against this giant, whom he slew; and, in a few minutes, brought his head and sword, and laid it at the feet of Saul.

What effect this victory had over the amazed Philistines, may be easily conceived^{*}: but David's behaviour wrought so much on the heart of Jonathan, that it gave birth to the most intimate friendship between them, insomuch that the text says, their souls were knit together; and David elsewhere tells us, that it exceeded by far the love of women. But it soon after made a much different impression upon Saul, though at first he seemed charmed with the youth's conduct, and gave him a considerable post in his army. What inspired that prince with the first sentiments of jealousy against him, was the indiscretion of a company of women, who came to meet them at their return from the battle, with vocal and instrumental music, and in their songs extolled David above him, saying, that Saul had killed his thousands, but David his ten thousands. From that moment he looked upon the son of Jesse as a dangerous rival, and thought himself unsafe while the other remained alive. His disease now seemed to be wholly turned into jealousy, and David often narrowly escaped becoming the victim of it; for, even on the very day after this exploit, whilst David was endeavouring to soothe his melancholy with music, he threw a javelin at him with such force, that it stuck

Yr. of El.
1185.
Ante Chr.
1063.

*Defeats
Goliath.*

*Jonathan's
friendship
to David.*

*David hat-
ed by Saul.*

* See the Hist. of the Philistines, vol. i. p. 423.

against

*Narrowly
escapes his
fury.*

against the wall. He made a second attempt, but David again escaped.

At length, Saul observing how much David was beloved by the people, thought proper to temporise, and promoted him to a higher office, in hopes, that being exposed to fresh dangers, he might fall by the hands of the enemy. He promised him, at the same time, his eldest daughter, as a reward of his next victory; but David had the mortification to see her given to another. The next snare which Saul laid for him was, to intimate, that he designed in earnest to give him his second daughter, and would accept of a hundred fore-skins of the Philistines, instead of a dowry. David embraced the terms, and brought him double that number; so that Saul, having no pretence left to excuse himself from his promise, gave him Michal in marriage, whose sincere affection, joined to that of her brother Jonathan, proved afterwards very serviceable to him, by defeating their father's attempts against his life, even at the hazard of their own. David, in the sequel having gained a signal victory over the Philistines, was, at his return to court, in danger of being stuck to the wall again with a javelin. In consequence of this outrage he retired to his own house, whither Saul pursued him, causing the house to be beset by some of his servants, when his faithful wife contrived his escape, by conveying him privily out at a window, in the dead of night, that he might have time to travel a considerable way before he was pursued. When her father's men came in the morning, she assured them, that her husband was very ill, and confined to his bed, shewing them at the same time the figure of a man, which she had conveyed into it, and covered up with bed-cloaths, to prevent discovery. They were soon sent back with orders to bring him alive; by which means her stratagem being discovered, she incurred the wrath of her father, which she with difficulty appeased, by pretending she had been forced to promote her husband's escape, in order to save her own life.

*Places to
Borrow.*

David withdrew to Ramah, to acquaint Samuel with the unwelcome news; and thence both went down to Naioth, which was not far from Ramah, where was a school of prophets. It was not long before Saul sent messengers to fetch him, who were no sooner come within sight of Samuel and the prophets, than they fell a-prophesying likewise, and so returned without having executed their orders. He sent others a-second and a third time,

time, with the same success, and at length resolved to go himself; and, when he came, he prophesied likewise, cast off his cloaths, and lay down uncovered (E) the whole day and night; a circumstance which gave David an opportunity to withdraw^o, and to have a private conference with Jonathan, wherein they swore to each other a perpetual friendship. That generous young prince exposed himself to his father's fury for his friendship to David, and was reprobated for it in the bitterest terms; nay, having once ventured to plead for him, he narrowly escaped being killed by the incensed king. Finding at length, that his friend's death was resolved on, he went to the stone Ezel, the place appointed for their meeting; and there he had an interview with David, whom he fully informed of the danger to which he would be exposed, should he stay any longer within the reach of his implacable father. They therefore took a melancholy farewell of each other^p; and David hastened to the land of Nob, where Ahimelech the high-priest had his residence.

*David flees
to Ahime-
lech.*

David was forced to amuse the high-priest with a pretence of being sent by the king, upon some private business of importance; but, having observed in this place, Doeg an Edomite, one of Saul's shepherds, by whom he foresaw he should certainly be betrayed, if he made any stay, he told Ahimelech, that his business was urgent, and begged that he would give him some refreshment for himself, and the young men that were with him. When they had refreshed themselves, David asked him, whether he could not furnish him with some swords or spears; and was answered, that the place afforded no other weapon but the sword of Goliath, which he desired might be brought to him; and, having girt it on, he took his leave of the high-priest, and fled to Achish king of Gath. The courtiers of that prince, in order to excite his jealousy and resentment against the son of Jesse, recited the songs of the Israelitish women, implying "that Saul had slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." David, alarm-

• Sam. xix. passim.

¶ Ch. xx. passim.

(E) The words in the original say, that he lay naked; but it were absurd to understand it in the literal sense, God having strictly forbidden

all such indecencies, in opposition to the heathen priests, who were not ashamed to appear naked at some of their feasts.

ed for his own life, resolved to convert their king's resentment into pity or contempt, and counterfeited madness so naturally, that Achish, believing him really insane, permitted him to retire unmolested to the cave of Adullam.

Meanwhile, Saul, vexed to find that David was out of his reach, stormed at Jonathan, and at his own servants, as if they had all conspired with the son of Jesse against him; when Doeg the Edomite came and acquainted him with what had passed at Nob, how Ahimelech had furnished David with provisions and weapons, and had enquired of the Lord concerning his fate. The king was so exasperated by these tidings, that he ordered the pontiff and all his kindred to be apprehended and brought into his presence; where, after having loaded them with the most bitter invectives, he declared they should suffer immediate death. In vain Ahimelech pleaded his ignorance of any difference or animosity between the king and David. Saul's anger was rather incensed than appeased by this apology, and he commanded his attendants to cut them all in pieces. This odious and cruel office being declined by all the rest, was immediately executed by Doeg. But Saul, not yet satiated with vengeance, ordered a detachment to go and put the whole city of Nob to the sword, men, women, children, and cattle; and this slaughter was also executed so effectually, that none but Abiathar, one of Ahimelech's sons, had the good fortune to escape. He went immediately to David, who comforted him for the disaster of his family, by taking him into his protection, and promising to raise him to the dignity of high-priest, as soon as it should be in his power.

Among those who followed David, were his father, mother, brethren, and other relations, with the prophet Gad. Besides these, he was joined by multitudes of distressed and discontented persons, to the number of four hundred. But the prophet Gad having told him, that it was no longer safe for him to abide in that place, he conveyed his parents into the land of Moab, and left them under the protection of the king of that country, whilst he himself and his men repaired to the forest of Hareth in the land of Judah. However, he stayed not long there; but, having rescued the city of Keilah from the Philistines, removed into the wilderness of Ziph, with his adherents, who were by this time increased to six hundred. Whilst he lurked about the rocks and caves of this place, he was privately visited by Jonathan, when their former

*Saul butchers all the priests and inhabitants of Nob.
Abiathar escapes to David.*

vows

vows of friendship were repeated. David promised upon oath, that if he should be raised to the throne, Jonathan should maintain the next place in dignity; or if Jonathan should not live to see that event, which he was by this time well assured would one day happen, that David should express the same regard to his children.

Saul being informed by the Ziphites, that David lay concealed in their neighbourhood, was so transported with joy at the news, that he could not forbear blessing them, as the only people that shewed any concern for his interest. But David, apprised of his being discovered, removed to the wilderness of Maon, whither Saul soon pursued him, and encamped over-against him, with a design to surround him; but, in the mean time, news were brought him, that the Philistines had made a fresh incursion into the land, so that he was forced to go back to put a stop to their progress. In memory of this deliverance, David called the rock where he then was, Sela-Hammah-Jekoth, or *the rock of divisions*. Removing with his little army to Engedi, he concealed himself among the strong holds of that place⁴. Here Saul, who had soon repulsed the Philistines, found him out again, and came against him with three thousand men; but, whilst he was in search of him, an urgent occasion obliged him to retire into the cave where David lay concealed. David's followers now remonstrated that this was the time in which God had promised to deliver his enemy into his hand; and that he had it now in his power to put a total end, with one blow, to this unnatural war, and free himself and them from all their misery. He seemed to listen to their advice; stole softly near Saul; cut off the skirt of his robe, and gave him an opportunity of escaping alive, whilst he appeased the resentment of his men, with representing to them, how heinous a crime it was to stretch forth a hand against their lawful prince, and the Lord's anointed⁵. As soon, therefore, as Saul was gone out of the cave, he begged of him to entertain no longer such unworthy suspicions of him, since he had now given him so signal a proof, how much his heart abhorred the crimes for which he was so unjustly persecuted. This humble and affecting speech, reinforced with the infallible testimony of the piece of his robe, melted Saul into tears of tenderness and sorrow: he acknowledg'd his son's superior virtue in sparing his life, and owned, that he alone was

*David's
generosity
to Saul.*

worthy to sit on the throne of Israel, which, he told him, he was now satisfied he would soon ascend. He, therefore, as a farther proof of his generosity, and filial affection, desired him to swear, that he would not revenge the father's injuries upon any of his children; but treat them with the same tenderness and compassion he had now manifested for their father. David readily gave him that satisfaction. After mutual embraces, Saul returned to Gibeah, and David and his men retired to their strong hold*.

Yr. of Pl.
1189.
Ante Chr.
1059.

**Samuel's
death.**

About this time Samuel died, in the ninety-seventh or ninety-eighth year of his age, and was buried at Ramah, in his own house or garden. He had judged Israel for twenty years from Eli's death, and had lived about thirty-six after his anointing Saul to the regal dignity. As for David, having, in all probability, received intelligence of Saul's relapse, he removed farther from the neighbourhood of Engedi, towards the wilderness of Paran, near to Maon or Carmel, which was also in the tribe of Judah. Thence he sent a message to a wealthy Carmelite, called Nabal, who was then making a feast to his sheep-shearers, desiring him to send him and his men some portion of his good cheer; but the man, being naturally covetous and brutal, dismissed the messenger with such a churlish answer, as would have proved fatal to him and his family, had not his wife, Abigail, made haste to carry, in person, a supply of refreshment, which prevented all farther mischief, and charmed David with her discreet and modest behaviour. She returned to her husband; and next day, when sleep had dissipated the fumes of his wine, acquainted him with the danger which his refusal was like to have brought upon him. Terrified with the apprehension of David's resentment, he was taken ill and died in a few days; a circumstance which was no sooner known to David than he took Abigail to wife, Michal having, by this time, been given by Saul to another man.

He was forced, soon after, to retire to Maon, into the desert of Ziph, whither Saul, who had by that time forgot all that passed at their last interview, took the field against him with three thousand chosen men, and gave him a fresh opportunity of evincing his innocence. The son of Jesse, accompanied by Abishai, in the dead of the night, entered Saul's camp, where they found all his people fast asleep; the king himself lay with his spear

* 1 Sam. xxiv. 5.

stuck in the ground by his bolster, and Abner, his general, with the rest of his officers, encamped round his tent. Abishai observed, that Providence had brought his enemy once more into his hand as a victim to the slaughter, and that, if he missed so fair an opportunity of transfixing him to the ground with his own spear, he might in vain bewail his folly. David stopped his hand; and, contenting himself with carrying away his spear, and the pitcher of water that lay under his head, unperceived by any of Saul's men, soon after reached his own camp. Saul, being apprised of this adventure, came out, and, in the mildest terms, acknowledged himself indebted, a second time, for his life, to his generous, though much-injured son-in-law. David complained of his injustice and cruelty, with expressions so full of duty and humility, representing to him how much beneath a king of Israel it was, to hunt after a poor harmless flea, or an innocent partridge; and begged of him to desist from persecuting a man to death, who was not only innocent, but who shewed such a tender regard for his life when it was in his power, that Saul could not resist so strong an evidence of his son's superior virtue, which he must have admired even in an enemy. He shewed the most lively marks of remorse; acknowledged his folly and injustice, promised never to seek his life any more, and parted from him with seeming tokens of love and friendship. David, however, not daring to rely too far on his fair promises, retired once more to Achish, king of Gath, designing to abide with him till Providence should give a better turn to his affairs. The hospitable reception he met with from that prince has been mentioned in another place; but here, though he found so generous a friend and protector, yet an unexpected misfortune befel him, which was like to have proved as fatal to him, as if he had fallen into his enemy's hand.

He remained at Ziklag, the place allotted him by the king of Gath, one year and four months, during which he was joined by some of Saul's kindred, and multitudes of valiant men, and commanders of the tribe of Benjamin, Judah, and Gad, who ventured to pass the Jordan to come to him, even at the time when it overflowed its banks, besides some of the tribe of Manasseh. With these he used to make incursions into the countries of the Geshurites, Gerizites, and Amalekites, without the

*A second
instance of
David's
mercy to
him.*

*Retires to
Gath.*

Yr. of Fl. knowlege of the king, to whom he pretended these expeditions were undertaken against Judah. Achish, in this persuasion, reposed such confidence in his attachment, that he intended to use him and his forces in a war against Saul.

**Ziklag
plundered
and burnt.**

We have already seen, in the history of the Amalekites, how these people, in the absence of David, sacked the city of Ziklag, and carried off all the women, children, and cattle; how David, being dismissed from the camp of the Philistines, in consequence of the jealousy of that nation, and finding his city taken and plundered, was in danger of being stoned by his own people; how, having consulted the Lord by means of Abiathar, and received a favourable response, he pursued, overtook, and defeated the Amalekites, and retrieved all the booty they had carried away from Ziklag.

**Saul's
wretched
condition at
this time.**

**Consults
the witch
of Endor.**

**Samuel ap-
pears to
him.**

After this signal deliverance, David's affairs began to take a better turn; and the death of Saul, which happened immediately after, not only freed him from an inveterate enemy, but opened a fair and easy way to the crown. Saul being abandoned by a great number of his subjects, who had revolted to David, and seeing himself on the eve of being attacked by a formidable enemy, which in all probability his rival would reinforce, began to feel the horrors of despair: he had killed all the priests except Abiathar, who was also fled to David, so that he could not consult the Lord by urim; Samuel was dead, and not a prophet left to advise him. In this emergency he would gladly have sought for counsel from witches and wizzards, but he had long ago banished them all out of his dominions. At length, by dint of much enquiring, he learned there was a woman at Endor who had a familiar spirit. To her he went disguised in the night, and having promised secrecy, prevailed upon her to raise up Samuel. Seeing the prophet appear she shrieked with affright, knowing the person, who had employed her, could be no other than the king himself. When she complained she had been imposed upon, Saul desired she would proceed, assuring her she should be safe, and asked what she had seen: she answered, "an old man covered with a mantle," whom Saul understood to be Samuel, and to whom he bowed himself to the ground. The apparition asking why he had disturbed and called him up, Saul owned, that the distresses he was in from the Philistine army, and his being destitute of counsel from God, had obliged him to have recourse to this expedient to obtain

tain his advice, that he might know what course he should take under those difficulties. Samuel replied, "Why dost thou ask my advice, seeing thy disobedience hath alienated God from thee, and that thy kingdom is given to David? And now the Lord is going to give up the Israelites into the hands of their enemies, and thou and thy sons shall be with me to-morrow (P)". At these last words the afflicted king, who had eat nothing all that day, fainted away, and falling flat on the ground, remained speechless for some time. His men, at length, came and raised him up, and the old woman besought him, in the humblest terms, to take some sustenance before he went away; he complied with her importunity, and refreshed himself, then departing, reached the army before break of day^f. A dreadful battle soon ensued, and the Israelites were totally defeated. Saul seeing his army routed, and apprehensive of being taken alive, and ill used by his enemies (Q), fell upon his own sword, and put an end to his unfortunate life. The victorious Phi-

Yr. of Fl.
1293.
Ante Chr.
1055.

Saul's defeat and death.

^f 1 Sam. xxviii. pass.

(P) There is hardly a passage in the Old Testament that has been more canvassed, by authors of all ages, than this we are upon; and, when a man has read them all, he will be forced to own, that there are difficulties in whatever sense he takes the history of this apparition. Some suppose the whole to have been the delusion of a juggler; others think the apparition was a familiar spirit under the command of the sorcerers: but the greater number of critics insist upon its having been the very soul of Samuel; a supposition that evidently clashes with the assertion of certain learned writers, who affirm, that the Israelites had no idea of a future state. It must be observed, however, that in the forty-fifth chapter

of Ecclesiasticus, it is expressly said, that Samuel, "after his death, prophesied, and shewed the king his end."

(Q) Notwithstanding what has been said in our history of the Philistines, of Saul's receiving several wounds before he fell upon his sword, we beg leave to observe here, that in this place, and in the Chronicles, where the account of Saul's death is repeated, the root of the verb is chul, which signifies *to be in dread, in pangs*, and alludes to the travail of a woman, &c. and not *challal, to wound*. So that it doth not appear that he was at all wounded, but only in the extremity of fear, when he saw himself so thick beset with enemies that there was no way to escape (1).

(1) Vide Chald. Paraph. Munk. & al. in loc.

listines could not forbear wreaking their resentment on his dead body, and those of his sons, which they mangled and exposed upon the walls of Beth-Shan. But the grateful Jabeshites, remembering how Saul had saved them formerly, from losing their eyes and liberty, sent some of their bravest men, who brought off the bodies, which were honourably interred, and a fast of seven days was kept in memory of their death.

David had been returned from the slaughter of the plunderers of Ziklag about two or three days, when he received the news of Saul's and Jonathan's death, by an Amalekite, who also brought him the king's crown and bracelets. How glad soever David might be to hear of his enemy's death, yet that of his beloved Jonathan touched him to the heart; and the great defeat of the Israelites, caused a general mourning and fasting in his whole army. As for the messenger, he, who pretended to have given Saul his last wound at his own desire, he was punished with immediate death, for having lifted up his hand against the Lord's anointed.

David having mourned for Saul, consulted the Lord which way he should steer his course next; and was commanded to remove to Hebron, where he was again anointed king of Judah by that tribe, who came to him in multitudes, whilst Abner, Saul's general, proclaimed that king's son, Ishbosheth, who was then forty years old, king of Israel, at Mahanaim. Thus was the kingdom divided between two sovereigns, each enjoying his own share quietly, without molesting the other, during the space of two years; the tribe of Judah cleaving to David, and the rest, generally, adhering to Ishbosheth. The first popular step which David took, was to send a message of thanks to the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, for the regard they had paid to the bodies of the deceased king and his sons. Then he married Maacah, the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur, by whom he had Absalom and Tamar. At the end of two years, Abner, having repassed the Jordan with his army, encamped on one side of the pool of Gibeon; and Joab, the son of Zeruiah, David's general, took post over-against him, on the other.

Hitherto no hostilities had passed, nor had any war been declared between the two monarchs, so that their subjects on both sides being Israelites, there was a necessity of making some kind of hostile overture which might

*David's
mourning
for Saul
and Jonathan.*

*Ishbosheth
succeeds
Saul.*

bring on an engagement; the two generals, therefore, bethought themselves of the following strange expedient: they agreed to send twelve men out of each army, to meet in a proper place between them, under pretence of performing some warlike exercise; but they were no sooner come within reach of one another, than each man took his antagonist by the head, and sheathed his sword in his body, so that they were all killed upon the spot. In memory of this bloody feat the place was called Heleath-Hazzurim, *the field of strong men.* A dreadful battle immediately ensued, in which Abner's army was totally routed, and he himself forced to fly for his life. The pursuit lasted till sun-set, as far as the hill of Ammah, within sight of Giah, along the wilderness of Gibeon. Here the Benjaminites rallied under Abner; and posting themselves on the rising of the hill, resolved to make a stout defence; but their general, who was weary with fighting, called to Joab, and desired him to put a stop to the slaughter of his brethren, whose destruction could not but cause bitterness in the end. Joab, accordingly, caused the trumpet to sound a retreat; after which Abner and his men took the way of Mahanaim, and Joab returned to Hebron. There were but nineteen men killed on David's side, but Benjamin lost three hundred and sixty. From that time David grew daily stronger, and Ishbosith became weaker; but the war between those two princes did not end till the death of the latter, which happened soon after this event.

In the mean time Abner, having entered into a criminal intercourse with one of Saul's concubines, named Rizpah, was reprimanded for it by Ishbosith, and resented the rebuke so highly, that he swore he would, from that minute, become a friend to David; he accordingly sent messengers privately to him to concert a revolt, and soon found the following pretence for going to him unsuspected. David demanded of Ishbosith his wife Michal, whom Saul, during his exile, had married to another; and Abner, having obtained an order to convey her safe to her first husband, went, accompanied with twenty men, and presented her to David, by whom he was graciously received. In his return home, Joab sent for him back to Hebron, under some friendly pretence, and killed him as soon as he was come to the gate of the city, under colour of revenging the death of his brother Asahel, whom Abner had lately slain. David being informed of this assassination, protested his own innocence, and vented his resentment in imprecations against the perpetrator; then he

*Defeated
by David's
general.*

*Ishbosith
deserted by
Abner.*

caused Abner to be decently buried, and attended his corpse to the grave with all the marks of sorrow and respect^{1.}

*Murdered
by Baanah
and Re-
chab.*

*Yr. of Fl.
1295.
Ante Chr.
1053.*

*David
reigns over
all the
twelve
tribes.*

*Zion taken
by Joab.*

*David's
successes
against the
Philistines.*

The death of Abner hastened the fate of Ishbosheth, the chief support of whose throne was now taken away. Baanah and Rechab, two of his captains, conspiring against his life, assassinated him as he lay asleep in his chamber, and carrying his head to Hebron, presented it to David, from whom they expected some very considerable recompence. But the king of Judah, abhorring their treachery, ordered them to be put to death; their hands and feet were hung up over the pool of Hebron; and the head of Ishbosheth was buried in the sepulchre of Abner.

David by this time had reigned over Judah in Hebron about seven years and a half. When the rest of the tribes heard of Ishbosheth's death, they assembled, and came to anoint him king over all Israel. These are said to have amounted to the number of three hundred and twenty thousand men, and upwards, all ready armed, and expert warriors, out of all the twelve tribes, except part of that of Benjamin, which still adhered to the house of Saul. David received them with joy, and feasted them at Hebron during three days; not only his own and the neighbouring tribes, but even some of the more distant, pouring in plenty of provisions upon this occasion.

Next year, David went and besieged Jerusalem, a place of such strength, that it had hitherto withstood the united force of Judah and Simeon. Here Joab displayed so much bravery and conduct, that he was made general in chief of Israel^{2.} he defeated the Jebusites, and carried by assault the fortress of Sion, or Zion, which David made his residence from that time. He enlarged and fortified it from Millo round about, and called it the city of David, whilst Joab rebuilt the rest of the city, surrounded it with a strong wall; and from that time it became the metropolis of Judæa^{3.}

David's success so alarmed the Philistines, that they resolved to crush him at once; with this view they came suddenly upon him, took Bethlehem, and put a garrison into it, before he could make any resistance, whilst he was forced to retire to the cave of Adullam for present safety. It was here, that, having expressed a longing desire for some of the water of the well of Bethlehem, three of his chiefs ventured through the enemies host, which

^{1.} 2 Sam. iii. per tot.

^{2.} 2 Sam. v. 8. ^{3.} Chron. xi. 6.

^{4.} Comp. 2 Sam. v. 9. &c. ^{5.} Chron. xi. 7, & seqq.

was encamped along the valley of Rephaim, and fetched him some water from thence. Soon after this incident, having received a favourable answer from God, he fell upon, and so effectually discomfited the Philistines at two different onsets, that they were never more able to make head against him, or any of his successors ⁴. David finding himself thus strengthened, his army numerous and well disciplined, under the conduct of more than thirty warriors, who had all signalized themselves by extraordinary exploits, and his enemies so thoroughly weakened; made a firm alliance with Hiram king of Tyre, by whom he was furnished with cedars and other woods, and with expert workmen to build him a palace in his own city. He likewise increased the number of his wives and concubines, by whom he had many children at Jerusalem, besides those that were born to him in Hebron.

Such a series of successes, and the universal peace which then reigned through the whole kingdom, inspired him with the desire of making his city the centre of God's worship, by transporting thither the sacred ark, which had continued almost fifty years at Kirjath-Jearim, and placing it in one of the best apartments in his new palace. He consulted the elders and chiefs of Israel, and being answered with the universal approbation of the assembly, dispatched messengers through the whole kingdom, to invite all the priests and Levites, and as many of the people, as were so disposed, to come to the solemnity. The ark was accordingly set upon a new cart, in order to be brought from Abinadab's house to Jerusalem, accompanied by David and his court, by multitudes of priests and Levites, who sung and played upon various instruments, and by a numerous concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom. But their joy was suspended by an accident, which filled the king and assembly with fear and astonishment. The ark was come to Nachon's threshing-floor, when the oxen that drew it, starting at something, had like to have overturned the carriage. In order to prevent this accident, Uzzah, one of Abinadab's sons, who drove it, clapped his hand upon the ark in a surprize, and was for his presumption smitten with immediate death. David could not forbear expressing a more than ordinary grief at this severity, and resolved to have the ark deposited in the house of Obed-Edom, the son of Jeduthun ⁵, where it continued about three months.

His gratitude to God.

⁴ 1 Chron. xiv. 10, &c seq. ⁵ 1 Chron. xiii.

Finding that God had blessed that Levite in an extraordinary manner, ever since the ark had been under his roof ; and being desirous to procure for himself a share of those divine blessings, he caused it to be brought to his own house. However, he took care to have it performed in a more regular manner, by preparing a sumptuous tabernacle for it (X) ; and causing the priests to bear it according to God's command, offering sacrifices at every six paces. He himself put on a linen ephod, and danced before it to the sound of instruments ; insomuch that Michal, who saw the procession through a window, could not forbear despising and reflecting upon him, for acting, as she thought, a part so far beneath the dignity of a king of Israel. As soon as the ark was deposited in the tabernacle, he offered a large quantity of burnt and peace-offerings ; and having feasted the great concourse of people who had come from all parts to the city, dismissed them to their own homes' (Y).

Piety.

He sent afterwards for the prophet Nathan, to consult with him about building a stately temple to the Lord ; and that seer at first highly applauded his pious design ; but God, who appeared to him that night, directed him to tell the king, that, though his intentions were highly acceptable to him, yet, forasmuch as he had so often defiled his hands with blood, he did not think him a proper person for such a work, but that he would raise him up a son and successor, who should be blessed with wisdom, affluence; prosperity, and peace, and build a temple to the Lord. David prostrated himself before the Lord, and, in the humblest terms, acknowledged his extreme unworthiness of all these promised mercies. From thenceforward he began to make preparations for that sumptuous building, and laid up for it immense quantities of gold,

y a Sam. vi. per tot.

(X) It may be wondered, according to their several functions. He also chose a number of singers, and players upon musical instruments, to celebrate the praises of God in their wars, to set such psalms and hymns as he, or any other inspired person, composed, in order to have them sung upon festivals, and other solemn occasions.

(Y) The ark being thus fixed in this new repository, the next care was to appoint the classes of priests and Levites to officiate before it, ac-

silver,

Silver, copper, precious stones, wood, and other materials. In those successful wars, which he waged against the Philistines, Moabites, Amalekites, the kings of Zobah, Syria, and Edom, he amassed such a prodigious quantity of the richest spoil, part of which he never failed to dedicate to this design, that the wealth which he left at his death is almost beyond belief. His economy was not inferior to his success; he found that the maintenance of a numerous army would exhaust his treasury, and cause too great a share of the lands to lie uncultivated; to prevent which inconveniences, he appointed twelve bands, each of twenty-four thousand men, making in all two hundred and eighty-eight thousand, with proper officers over them, to serve each their respective months in the year; at the expiration of which, they were dismissed to their own private affairs during the other eleven months. He likewise appointed twelve expert persons to regulate his finances, under Azmaveth and Adoram; and judges in every tribe, to administer justice to the people; besides those of his great council, who had charge of the affairs of religion and the state; the former, under the two high-priests, Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar; and the latter under proper officers. Joab was general of the army; Jehoshaphat chief secretary, Seraiah recorder, Benaiah commander of the Cherethites and Pelethites (Z); whilst some of the king's sons were set over all these officers ^b.

David at length remembering his engagements to Jonathan, now sought out that prince's only son Mephiho-sheth, whom he sent for to court, and caused all the lands of his royal grandfather to be restored to him, commanding Ziba, his head-servant, to improve them to the best advantage for his master. He moreover appointed him a table in his own palace, among his own sons; kindnesses which bound that young prince to his interest to the day of his death ^c.

^a 1 Chron. xxvii. pass.

^b 2 Sam. ix. pass.

*Gratitude
to Jona-
than's son.*

(Z) It is not easy to guess who these were. The Chaldee paraphraſt renders these words by *archers* and *flingers*; and the rabbies understand by them, absurdly enough, some, the urim and thummim; and others, the grand sanhedrim; and, if we have no better

helps, we may remain in the dark long enough. We suppose the Cherethites were Philistines enlisted in the service; but, whether captives of war, auxiliary troops, or a kind of life-guard, we will not venture to determine.

Yr. of Fl. His gratitude to the king of the Ammonites did not meet with the same returns: Nahash, from whom David had received some signal favours, being dead, he sent an embassy to Hanun his son, with offers of renewing their ancient friendship; but that weak prince, unjustly suspecting the ambassadors were come upon some baser design, treated them in a most shameful manner, causing their beards to be shaved, and sent them away. This affront, however, turned to David's advantage: Joab being sent to revenge it at the head of a powerful army, gained a complete victory over the Ammonites, and their confederates. The Syrians came against him with fresh forces, in the course of the next year; and were so effectually defeated, that they were glad to obtain a peace on condition of becoming his tributaries. The Ammonites would have embraced the same terms; but David was too much exasperated and too successful, not to pursue his victory to the utmost. He detached Joab to invade their country, and that general harassed them with such severity, as reduced them to the lowest ebb of distress¹.

Yr. of Fl. Whilst Joab was employed in the siege of the metropolis of the unfortunate children of Ammon, a place of such strength, that it held out two years, David was enamoured at home of a beautiful woman, called Bathsheba, whom he had observed bathing one evening in her garden. She was the daughter and wife of two of his bravest captains, Eliam and Uriah, who were then with Joab at the siege; but the king's passion proved too violent to admit of any check from reason or religion, or even of delay; and therefore he gratified it without hesitation. Her sudden pregnancy, and the danger she was in, of being put to death for it, according to the law of Moses, suggested an expedient which he forthwith put in practice. He sent for her husband from the siege, under pretence of informing himself how it proceeded, but in reality, in hopes this man would spend a night or two with his wife; but, whether Uriah had any suspicion of the wrong done to him, or whether, indeed, he thought it beneath the bravery of a captain to solace himself at home, whilst his general and fellow-soldiers were exposed to the fatigues of a siege, he remained all night at the gate of the palace with the rest of the king's guard. David made a second effort next day, making him eat at his table, and drink

*His adul.
tery;*

¹ 2 Sam. x. pass.

plenty

1333.
Ante Chr.
1037.

plenty of wine ; but Uriah spent that night also with the guards. The king thus disappointed, resolved to sacrifice his life to that of his faithless wife. Accordingly, next morning, he dispatched him with a letter to Joab, wherein he ordered that general, to expose this brave officer to some imminent danger, and to leave him to the fury of the besieged. The scheme succeeded, and Uriah fell. David having received the news of his death, soon sheltered the woman from danger, by making her his wife*. and mur-
der.

God, highly provoked by the commission of such heinous crimes, made choice of the prophet Nathan to go, and denounce his severe judgments against him, at the time when that monarch, insensible of his guilt, was indulging in the fruit of his adultery. The prophet accosted him with the parable of a wealthy man, who had spared his own numerous flocks, and seized upon an only favourite lamb of a poor neighbour, to feed a hungry guest. He embellished his story with such aggravating circumstances, that the king in anger, pronounced sentence of death against the person who had been guilty of such an unnatural violence. The words were no sooner out of his mouth, than Nathan made him sensible, that he had pronounced it against himself, by telling him, with a prophetic boldness, "Thou, thyself, art the man." He said he had not only defiled the bed of a faithful captain, but also murdered him by an enemy's sword, that he might take the adulteress into his bosom ; he concluded with denouncing the effects of the divine resentment against him, declaring that Uriah's murder would prove an endless source of bloodshed in his own posterity ; and that his adultery, how private soever, should be expiated with the open defilement of his own wives and concubines, by those of his own family, and in the face of the sun.

This terrible sentence brought David to such a deep sense of his guilt, that he exclaimed in his anguish, "I have sinned against the Lord !" but his sincere remorse, obtained an immediate alleviation of the punishment. However, the unhappy fruit of his commerce with Bathsheba was doomed to death. David tried in vain to obtain a reprieve for him, by prayers and tears, by fasting, wearing sackcloth, lying on the ground, and other marks of repentance. As for the other part of the sentence, which related to his wives, it was soon after fulfilled by his un-

*Nathan's
parabolical
Speech to
David.*

natural son Absalom. Bathsheba found herself pregnant again, and he called the son, that she then bore to him, Solomon, a name significative of his future peaceable reign, to which Nathan added that of Jedidiah, or "beloved of the lord".

Amnon's incest. David, what hopes foever he might have conceived, that his repentance had happily disarmed the divine anger, yet never ceased feeling some of the severest and most sensible strokes of it, to the last periods of his life; not so much from his enemies without, as from his own children. Amnon, his eldest son, had scarce attained his eighteenth year, when he laid the foundation of all the domestic troubles of his indulgent father, by committing incest with one of his own sisters. David had two children by Maacah, the princess of Geshur, namely, Absalom and Tamar^{*}, the beauty of which last became the unhappy cause of so much mischief. Amnon was observed to pine away secretly, ashamed to discover the cause of his trouble, when Jonadab, the son of Shimeah, David's brother, having discovered the fatal secret, not only encouraged him with hopes of enjoying her, but suggested the infamous expedient of using violation. Having decoyed her into his chamber, he ravished her in spite of all her tears, supplications, and resistance. The gratification of his impious passion, was succeeded by aversion and disgust. He ordered her to be turned out of his house, a prey to the keenest sorrow and despair. She tore her virgin robes, covered her head with dust, and filled the air with cries and lamentations. In this distraction she repaired to Absalom's house, who, being her brother, both by father and mother, was the properest person to procure her redress, if any could be had. That prince, who was no less politic than haughty and revengeful, contented himself for the present with desiring her to conceal her grief, seeing it was a brother who was the cause of it, and to spend the remainder of her days in solitude with him; which advice she followed; whilst he, young as he was, so artfully concealed his thoughts, that Amnon had not the least suspicion of his resentment. When the report of this infamous action reached David's ears, he was exceedingly troubled; but Amnon was his eldest son, and he could not prevail upon himself to inflict any other punishment on him, than that of his displeasure.

* 2 Sam. xii. pass.

Ibid. xiii. 1, & seqq.

Such remissness on the part of his father, added fresh fuel to Absalom's hatred, though two years elapsed before he could find a proper opportunity for executing his revenge. At length he invited his father, and all his brothers, to a sheep-shearing feast, which he was to make at Baal-Hazor. He excused the king, who declined going, from a principle of economy; but he insisted, in particular, upon his brother Amnon's coming with the rest of his brethren, and easily obtained his consent. He received them with an air which shewed nothing less than his real intention; but, as soon as wine had raised their mirth to the desired pitch, he gave a signal to some of his servants, who immediately fell upon Amnon and stabbed him to death, whilst the rest of the king's sons made all possible haste to mount their mules, and rode away to Jerusalem. Before they could reach the city, word had been brought to the king, that Absalom had caused all his brethren to be assassinated; and David, upon receiving this dreadful account, abandoned himself to the most violent expressions of grief. The servants that were about him sympathised with his sorrow, and stood round him with their cloaths rent. Jonadab only, the infamous instrument of Amnon's incest, rightly guessed that he alone had proved the victim of Absalom's revenge. He acquainted the king with his thoughts, which were soon after confirmed by the arrival of the rest of the young princes, who told him all that had happened. The king mourned for some time the loss of his eldest son, whilst his murderer went and sheltered himself under the protection of his grandfather, the king of Geshur, where he continued three whole years.

At length Joab, observing that the king expressed less grief for his dead son, than uneasiness for him who was absent, concluded, that, if he could work upon him to recall him by any stratagem that could but save his honour, it would be an acceptable service to them both. To compass this aim, he instructed a notable woman, whom he had sent for from Tekoah, a place not far from Jerusalem, to address herself to the king, in the character of a distressed widow, just on the brink of being bereaved of her only son, who was in danger of being put to death for having killed his brother in a fray, by which there would be a total end of her husband's name and family. She told her story with such pathetic expressions of grief,

Yr. of El.

1318.

Ante Chr.

1030.

*Amnon
murdered
by Absa-
lom.**Joab's
stratagem
to have
Absalom
recalled.*

The History of the Jews

that David, moved with compassion, gave her his royal word, that her surviving son should be sheltered from all future prosecution. He had scarce bound it with an oath, when, according to her instructions, she took the liberty, though in the humblest terms, to represent to him the wrong he did himself, by suffering his own son to continue longer in his banishment, seeing that could by no means recall the dead, whose life, once gone, was like water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gathered up again. The king, perceiving Joab was at the bottom of this stratagem, interrogated the woman, who acknowledged the truth, adding, that the king was as an angel of God, from whom it was impossible to conceal anything. Joab, who was present all this while, took this opportunity of falling prostrate before him, seemingly to beg pardon for his stratagem, but really to lay hold on his promise in favour of Absalom; and David immediately ordered him to be fetched from his banishment, but with this condition; that he should not approach the king's person, but retire to his own house, so that he did not see the king for two whole years after his return (H). Being tired, at length, with living so long in disgrace, and having repeatedly sent in vain for Joab to come to him, he could find no other way of bringing him, but

Yr. of Fl. 1323.
Ante Chr. 1025.

Absalom reconciled to his father;

This reconciliation could not but convince Absalom of his father's extraordinary fondness; but that ungrateful prince only sought how to make the most unnatural advantage of it. He immediately procured a sumptuous

b 2 Sam. xiv. per tot.

(H) The text here takes notice of his excessive and enchanting beauty, which so captivated the hearts of the people to him, that it inspired him with the first sentiments of his unnatural rebellion. There is a difficulty in this

place (1), where mention is made of Absalom's three sons, and of one daughter, named Tamar, whereas, it is said, in another place (2), that he reared up a pillar in the king's dale, to perpetuate his name, because he had no male issue.

(1) 2 Sam. xiv. 37.

(2) Ibid. ch. xviii. 18.

equipage of chariots, horses, and running-footmen, to attract the eyes of the people, and, by an affected popularity, and seeming compassion for those who came to the king for justice, it was not long before he persuaded the nation in general, that they would be much happier under his government. This conduct he pursued some years (I): at last, finding himself strong enough to break out into open rebellion, he obtained leave of his too easy father to go and perform a pretended vow in Hebron, where he had appointed the chiefs of his party to meet him; whilst others, dispersed through the tribes, were ordered to proclaim him king, as soon as they should hear the signal given by the sound of the trumpet. At his arrival in Hebron, he sent for Ahithophel; and the defection of that great politician, who had been one of David's chief counsellors, did not contribute a little to increase the number of conspirators. David was then at Jerusalem, when news was brought to him of his son's rebellion. Afraid either of being surprised in the city, or of being the cause of misfortune to the inhabitants, he left his palace to the care of ten of his concubines, and made what haste he could into the open country, attended by a handful of men.

Among these were the high-priests, Zadok and Abiathar, at the head of a number of Levites, who had brought the ark of God with them. David, however, did not think fit that they should follow him, but commanded them to bear the ark to Jerusalem, whence they might send him intelligence of all that passed, by their two sons, Ahimaaz and Jonathan, and assist him with their counsel, as they were endowed with the gift of prophecy, whilst he went and concealed himself in some of the plains of the wilderness. As soon as the priests had departed, David received intelligence that Ahithophel was gone over to his son; upon which he prayed earnestly to God to confound whatever counsel that old statesman should give to

(I) The text says forty years; but the learned Usher has shewn, that it can be only meant from David's being first anointed by Samuel, and not from his reconciliation to Absalom, for this rebellion happened about four years after it. That prelate observes, that it was before, or about Whitsuntide, by the new

fruits and parched corn which Barzillai brought to David in his flight.

We may likewise observe here, that Absalom is the first who introduced the use of horses in Israel; till then the kings used to ride on mules, and the greatest nobles upon asses, as we have seen in the history of the Judges.

Yr. of Fl.
1325.
Ante Chr.
1023.

and rebels
against
him.

the conspirators ; and repaired, soon after, he and his small troop, to Mount Olivet. The march was mournful beyond expression ; the king, bathed in tears, went up with his head covered, and his feet bare, whilst his sorrowful retinue expressed their deep concern, by the strongest expressions of real grief. When they reached the top, and had offered up their prayers to God, Providence sent him an old friend, named Hushai, who came with his cloaths rent, resolved to share in his misfortunes. David, though satisfied with his fidelity, did not think fit, however, to take him into his retinue, but rather begged of him to join his rebellious son, where he might do him much greater service, by thwarting the counsels of Ahithophel, and by informing him, by means of the two high-priests, of every thing that should be resolved upon among the rebels. Hushai readily accepted the office, and acquitted himself of it with such faithful zeal, that he proved one main instrument of their overthrow^c.

In the mean time, whilst the sorrowful monarch was on his march, Ziba, the treacherous servant of Mephibosheth, brought him some necessary refreshments ; and, being asked where his master was, told him, that he was then at Jerusalem, where he expected to be shortly restored to the throne of Israel. An accident, that followed soon after this false report, helped to convince David of Mephibosheth's ingratitude. At Bahurim, a village not far distant from that metropolis, he was met by one of Saul's family, named Shimei, who had the boldness to throw stones at him, accompanied with the bitterest curses and imprecations, for being the author of Saul's misfortunes. This unexpected indignity so enraged some of his captains, that they offered to go and smite off his head ; but David restrained them, by putting them in mind of his more unnatural son, who sought a tender father's life, whilst this Benjaminite expressed no more than a natural concern for Saul's life ; adding, that if the curses came from God, patience and resignation would more effectually avert them than such bloody resentment.

By this time Absalom and Ahithophel were come to Jerusalem, and here it was that Hushai went to congratulate and offer his services to the usurper. Absalom, who knew him to have been a very faithful friend to his father, expressed some surprize, at first, at this unexpected change ; but was answered by that consummate politician,

^c 1 Sam. xv. & xvi. per tot.

that

that he thought it high time to abandon the father's interest, when Providence had so openly declared for the son ; so that he had now no more to do but to serve him with the same fidelity that he had shewn to his father. Such a declaration could not but please the proud young prince, who admitted him into the number of his counsellors, without the least suspicion ; and reposed such confidence in him, that he soon after preferred his advice to that of Ahithophel, and lost thereby the fairest opportunity of securing the victory, and his father's crown, to himself. As soon as they were well settled in the king's palace, a council was called, in which Ahithophel advised the prince to rear up a pavilion on the top of the house, and go and lie with his father's concubines in the face of the sun (K).

His advice to Absalom.

The next step which Ahithophel proposed was, that he should be sent, at the head of twelve thousand chosen men, to fall upon David's little army, whilst they were still weary with their flight, assuring him, that, as soon as the king was taken off, all the people would gladly come over to him as one man. This counsel was approved both by Absalom and all the elders of Israel, but, as it was given in Hushai's absence, the prince resolved to have his advice. Hushai, wisely foreseeing, that if Ahithophel's counsel was followed, David must be inevitably lost, omitted nothing to dissuade Absalom from putting it in execution. He told the council, that David and his officers were men of too great valour and experience to suffer themselves to be thus surprised ; that, for ought he knew, they had fortified themselves, by that time, in some caverns, or among the rocks, whence they could fall out, with such desperate fury, that it would be impossible for the assailants to stand the shock ; that if they should be unhappily repulsed in this first enterprize, the fame of David's valour would quickly spread, to such a degree, as to infuse universal terror into their army, and give the exasperated king the fairest opportunity of qualifying the conspiracy. For these reasons, he said, he thought

*His next
counsel de-
feated by
Hushai.*

(K) This, being esteemed the greatest indignity that could be offered to a crowned head, was suggested as the most effectual means to make his men fight desperately for him, because they would then look upon the breach as irreconcileable ; and it would not be expected that Absalom, who had already been guilty of fratricide, and of rebellion against his own father, should scruple to add adultery and incest to his other crimes.

it dangerous to undertake any thing against him, till Absalom had wholly disheartened his father's men, by calling together all Israel from Dan to Beersheba, and pouring his troops so thick upon them, that neither means nor hopes might be left to escape. His remonstrance prevailed. Ahithophel was the only person who perceived the drift, and dangerous consequence of it. vexed to see Hushai's advice preferred to his own, he ordered his afs to be saddled, and rode away, with all speed; to his house, where, having settled his family affairs, he hanged himself.

Ahithophel hangs himself.

David goes over Jordan.

Hushai, in the mean time, informed the high-priests of what had passed, and of the danger the king and his men would be in, if they did not cross the Jordan that very night. These immediately dispatched a maid servant to their sons, Ahimaaz and Jonathan, who lay concealed for that purpose at En-Rogel, with orders, that they should go immediately and inform David of this advice. Thus apprised, the old king lost no time, but crossed the Jordan, with his little army, in the dead of the night; and next morning, when he came to Mahanaim, and had taken a review of them, he found that they were all safe. As soon as the news of his arrival had reached that neighbourhood, several of his friends went thither, with a timely supply of provisions, tents, couches, and other necessary utensils*. On the other hand, Absalom, hearing that his father was removed to this place, advanced against him with an army, under the command of Amasa, and encamped in the land of Gilead^b.

David having refreshed himself and his troops, and supplied the place of those officers who were gone over to Absalom, divided his army into three bodies, under the command of Joab and his two brothers, resolving to appear in person against his rebellious son; but the people strenuously opposed this intention, alleging that his life was of too great consequence, to be hazarded at a time, when his enemy would prefer his single death before the defeat of his whole army. The king acquiesced in this reason, and stayed at Mahanaim with a small reinforcement; but whilst the rest of his men marched out before him, under their respective officers, he failed not to give them a strict charge to be very tender of Absalom's life. A fierce battle was soon after fought in the forest of Ephraim, wherein the rebel army was discomfited with

* 2 Sam, xvii. 28.

^b Ibid. xvii. per tot.

the loss of twenty thousand men, killed on the spot, besides a great number who perished in the wood, and in their flight : Absalom himself, mounted upon a mule, was forced to fly towards the wood, where the bough of an oak having taken hold of his bushy hair, the mule running with full speed, left him suspended between heaven and earth. Joab, informed of this accident, went to the place, and thrust three darts through his body. Then he caused the trumpet to sound a retreat, to prevent the farther effusion of blood. Absalom's body was taken down, flung into a large pit, and covered with a heap of stones : the rest of the rebels were no sooner informed of his death, than they fled every man to his own home. All this while the king staid at the gate of Mahanaim, impatient to hear the success of the action ; but, in his heart, more solicitous for the life of his unnatural son, than for his own ; insomuch that, when he received the news of his death, not able to suppress his tears, he was forced to withdraw to the apartment over the gate, to hide his extreme weakness, and to give a full vent to his sorrow^b.

Joab made no difficulty to upbraid him with his weakness ; and explained the bad effects it might produce, in such terms, that the king was forced to suspend, or at least conceal his affliction, and flew himself to the people with a seeming cheerful countenance. As soon as they heard of his appearing publicly at the gate of the city, not only his own men, but even those who had followed Absalom, came in crowds, and strove who should shew him the greatest affection. When he perceived that all the tribes were ready to bring him back to Jerusalem, he sent word to the two high-priests, to hasten the elders of Judah to come and accompany him to his palace, and to promise to Amasa, Absalom's general, that, if he would come over to him, he should be his chief general in the room of Joab, who was dismissed from the service (R).

Hitherto

^b *z Sam. xviii. per tot.*

(R) Among those that came over Jordan to meet the king, Shimci was one of the first ; he came at the head of a thousand men of his own tribe ; and, falling prostrate at his feet, acknowledged his crime, begged that it might be for- given, in consideration of his being foremost of all the tribes, to congratulate him upon his late victory : he was accordingly pardoned for the present, and his pardon was confirmed by an oath. Mephibosheth came next, to express his joy

D d

at

Yr. of Fl.
1325.
Ante Chr.
1023

*Absalom
hung by his
hair, and
killed by
Joab.*

*David's
untimely
grief for
him.*

*Reproved
by Joab.*

*David is
acknowledged
by all
the tribes.*

Hitherto nothing had appeared but universal emulation among the tribes, to wipe off the guilt of their late defection, by submission and zeal; but the partiality which David shewed for his own tribe, inviting it to come foremost to receive him, excited such jealousy in the other ten, as occasioned a new revolt. Sheba, of the tribe of Benjamin, blew the trumpet, to assemble all the malecontents, who immediately disclaimed all farther interest in David, and bad open defiance to him and all his adherents. He soon saw himself at the head of all the ten tribes, that alone of Judah, which had occasioned this defection, following their king from Jordan to Jerusalem.

A new revolt against David.

David had no sooner arrived in his metropolis, than he ordered his new general to assemble what forces he could collect out of Judah, and to come to him within three days; whilst he himself took that time to clear his palace of his polluted concubines, and assigned them a suitable maintenance, and another house, where they might spend their days in a kind of widowhood. Amasa, who met with greater difficulty than he expected, having outstaid his time, the king gave the command of his guards, and of those few troops he had about him, to Abishai, Joab's brother, another of his generals, who had commanded one third of his army against Absalom, and ordered him to pursue Sheba, before he could secure himself in any fenced city. At the great stone at Gibeon Joab came forth, seemingly to welcome Amasa; and, taking hold of his chin with one hand, as if he intended to kiss him, ran his sword through his bowels with the other, and laid him dead at his feet. As soon as he had removed his body out of sight, he put himself at the head of the troops, and marched directly to Beth-Maachah, into which the rebel had retired. He had scarce begun to besiege the place in form, when a woman spake to him from the top of the wall. She desired him to listen to the advice of an inhabitant of a place, which he might remember had been always famed for counsel and wisdom. She exhorted him to forbear his hostilities against a mother city of Israel;

at the king's return, and to and of Ziba's perfidy. Nevertheless, David ordered one aspersions of his treacherous half only of his lands to be servant. He gave the king restored, and allowed the traitor to keep the rest. evident proofs both of his steady gratitude and fidelity,

promising

promising him, upon that condition, that the head of Sheba should be flung to him over the wall^c. Joab assented to the proposal, and, as soon as he had received the arch-rebel's head, raised the siege, and returned to Jerusalem. This successful action, which quashed at once a dangerous revolt, and restored an universal peace to the kingdom, failed not to raise the credit of the disgraced general; insomuch that, though he had undertaken it without order, yet the king saw himself forced to express his approbation, by restoring him to his former post, which he enjoyed till that monarch's death^d.

Two years after this event, a famine raged in the land for three years, at the end of which David consulted the Lord concerning the cause of it, and was answered, that it was for the murder of the Gibeonites, whom Saul and his bloody house had unjustly caused to be slain (S). On this intimation, the king sent to know what satisfaction they required for the wrong they had sustained. They answered, that they desired neither gold, silver, nor any valuable consideration, but only that seven males of Saul's family might be sent to be put to death by them. The king lost no time, but caused those victims to be sought out of that unfortunate house; but gave express orders, that Mcphibosheth should be spared, out of gratitude to his father; and, as soon as they were put to death, the famine was stayed. After this transaction, David fought four successive battles with the Philistines, which the reader may see described in the history of that nation; in the first, he hazarded himself so far, that he was like to have been killed by one of their gigantic champions, but was timely succoured by one of his own warriors; for which reason, his officers swore, that he should never more expose his person to such dangers^e.

David had not long enjoyed the fruit of these victories, before he brought a heavier punishment upon his kingdom, by issuing an order to have the people numbered. Joab in vain represented to him the danger of his displeasing God by such an enquiry (T). The king would be obeyed;

Yr. of Fl.
1327.
Ante Chr.
1021.

*A famine
in the land.*

^c 2 Sam. xx. 16—21. ^d 2 Sam. xxi. per tot. ^e Ibid.

(S) It is not easy to say when this slaughter of the Gibeonites was committed: the Jews indeed pretend, that Saul had, in one of his phrenetic

fits, given orders to cut them all off; but they give us no authority for this assertion.

(T) The text says, that the Israelites had provoked God's

obeyed ; and Joab, with the rest of the commissioners, were forced to execute his will. These travelled through the land on either side Jordan ; and, at the end of nine months and twenty days, brought him the sum of all the fighting men in the whole kingdom ; namely, of Israel eight hundred thousand, and of Judah five hundred thousand : but this account differs from that which is given of the same transaction in the *Chronicles*. Before this time, David having probably felt some evident tokens of the divine displeasure ^a, was struck with a lively sense of his folly, which broke out in expressions of the deepest remorse. The prophet Gad was sent to him, to choose, as a punishment for his sin, either a seven years famine (^bU), or to be three months pursued by his enemies, or to suffer a three days pestilence. The bumbled monarch owned it to be a hard choice ; but, considering that war and famine seldom fall so heavy on the great, as on those of the lower rank, chose the pestilence, as the more equal punishment, and more immediately under the direction of heaven. No sooner had David made this choice, than that dreadful distemper received the divine commission, and executed it with such amazing swiftness, that it had destroyed seventy thousand men before the time was expired. It was now beginning to fall upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, when God was pleased to put a stop to it at the prayer of David ; who, beholding the minister of divine vengeance standing by the threshing-floor of Araunah, a prince of the Jebusites, humbly intreated the Lord, that he would spare the innocent people, and let his anger fall upon himself, and those of his court, who bore a share in his guilt. Whilst he was offering up this supplication, the prophet came, and commanded him to erect an altar on that spot of ground, where he had seen the destroying angel stand. David immediately hastened towards the threshing-floor, where Araunah came forward to give him a respectful meeting ; and, as soon as he understood that monarch's purpose of buying

*Which
brings a
pestilence
over the
land.*

*Yr. of Fl.
1331.
Ante Chr.
1017.*

^a See *2 Chron. xxvii. 24.*

anger against them ; and that he suffered David to be tempted to this deed by the devil. Though the motive, which prompted him, was displeasing to the Almighty, the deed itself was not ; on the contrary,

there was an express permission from Moses for it, provided they paid half a shekel for every person so numbered.

(^bU) The book of the *Chronicles* says three years famine.

it, he made him an offer of the floor, the threshing-oxen, carts, and all the wooden instruments that were upon the spot. David thanked him for his generosity, but told him, that it did not become the king of Israel to offer sacrifices to God at other people's cost ; and desired him to set a price upon it. Araunah sold him the floor, and all that was upon it, for fifty shekels of silver. David immediately reared an altar, on which he offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings ; and a miraculous fire, which descended from heaven, and consumed the victims, soon gave them a manifest proof, that God was again reconciled to the land ^f.

David being about seventy years of age, had so exhausted his strength, and natural heat, by a continual series of wars, fatigues, and misfortunes, that no cloaths could keep him warm ; so that his servants were forced to seek out a young beautiful virgin to cherish him, and lie in his bosom. His declining state induced Adonijah, who was next in birth to Absalom, to look upon himself as already invested with the regal dignity. He procured a sumptuous equipage of chariots, guards, and running footmen ; whilst David, out of a natural fondness for his children, beheld this pomp, without shewing any dislike : but his design being suspected by Nathan, Zadok, and some of David's friends, who were in young Solomon's interest, the prophet went and advised Bathsheba to go and inform the king of Adonijah's practices, and to put him in mind of his promise in favour of her son. She followed this advice ; and whilst she was still speaking to the king, Nathan came, as it had been pre-concerted, and gave him an account of a feast which Adonijah had prepared at Zoheleth, for his partisans, who intended to proclaim him king of Israel. The king, alarmed at this report, ordered Solomon immediately to be set on his mule, and carried to Gihon, accompanied by his guards, with Zadok, Benaiah, and some others of his chief officers, there to be anointed king ; then to be brought back, seated upon the royal throne, and proclaimed his successor by the sound of the trumpet.

The king's commands were executed with such speed, that Adonijah and his company had not the least knowledge of what had passed, till they were alarmed with the shouts of, " Long live king Solomon." Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, went soon after to them, and gave them

*Yr. of El.
1333.
Ante Chr.
1015.*

*Adonijah's
conspiracy.*

^f *2 Sam. xxiv. per tot.*

an account of the whole ceremony, assuring them, that it was all performed by the express order of the king, who had testified an uncommon joy at seeing his favourite son seated upon his throne before he left the world, whilst the air was filled with the acclamations of all the people. These unexpected tidings struck them with such amazement, that they all fled with the utmost speed; and Adonijah, seeing himself forsaken, went and took sanctuary at the horns of the altar. Solomon, being informed of this particular, sent him word, that, if he behaved himself for the future like an honest man, he would not hurt a hair of his head; but assured him, that his next disloyal attempt would certainly be punished with death. This message brought Adonijah upon his knees to the new king; after which submission he was ordered to retire to his own house ⁶.

David's speech to his officers.

David, now finding himself near his end, assembled the heads of all the tribes, his generals, and chief officers, with the priests and Levites, and acquainted them with his former design to have built a magnificent repository for the ark of God, had not the prophet told him, that the work was reserved for Solomon's peaceable reign. He gave them to understand, he made great preparations for it, and laid up immense quantities of gold, silver, copper, iron, and other materials (X); all which, together with the plans and models of that edifice, the order and disposition of the several branches of the divine service, the courses of the priests and Levites, of the musicians, singers, and porters, the plan for establishing judges, and courts of justice, with many other religious, civil, and military regulations, he now resigned up to him to be perfected, as his wisdom should direct. He requested them to assist his successor in so desirable a work, and that those, who were inclined to contribute towards that build-

⁶ 1 Kings i. passim.

(X) The book of Chronicles says, that the gold, which was that of Ophir, amounted to three thousand talents; and the silver, which was of the purest sort, to seven thousand talents; as to the baser metals, they are said to have been without number (1).

(1) 1 Chron. viii. ver. 4.

Dean Prideaux observes (2), that the sum amassed, if reckoned by the Mosaic talent, amounted to above eight hundred millions sterling; a sum exceeding all the specie now to be found on the face of the earth.

(2) Connect. book i.

ing,

ing, should bring their free-will-offerings into the treasury. This exhortation inspired such a spirit of munificence in the rich men of Israel, that they vied with one another in the richness of their presents towards the building of the temple; so that David had the pleasure to see an incredible quantity of gold, silver, copper, and other metals, besides precious stones, marble, porphyry, and other rich materials, brought to him from all parts of the kingdom^b. He now ordered a thousand oxen, a thousand sheep, and the same number of lambs to be offered up, besides the daily sacrifices, and a proportionate quantity of meat and drink-offerings, with which the whole company were feasted. Solomon was anointed a second time by Zadok, received the homage of all his brethren, and of all the chiefs of Judah and Israel, and was proclaimed king through all the tribes: Zadok was at the same time declared sole high-priest, for his strict adherence to Solomonⁱ; and Abiathar reduced to the second rank, for his defection to Adonijah.

David's life drawing near a close, he sent for Solomon to receive his last advice and instructions. He reminded him of the promises made by God in favour of him and his posterity, which were only conditional, and would be fulfilled in proportion to his and their obedience. He recommended to his favour and protection old Barzillai and his family, with other friends who had adhered to him in his adversity. He exhorted him to take vengeance on Joab who had slain Absalom, Abner, and Amasa; and to put Shimei to death for his insolence, although his pardon had been sealed with an oath; observing, that, though he (David) had sworn to spare his life, Solomon was under no such obligation. The king died in the seventieth year of his age, after having reigned seven years in Hebron, over the house of Judah, and thirty-three over all the twelve tribes. He left an immense treasure, besides that which he had dedicated to the service of the temple; and was buried in a stately tomb, in that part of the city which he had caused to be built, adjoining to the old Jebus, or Jerusalem^k.

Last instructions to Solomon.

Solomon, having ascended the throne, delayed not to fulfil his father's last injunctions. Adonijah, obnoxious and disgraced as he was for his late attempt upon the crown, made use of Bathsheba's intercession to obtain the

*Yr. of Fl.
1333.
Ante Chr.
1015.*

^b 1 Chron. ult. ver. 7, & seq.

1 Chron. xxix. per tot.

ⁱ Kings ii. 1-10.

king's leave to marry Abishag, the young Shunamitish virgin, who had been the cherisher of David's old age; assuring her, that he desired no other recompence for the loss of a crown, which belonged to him by right of primogeniture. Bathsheba, glad, perhaps, to find that her son's rival would be satisfied at so easy a rate, made no difficulty to promise him her interest, not doubting of success. Solomon, who expected nothing less than such a request from her, received her with all the marks of honour that were due to a queen, and a mother; but when he heard the purport of her suit, he was so enraged

*Adonijah
and Joab
put to
death.*

at his brother, that he forthwith ordered him to be put to death. Joab took sanctuary at the horns of the altar, from whence he was dragged to death; and was succeeded in his post of general by Benaiah, who had been before appointed his and Adonijah's executioner. Abiathar had been one of the chiefs of Adonijah's conspiracy; but the king contented himself with divesting him of his share of the high-priesthood, and confining him to his own territories at Anathoth, in consideration of his having carried the ark before his father, and been a sharer in his afflictions. The king then sent for Shimei, and told him, that though he thought him worthy of death, yet, out of regard to his father's promise, he would put it in his power to save his life, by confining himself within the walls of Jerusalem; but he assured him at the same time, that if ever he stirred out of it without leave, his disobedience should cost him his head. The old man thanked the king for his unexpected clemency; but venturing, some years after, to pursue two run-away servants, he was put to death at his return¹.

Solomon did not think it enough, that he had rid himself of two such powerful enemies as Adonijah and Joab; he sought to strengthen himself still more, by marrying the daughter of the king of Egypt, who was then very powerful. Pharaoh gave her for dowry the city of Gezer, which he had taken from the Canaanites, and burnt down to the ground; but which, being rebuilt by Solomon, became a very considerable place^m. Solomon repaired soon after to Gibeon, the place where the ark remained. Here, having offered a thousand sacrifices, the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and promised to grant him whatever he should ask. The young monarch begged only for such a degree of wisdom, as might enable him to

*Solomon's
choice of
wisdom;*

¹ 1 Kings ii. pass.

^m 1 Kings ix. 16.

govern

govern with prudence and sagacity as became a king of Israel ; which modest request obtained him such a share of wisdom and knowledge, as had never been possessed by any mortal, together with a promise of such other earthly blessings, as he had so judiciously overlooked. It was not long before he gave his people a proof of his excellent wisdom and discernment. Two women appearing before him with a dead, and living child, and each claiming that which was alive as her own, with equal ardour and appearance of truth ; he ordered the living child to be cut asunder, and equally divided between them. Nature immediately discovered the truth. The real mother was so much affected by the sentence, that she earnestly desired the contested child should be given to her antagonist rather than suffer death ; and by this expression of tenderness, Solomon recognized the true mother^a.

The wisdom, wealth, and magnificence of this monarch, shone conspicuous in the choice he made of his counsellors, officers, and magistrates ; in the regulation of his finances ; the institution of his laws ; the economy of his household (C), comprehending his numerous and sumptuous tables, his chariots, horses (D), stalls, and equipage ; the splendor and discipline of his guards ; the strength of his army ; and the multitude, valour, and wealth of his subjects. His immense riches gave him such a powerful sway, that he is said to have lived in the profoundest

a pregnant proof of it.

His magni-

¶ 1 Kings iii.

(C) His provisions are said to have amounted every day to thirty measures (each measure containing about eight bushels and a half) of fine flour, double that quantity of common flour, ten fatted and twenty pasture oxen, and a hundred sheep ; besides venison, poultry, wild-fowl, fish, pulse, fruit, herbs, and other eatables, which were sent to him from all parts of the kingdom, under the direction of twelve officers, who took their turns, each in his respective month, and out of his respective canton (1).

(D) Solomon sent for his chariots and horses out of Egypt, not only for his own use, but for that of several neighbouring kings, whom he obliged to pay him six hundred shekels for every chariot and four horses, and a hundred and fifty for every single horse. He had likewise abundance of yarn, linen, and other commodities, brought to him out of Egypt, which he sold to his subjects and merchants at a certain price ; all which produced an immense revenue.

(1) 1 Kings iv. 7, & seq.

peace,

peace, plenty, and grandeur of any prince of his time ; beloved by his friends and allies, who were constantly pouring the richest presents upon him ; feared by his enemies ; receiving large tributes from several crowned heads (E) ; and resorted unto from all parts of the world for his wisdom and munificence, which brought a continual concourse of strangers to his metropolis, and enriched it to such a degree, that gold and silver seemed to have lost their intrinsic value, by their extraordinary abundance. The very revenue which his navy brought him in, exclusive of his customs, amounted to six hundred and sixty-six talents of gold. All this while the Israelitish subjects enjoyed the sweets, not only of peace and plenty, but also of universal freedom, there being no slaves, during his reign, but the poor Canaanites, and some captives of other nations ^a.

*Hiram's
embassy
and treaty
with Solo-
mon.*

Of all the princes that sought his friendship, Hiram, king of Tyre, David's old friend and ally, was the first who sent ambassadors to congratulate him on his accession to the crown, and to offer him his service. Solomon returned the embassy, and acquainted him with his design of building the temple, desiring him to send him a sufficient number of workmen to join with his artificers for the work ; particularly some that were well skilled in working in gold, silver, and other baser metals, precious stones, scarlet, crimson, and other fine dyes. These were readily granted by the Tyrian king ; in consideration of which assistance, Solomon agreed to furnish him yearly with twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty thousand barrels of fine oil for his household, besides the same quantities of barley, wheat, wine and oil, which he engaged to give his servants that were employed in the work. On the other side, Hiram was to send the cedars, fir, and other woods, upon floats to Joppa, there to be delivered to Solomon's servants, to be thence brought to Jerusalem. He sent him also a man of his own name, a Tyrian by birth, who was a second Bazaleel, such an excellent workman in all kinds of metals, stones, carving,

^a Kings iv. 20. & seq. 2 Chron. ix. pass.

(E) The text says, that his dominion reached from the river Euphrates, or even beyond it, to the Nile, or borders of Egypt, and that all the kings of those countries were tributary to him (2).

(2) 1 Kings iv. 24. 2 Chron. ix. 26.

engraving,

engraving, embroidery, tapestry, and in making all sorts of fine cloaths, that Hiram honoured him with the title of father. Solomon made him overseer of all the artists whom David had formerly procured out of Tyre and Sidon. An alliance soon followed between these two princes, which only ended wth their lives ^p.

To carry on this stupendous work with greater ease and speed, Solomon caused an account to be taken of all the Canaanites, and other foreign slaves, that were in the land, and they were found to amount to one hundred and fifty-three thousand six hundred; sevnty thousand of whom he appointed to carry burdens, eighty thousand to hew timber and stone in the mountains, and the remaining three thousand six hundred he appointed to be overseers over them ^q. Besides these strangers, over whom he appointed some of his chief officers to oversee the work, he levied thirty thousand men out of all Israel, whom he appointed to work in Lebanon one month in three, ten thousand every month, under the inspection of Adoniram; these were likewise cmployed in hewing wood, marble and other stone, which was afterwards wrought by the Tyrian mafons and carvers, and thence conveyed to Joppa by water ^r. Solomon, who had been still adding immense quantities of gold, silver, precious stones, and other rich materials, to those which David had laid up before his dcath, now put them into proper hands, to bc wrought into an almost infinite variety of ornaments. The vast number of hands employed, and the diligence of the overseers and workmen was such, that he was able to lay the foundations of this great structure in the fourth year of his reign, which was the second after David's death, and the four hundred and eightieth after the exod. The work was begun on Monday the second day of the month Zif, which anfwrs to the twcnty-first of our April, being the second month of the sacred, and the eighth of the civil year; and was carried on with such prodigious dispatch, that it was finished in little more than seven years; if not in that magnificent manner, in which we have seen it represented in a vast number of plans, and by some late models exposed to public view, yet at least in such a rich and sumptuous manner, as greatly excelled any thing then extant. What is still more surprising, every piece of it, whether timber, stone, or metal, was finished before it was brought to Jerusalem, so that there were no other

*The build-
ing of the
temple.*

*Yr. of Fl.
1343.
Ante Chr.
1005.*

*The build-
ing finished.*

tools wanted, or heard, than what were necessary to the joining them to each other' (F).

The king of Israel, in order to celebrate the dedication of this new temple with the greater magnificence, chose to defer it till the next year, which was the jubilee, at which solemnity there used to be always a vast concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom. The ceremony began on the eighth day of the seventh month of the sacred year, which was the first of the civil year, answering to the latter end of our October, and lasted seven days, at the end of which began the feast of the tabernacles, which continued likewise seven days; so that the people who were invited by the king, and flocked to that solemnity, staid at least fourteen days in Jerusalem. The ceremony opened with a pompous procession, in which the priests carried the ark from the tabernacle which David had erected for it to the temple, and deposited it in the most holy place, between the two golden cherubim, which Solomon had caused to be made by Hiram (G).

The

1 Kings vi. 7.

(F) It may be easily conceived, how difficult it would be to give such a description of this celebrated fabric, as should at once avoid the extravagancies of the Talmudists, and our modern model-mongers, and supply such omissions as may have been overlooked by the sacred historians; but a curious encourager of this history, some years ago, prevailed upon a learned gentleman of his acquaintance to make an exact delineation out of the two books of Kings and Chronicles. He has favoured us with a sight of the plans, and given us leave to examine and compare them and their proofs with the original text; and finding how much we approved of them, and that they could not but be very useful and acceptable to the curious, he has not only made us a generous offer of the whole, to

be communicated to the world, but has given us several opportunities of receiving farther satisfaction from his learned friend. But, as his demonstrations would interrupt the thread of our history, we think it will be more acceptable to our readers, if we join them with the plans of the city and temple, in that succinct and explanatory method in which he has been still prevailed upon to adapt them to this work, in an appendix at the end of this chapter.

(G) These that were made by Hiram for the most holy place, differed from the former, and were of two sorts, namely, the two which spread one wing over the ark, and touched the wall with the other; and those which were made in basso relievo, to adorn the side of the wall, being placed between palm-trees likewise in relieveo, and

The king himself, accompanied by all his chief officers, and the elders of Israel, marched before the ark; these were followed by a great number of priests and Levites, who sung some canticles proper to the occasion, and played upon various instruments. Next to the ark followed another number of singers and players, with other priests bearing the golden candlesticks, altar of incense, and other sacred utensils of the sanctuary, which had been brought from Gibcon, where they and the tabernacle had been deposited till that time (H). Whilst the priests were depositing the ark in the most holy place, the air rung with the sound of one hundred and twenty trumpets, and with the voices of the Levites, who sung the praises of God, repeating these words at proper stanzas: " Give thanks to the Lord; for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever." It was then that God seemed to come down in a visible manner, to take possession, as it were, of his new temple, by filling it with a cloud, as he had formerly overshadowed the tabernacle, insomuch, that the

and all of the finest gold. What the size of these last was we know not; but that of the two massive standing cherubim may be guessed at by the length of their wings, which, reaching to the north and south walls with one extremity, and joining at least by the other over the centre, must have been each five cubits long, because the place was twenty cubits in length and breadth; so that one may reasonably suppose the cherubim themselves to have been about ten cubits high.

Solomon made all the other utensils and ornaments of the temple, proportionable, both in size and richness, to that of the edifice. The Mosaic altar of burnt-offering, for instance, was set by on account of its smallness, and another placed in lieu of it, which was twenty cubits in length and breadth, and ten in height. The same

change was made in the altar of perfume, and the tables of shew-bread; which last, as well as the golden candlesticks, he increased five or six-fold.

Besides these, there was a prodigious quantity of other gold and silver vessels and utensils, concerning which the text only says, that they were without number.

(H) These were not deposited in the sanctuary, because the king had caused a new set of them to be made, which were larger, and more answerable to the spaciousness of the place, but were laid up in some other repository prepared for that purpose. To add the greater magnificence to the procession, the king ordered the ark to stop at proper distances; and there caused a prodigious number of victims to be offered up before it, till they had reached the sanctuary.

} priests

The History of the Jews

priests could not stand to offer up the sacrifices, which they had prepared upon that occasion?.

Solomon, who stood upon a brasen scaffold three cubits high, prepared for the purpose, having commanded the attention of the people, which stood in the court, and in the galleries round about, kneeled down, and spreading his hand towards heaven, dedicated the sacred building to God in a devout prayer, which he then uttered in their hearing; intreating the Divine Mercy to make it its residence in favour of Israel, and to be ready from thence to hear the prayers which his people should direct thither, from whatever part of the world; and, what condition soever they were in, to grant their requests, and pardon their offences. All this while the priests had covered the spacious altar with proper victims, which, as soon as his prayer was ended, were consumed by a miraculous fire, as a token of the divine favour and acceptance. The king then turning himself about, blessed the audience, and retired; then the priests proceeded to offer a vast multitude of other sacrifices, which had been sent thither both by the king, and by the heads of the tribes; insomuch that they were forced to rear a number of other occasional altars in the court (N).

A vast
number of
victims of-
fered.

Solomon's
palaces.

As soon as Solomon had finished this noble structure, he set his artificers to work upon two other buildings, one for himself, and another for Pharaoh's daughter^z;

y 2 Chron. v. per tot.

^z Compare 1 Kings, iii. 1. vii. 8.

ix. 24. and 2 Chron. viii. 11.

(N) On the very first day of this ceremony, which lasted seven days, they sacrificed twenty-two thousand bullocks, and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep, for peace-offerings, which served to feast the people; besides a prodigious number of burnt and other offerings, which were brought in every day. The feast of the tabernacles, which immediately followed this, was likewise observed with unusual magnificence; after which, the people were dismissed. We are told, that God appearing

to him in a dream, on the first night of the dedication, expressed his acceptance of that sumptuous edifice; and renewed his promises to him, and his posterity, provided he and they should serve him with an upright heart: on the other hand, he assured him, that, in case they provoked him by their idolatry and disobedience, that glorious building, which was now the wonder of the world, should infallibly become a desolation, a dwelling for owls and bats, and a proverb among all nations (1).

(1) 1 Kings, ix. & seq.

and

and spared nothing that art and riches could furnish (O) for their decoration. He was employed almost thirteen years in building them; so that he finished those three magnificent edifices, with all their costly furniture, utensils, and ornaments, within the space of twenty years (P).

(O) One of these palaces is called "the house of the forest of Lebanon," though it was at Jerusalem; the reason of which appellation cannot be easily guessed. The Chaldee paraphraſt calls it a summer-house, or house of refreshment; others think it was built in that forest after Solomon had taken the city of Hamath-Zobah; but the general opinion is, that they gave the name of the forest of Lebanon, to the city of David, an account of the prodigious quantities of cedar, and other trees, which had been brought from thence to build the temple, and other sumptuous edifices, insomuch that it seemed as if Lebanon had been transported to Jerusalem. Upon this account, and perhaps also from the fragrancy of the cedar, both the city and temple, as well as the palace, are called Lebanon by the psalmist, and some of the prophets (2).

(P) These palaces were built with the utmost magnificence, whether we consider the prodigious quantities of gold, silver, cedar and other precious woods, marble and other costly stones; the stupendous size of them; or the exquisiteness of the workmanship; or the richness of their furniture, and the sumptuousness of the galleries, porches, courts, and apartments. A-

mong these there was one more spacious than the rest, called the porch, or hall of judgment, in which was placed the king's throne, and on each side of it the seats of his counsellors. It was raised in the midst of a range of rich pillars of cedar, curiously carved and inlaid with gold. The throne itself, in the fashion of a niche, was covered with ivory, inlaid with curious ornaments in gold; the ascent to it was by six steps, each step supported on either side with a small lion, and the arms of the seat with two large ones as big as the life. All these, and even the steps themselves, were likewise covered with gold and ivory. The richness of the furniture of these sumptuous edifices may be guessed at, by the plate and drinking-vessels which were used in them, all of the finest gold. To these he added three hundred shields of the same metal, to be carried before him when he went abroad, and, upon his return, suspended along the rows of pillars. Besides these, he likewise caused two hundred targets to be made of a larger size, which were hung up in some conspicuous places of the temple; all these were made of some precious wood, and covered with gold; these latter amounted to six hundred shekels each, and the former to three pounds weight (3).

(2) Psal. xxix. passim, xcii. 12, 13, & alib. (3) 1 Kings, x.
16, 7. 2 Chron. ix. 15.

These magnificent works being accomplished, he sent back a great part of the Tyrian artificers; and, to express his gratitude to their prince, who had so generously furnished him, not only with vast quantities of stones and wood, but also with great sums of gold, he presented him with twenty cities in Galilee. But Hiram coming soon after to view these, was so disgusted at them, that he could not forbear breaking out into some complaint against his brother Solomon, and expressing his dissatisfaction by his refusal of them, and by the contemptible name which he gave to that whole land; upon which Solomon built them anew himself, and planted them with colonies of Israelites. The rest of his workmen, whether Tyrians or others, together with the Canaanitish slaves, were employed in surrounding the city of Jerusalem with a strong and stately wall, and fortifying Millo, Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Beth-Horon, Baalath, Tadmor, or Palmyra, and other places of consequence; besides several other store-cities for his chariots and horses, for his magazines of corn, wine, oil, and other provisions and ammunition (Q).

Solomon's navy.

To supply all these vast expences, Solomon built a navy at Ezion-Geber, upon the coasts of the Red Sea, and put it under the care of some expert Tyrian sailors, who, with his own men, went with it to Ophir (R), and in about

(Q) He built likewise some fortresses in Lebanon, probably to secure a free communication between his kingdom and that of Syria. Soon after, he brought under his yoke the remainder of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, who seem to have remained unconquered till his time, and made them all tributaries (4).

(R) Various conjectures have been started about this land of Ophir, concerning which all that we learn from the Scripture amounts to no more than that it produced a great quantity of the finest

gold, together with precious stones, spices, ivory, ebony, almug-wood, peacocks, and monkeys; that Solomon's fleet bound on this voyage set sail from Ezion-Geber, a sea-port on the Red Sea, and performed it in three years. Some have supposed this land to be no other than America, a notion void of all probability. Others, on no better foundation, contend for its being the coast of Africa. A third set of critics declare for the southern parts of Arabia: but the most plausible opinion seems to be that of Josephus, who places it in some part of the East Indies.

(4) *2 Kings, ix. 17, & seqq. 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seqq.*

Those

about three years time brought him back an immense weight of gold and silver, besides several kinds of precious stones, spices, ebony, and other curious wood, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities ^e. The gold itself amounted to four hundred and fifty talents yearly, besides the profit which he made of all the other commodities. Some of those precious woods the king employed in adorning the galleries about the temple, and in making a great number of musical instruments for the service of God ^f.

Among the remarkable personages whom his fame brought to Jerusalem, the most considerable was the queen of Sheba (S), a princess of transcendent wisdom, and such extraordinary opulence, that she vied with the Jewish monarch, in the sumptuousness of her equipage, and in the richness of her presents. She brought with her a vast number of camels laden with gold, precious stones, and such spices and perfumes as had not till then been known even in Solomon's court. Her knowledge and sagacity were equal to her wealth. She was more attracted by Solomon's wisdom than his power, and

*The queen
of Sheba's
visit to him.*

^e 1 Kings, ix. ver. ult. x. 22. ^a Chronicles viii. 15, & seq.
^f 2 Chron. ix. 11.

Those who want to know in what manner these different opinions are supported, may consult the following authors (5).

(S) Josephus calls her Nicaulis, and says, she was queen of Egypt and Ethiopia; the Ethiopians pretend that she was queen of that country, and preserve still a list of her successors. They add, that she had a son by Solomon, whom she sent to be brought up by him; they call him Meilik or Menilehek, and pretend that twenty-four of their kings are descended from that prince successively, down to Basiliades, who reigned in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Arabians, on the other

hand, claim this queen as their own; they call her Balkish, and pretend that she was queen of Arabia, and had her residence in the city of Mareb, which they make the metropolis of the province of Saba.

That she came from Arabia, seems probable, because she is called in the Gospel, "the queen of the South;" and is said to have come from the uttermost parts of the earth; a description which answers exactly to Arabia Felix, lying south of Judæa, and bounded by the ocean. To this we may add, that it abounded with gold, precious stones, and fine perfumes, more than any other country thereabouts.

Grot. in 1 Kings, ix. Huet. Dis-
sert. de Navig. Solomon. Gorop. Recan. Bivar. Horn. &c. al. Bo-
chart. Phal. Ab. Chois, in Vit. Solom. Lipen. Traict. de Ophir.
Calmet. Proleg. in Gen.

seemed resolved to dispute with him the prize of superior understanding. She attempted to puzzle him with subtle questions and enigmas prepared for the purpose; but found him so acute in conceiving her meaning, so ready in solving her doubts, and so sagacious in explaining her riddles, that she was charmed with his character, and could not help owning it was not without reason that he was esteemed the wisest prince of his time^a. The king entertained her with a view of the temple, of his palaces and gardens, and all the magnificence of his court and capital; at which she expressed her extreme satisfaction. She presented him with one hundred and twenty talents of gold, a great number of precious stones, and rich perfumes. Solomon, on the other hand, was too generous, not to make her suitable returns, and dismissed her with the strongest proofs of his munificence^b.

Hitherto we have seen nothing in that prince's life, but what gives us the highest idea of his wisdom, piety, and magnificence; but the remainder of his reign exhibits a melancholy reverse. Solomon, emphatically called the Wise, beloved of God, and admired by all the world for so many excellent virtues, became such a slave to the passion of love, in his old age, that he ventured to marry an amazing multitude of strange women, without distinction of nation, country, or religion, and without the least regard to God's express commands; and at length suffered himself to be seduced into all manner of idolatry. The number of his wives amounted to seven hundred, besides three hundred concubines, or wives of the second rank; and his complaisance for them went so far, as to build altars and temples to all their deities; insomuch that the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, if not the city itself, was filled with idols and temples; and the Mount of Olives, over-against it, was defiled with two altars, one to Chemosh, the god of Moab, and another to Moloch, the idol of the Ammonites. Such a shameful defection could not but be highly displeasing to God: and Solomon was soon made sensible of his indignation. Appearing the third time to him in a dream, he told him, that his ingratitude would cost his successors the loss of his kingdom, the tribe of Judah excepted, which he would leave them, in consideration of his former promise to David, for whose sake he also forbore to rend the other tribes from him till after his death. Whether this severe de-

*His defec-
tion,*

idolatries,

Vr. of Fl.

^{1373.}

Ante Chr.

^{975.}

and death.

^a Kings x. 1. ^b Kings x. 24. & seqq. ^c Chron. ix. 1, & seq.
junction

unction awaked him to repentance, or whether he died immersed in his idolatry and lust, the text doth no where explain. He died in the fortieth year of his reign, and about the fifty-eighth of his age; was buried in the stately sepulchre of his father David; and succeeded by his son Rehoboam¹ (T).

Whilst Solomon spent the last years of his life in pleasure and indolence, the seeds of the threatened defection were sowing both in Israel and elsewhere; so that when his son Rehoboam ascended the throne, he had three potent adversaries to encounter. The first was Hadad king of Edom, who bore a mortal hatred to Israel, ever since David's general had caused such a dreadful massacre in that kingdom. He was now returned from Egypt, where he had been forced to take sanctuary, during the reigns of David and Solomon. The second was Rezin, a subject of the king of Zobah, who fled, likewise, from David's conquering sword, and, having put himself at the head of a band of brave warriors, established a petty kingdom at Damascus; from whence he never ceased annoying Israel, and revenging David's old hostilities on the Zobeans. But the most dangerous of the three was Jeroboam, an enterprizing youth of the tribe of Ephraim, whom Solomon had formerly made overseer of his tribe, and that of Manasseh, in carrying on his works. This man had been told, by the prophet Ahijah, that God would give him the ten tribes which were to be rent from Solomon's successors. Whether this prophecy had taken air, and upon this account, or for some particular misde-meanor, he had been forced to fly into Egypt, to avoid the king's resentment; there, probably, he concerted with the king of Edom, a plan for raising an insurrection in Israel. As soon, therefore, as he heard that Rehoboam was upon the throne, he returned from Egypt, to watch a proper opportunity; and that weak prince, soon after, gave him such as his heart could wish.

Rehoboam was gone with his court, and the elders of all the tribes, to receive their homage at Sechem; but they refused to acknowledge him, unless he would pro-

¹ Kings xi. per tot. & Chron. ix. 30, 31.

(T) Solomon is recorded to have written a great number of books; of which we have only his Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles; all the rest are lost, as well as those of the prophets Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo, who are said to have penned the history of that prince.

Yr. of Fl. 1373.
 Ante Chr. 975.
 Reho-
 boam's folly
 occasions
 ten tribes
 to revolt.
 Who choose-
 Jeroboam
 for their
 king.

mise to lighten their yoke, which, they complained, his father had made too heavy. The king took three days to consider of an answer; and, as he had attained to the fortieth year of his age, one might have expected that he would have hearkened to the wholesome advice of wise counsellors; but he unfortunately preferred that of some hot-headed youths, who had been brought up at court with him. Instead of soothing the people, on the third day, he answered them, in a haughty tone, that he designed to govern them with greater severity than ever his father had exercised; and that, if they dared to murmur, he would use scorpions, instead of whips, to chastise their insolence. Exasperated by this harsh declaration, they disclaimed all further allegiance to the house of David; and, having murdered Adoram, whom the king had sent to appease the tumult, ten of the tribes chose Jeroboam to be their sovereign. Judah and Benjamin, however, adhered to Rehoboam, and conveyed him with all speed to Jerusalem. He immediately raised an army out of the two tribes, which mustered a hundred and eighty thousand valiant men, to reduce the rest to their obedience; but, whilst they were preparing for battle, the prophet Shemaiah came, and acquainted them, that this defection was from God, and persuaded them to desist. Jeroboam, on the other hand, who thought of nothing but how to secure his new-acquired kingdom, took the advantage of that peaceful interval, to rebuild Shechem and Peniel, the former of which he made the place of his residence. But there was still one thing, which he feared might, in time, reconcile the ten tribes to the house of David, namely, the custom of going three times a year to Jerusalem. With a view to render this pilgrimage unnecessary, he sacrificed religion to his safety, and set up a couple of golden calves, one at Dan, and the other at Beth-el, which were at the two extremities of the kingdom; to which places he commanded the people to repair for worship, without going to Jerusalem. He likewise built some temples and altars in the high-places; and, because the Levites adhered to Rehoboam, he chose priests to his deities out of the dregs of his people.

The dedication of the two calves was proclaimed through Israel; and a great concourse of people had flocked to them; when a prophet was sent thither by God, to denounce the destruction of the new altar by a future king

of Judah, named Josiah. This messenger, as a proof of his mission, told them, that the altar should forthwith exhibit marks of the divine wrath. Immediately it burst asunder, and the cinders ran out at the rent. Jeroboam, standing by the altar, just going to offer incense, when he heard the prophet's menaces, stretched out his hand to cause him to be apprehended; but, to his great surprize, felt it withered in an instant. Upon his submission, however, it was restored, and he invited the prophet to his house; but this last, having been expressly forbidden to stay in Beth-el, even to drink a cup of water, refused his offer, and went his way.

Jeroboam, nothing moved at this extraordinary event, continued debauching the people from the worship of God^r. At length, his son Abijah being seized with a dangerous disease, he sent his wife, in disguise, to Ahijah the prophet, who had foretold that he should be king over the ten tribes, to know whether the youth would recover. Ahijah, though blind with age, knew her at her first coming; and, having called her by name, bid her go and tell her husband, that since he had proved so ungrateful to God, and had filled Israel with idolatry, the death of the child would be the least punishment that should fall upon him. He declared, that his posterity should be cut off; that they who died in the city would become the food of dogs; and those that fell in the field should be devoured by the ravens. Notwithstanding all these menaces, Jeroboam persisted still in his idolatry, and gave thereby no small advantage to the king of Judah^s.

Whilst Jeroboam strengthened himself in Shechem, Rehoboam was not idle at Jerusalem; he built and fortified a considerable number of places in Judah and Benjamin, secured them with garrisons, and stored them with arms and ammunition. At the same time the tribe of Levi, which was dispersed over Israel, being displeased with Jeroboam, came flocking to Jerusalem from their respective cities, besides a vast number out of the other tribes, who abhorred his calves and idolatries, and went thither to serve God according to the law of Moses; so that he saw his subjects, in a little time, as numerous as those of his revolted rival^t. But that weak prince had scarce continued three years in the true service of God, before he fell into the vilest idolatries, even more absurd than those practised by the apostate Israelites^u. For these

* 2 Kings, xiii. per tot. † 1 Kings, XIV. 20-21. § 2 Chron.
xi. 5. & seq. ‡ 1 Kings XIV. 23, 24.

Xt. of Fl. enormous, God stirred up a potent adversary against him,
1395. namely, Shishak, king of Egypt, who took many of his
Ante Chr. fenced cities, and drove the wealthiest subjects of Judah
975. into the metropolis for shelter. Here the prophet She-
maiah took occasion to upbraid them with their wicked-
ness, which had brought this distress upon them; and he
foretold the ruin of the city. His denunciation had so
good an effect, that they humbled themselves before God,
and, by acknowledging the justice of this punishment,
avoided its severity¹. Shishak, having reduced Jerusalem,
contented himself with stripping the temple and palaces of
all their golden shields and vessels, and left them to sub-
stitute others in their room of a baser metal. This dis-
aster happened in the fifth year of Rehoboam; after
which he reigned twelve years peaceably, bating a few
skirmishes with the king of Israel, and died in the eight-
eenth year of his reign (A).

**Rehoboam's
death.**

Xt. of Fl. Jeroboam had reigned eighteen years in Israel, when
1390. Abijam, or Abijah, as he is called in the book of Chro-
Ante Chr. nicles, succeeded to the crown. This new sovereign im-
958. mediately took the field with four hundred thousand men,
and encamped on Mount Zemaraim, upon the borders of
Ephraim, where Jeroboam met him with an army of dou-
ble that number. The two kings, being within hearing
of each other, Abijah upbraided his competitor with his
base ingratitude, and baser actions; observing, that from
being a servant to Solomon, he had taken the advantage
of Rehoboam's weakness to deprive him of the largest
part of his kingdom, and had endeavoured to secure it
by debauching the people from the worship of God to the
most abominable idolatries; he concluded with telling
him, that he could expect nothing but ruin and destruc-
tion, as a just punishment for his rebellion against his God
and his prince, who was now come against him with an

**Abijah's
death.**

¹ Chron. xii. pass.

(A) He had eighteen wives and fifty concubines, and by them twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters; but, of all his wives, he best loved Ma-
chala, the daughter, or rather
the sister, of Abijahom,
the son of Solomon,
whom he had four sons,

red to all ~~men~~ ^{men} who came to suc-
ceed him; for which end he
caused him to be educated un-
der his own eye, whilst he
disposed of all his other children
in different cities of his king-
dom. The history was written
by the prophet Iddo and She-
maiah (B).

army of men which had faithfully adhered to the service of both. Jeroboam was too hardened a politician to suffer himself, or his men, to be intimidated by such reproaches. Whilst he seemed to give the king of Judah the hearing, he had ordered a body of men to wheel round the hill and surprise him in the rear, whilst he himself attacked him in front; and this stratagem was so punctually executed, that Abijah saw himself surrounded by the enemy before he was aware of their design. This surprize occasioned a great outcry in his army, and would, in all likelihood, have produced an universal panic, had not they found means to gain over a great number of the Israelites; of whom, however, there fell five hundred thousand on the spot: Abijah pursued his victory, and retook several considerable places, particularly Beth-el, and weakened Jeroboam so much, that he never could recover his strength during the short remainder of Abijah's reign, which did not exceed three years (B).

Afa succeeded Abijam in the twentieth year of Jeroboam. He was a religious prince; and as the ten first years of his reign were blessed with peace, he spent a great part of that time in purging his kingdom from the heathenish abominations, which his predecessors had introduced. So sincere was his zeal in that great work, that he deposed his own mother for patronizing idolatry, and erecting a grove for the worship of some idol, which he caused to be destroyed, with all the other monuments of irreligion; except the high-places, which he endeavoured in vain to abolish. He also put his whole kingdom in a good posture of defence, by fortifying several important places, and entertaining an army of five hundred and eighty thousand men: three hundred thousand of these were of the tribe of Judah, famous for handling the target and spear; the rest were chiefly of Benjamin, celebrated for their uncommon dexterity in the use of the shield and bow. His riches increasing with his might, he adorned the temple with a quantity of gold and silver vessels; in the room of those which the king of Egypt had

(B) Abijah left fourteen wives and twenty-two sons, and was succeeded by Afa. His history was written by the prophet Iddo. All that is further recorded of him is, that he followed the sinful ways of

his father, instead of serving God with the sincerity of David. About two years after Jeroboam the first, having reigned in Israel twenty-two years, and was succeeded by his son Nimbath,

*Defeat
Jeroboam's
army.*

*Yr. of F.
1393.
Ante Ch.
935.*

*Afa's
reign,
and piety.*

The History of the Jews

Yr. of Fl. carried away. In the second year of his reign Nadab succeeded Jeroboam in Israel; but nothing happened remarkable, during his two years reign, except his cleaving to the sins of his father, and his being killed at the siege of Gibbethon, a fortress belonging to the Philistines, by Baasha, a man of the tribe of Issachar, who, having seized upon the kingdom, destroyed the whole race of Jeroboam, according to the prophet's prediction.

Yr. of Fl. At length Asa saw his kingdom attacked by a prodigious army of Cushites, with Zerah, the Ethiopian, at their head. Asa, who trusted more in God than in his own strength, was not terrified at this numerous host, but boldly marched against them to Merekah; where, in a pitched battle, he totally routed the Ethiopians, and returned to Jerusalem laden with their spoil. Soon after his arrival he sacrificed a considerable portion of the booty to the service of God. He had the pleasure to hear himself encouraged by a prophet, and to see multitudes flock to him from several of the revolted tribes, whom either his zeal or success drew away from Baasha, the new-made king of Israel.

It was, probably, this continual defection which produced a series of skirmishes between the two kings, and obliged Baasha to build the fortress of Ramah, to stop the communication between the two kingdoms. He was then leagued with the king of Syria; and Asa, afraid of engaging two such powerful enemies, found no better expedient than to bribe Benhadad to break his alliance with the king of Israel, and to cause some powerful diversion in his dominions. To this end he sent him all the gold that he could find, both in his own treasury and in that of the temple; which had such an influence upon the Syrian king, that he took all the fenced cities of the tribe of Naphtali, and obliged Baasha to desist from his enterprise to go and defend his own territories. As soon as he had departed from Ramah, Asa issued out a proclamation, commanding his subjects to transport all the materials of that fortress to Geba of Benjamin, and to Mizpeh, in the tribe of Judah, and to use them in fortifying those two places (C). He died in the forty-first year of

Makes an
alliance
with Ben-
hadad.

1 Kings, 15. 27, & seqq.

1 Kings, 27. 17, & seqq.

his

(C) The prophet Heman, in seeking help from Benhadad, reproved Asa for his weakness, when he had been so lately glorious.

to the Babylonish Captivity.

his reign, and was succeeded by his son Jehoshaphat.

Baasha, all this while, continued to practise the idolatries of Jeroboam, and was engaged in constant wars with the king of Judah, when Jehu, the son of Hanani, came from the Lord to tell him, that since he had imitated his predecessor in his sin, he should likewise share in his punishment, and be cut off with his posterity. Baasha died soon after, and was succeeded by his son Elah, who ascended the throne in the twenty-sixth year of Asa's reign : he had scarce reigned two years before he felt the effects of Jehu's prediction ; he was then at the siege of Gibbethon, where Zimri, who commanded his chariots, slew him, and seized upon his kingdom. Zimri's reign lasted but seven days, Omri, another general officer, being chosen king by the army ; yet found he time enough, in that short space, to destroy the whole race of Baasha, even to his remotest relations. Omri left Gibbethon, and went to besiege him in Tirzah ; but, before he could enter that city, Zimri went into the royal palace, and setting it on fire, perished in the flames ; however, he reigned long enough to shew himself unworthy of the kingdom, by his propensity to Jeroboam's idolatry¹.

Omri had another competitor in Tibni, the son of Ginnath, whom one part of the people had elected king : but the faction of Omri, being much the stronger, soon persuaded the rest to join with them ; so Tibni was killed, and Omri reigned unrivalled. This revolution happened in the thirty-first year of Asa's reign.

During the first six years of his government, Tirzah being then the royal place of residence, Omri bought the hill Someron, or Samaria, of one Shemer, for two talents of silver, and built upon it the city of that name, which he made afterwards the metropolis of his kingdom. We have nothing more recorded of him, except that he reigned

¹ Kings, xvi. 1, & seq. ad 18.

victorious over the Ethiopian host ; but the king, by this time grown impatient, by reason of a distemper in his feet, was so exasperated at his boldness, that he cast him into prison. He was likewise guilty of some cruelties towards other persons, upon what pretence

the text does not say. The book of Kings barely says, that he was buried with his ancestors ; but that of Chronicles adds, that he was embalmed, and laid upon a stately bed, covered with spices and odorous drugs.

Yr. of M.
1413.
Ante Chr.
930.

*Elah, King
of Israel,
murdered.
by Zimri.*

Yr. of Fl. six years in Samaria, in all the profligacy of his predecessors ; and was succeeded by his son Ahab, who proved still more wicked than any of them^{*}.

Ahab king of Israel. Ahab began his reign in the thirty-eighth year of Asa's ; his unlawful marriage with Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Zidon, proved a constant source of idolatries and wicked deeds. He suffered her to introduce the worship of the Zidonian deities, which consisted in human sacrifices, and in the most abominable ceremonies.

Yr. of Fl. Whilst Ahab and his idolatrous queen were propagating their impieties in Israel, and murdering all those, whether prophets or others, who dared to censure their conduct, Jehoshaphat, who succeeded Asa about the latter end of the fourth year of Ahab's reign, was employed in destroying idolatry, and promoting the pure worship of God in his own kingdom, with such zeal and application, that it drew upon him and his people the greatest prosperity and success. He was thirty-five years old when he began his reign ; and the first step he took was to pull down all the monuments of idolatry and sodomitical groves, which his father had not been able to abolish. In the third year of his reign he sent some of the chief officers of his court, with a competent number of priests and Levites, with copies of the Pentateuch, to instruct the people throughout his kingdom. At the same time he fortified all the considerable places of the land, and put garrisons in them, as well as in those which his father had taken from the kings of Israel. Besides these, he maintained an army of above one million of fighting men. In a word, he was so prosperous and powerful, that none of his enemies dared to molest him : the Philistines and Arabians were tributaries to him, and his allies were still increasing his wealth by their presents^x.

and success.

Thus it fared with that religious prince and his subjects, whilst war and famine were the reward of Ahab's impiety in the kingdom of Israel.

Elijah's meeting with Obadiah. At the end of three years Elijah presented himself to Obadiah, governor of Ahab's house, as he was going in search of some fresh springs of water, to save that little cattle they had left, whilst the king himself went another way upon the same errand. Obadiah was a pious man, and had expressed uncommon zeal for the God of Israel, by saving a hundred of his prophets from Jezebel's fury, and supporting them with food in their concealment dur-

* Kings xvi. 22, & seq. x Chron. xvii. pass.

ing the whole time of the famine. As soon, therefore, as he saw Elijah, he fell down at his feet, and received him with profound respect; but when the prophet bid him go after the king, and acquaint him with his arrival, he modestly excused himself from executing so dangerous a message: "For, added he, there is scarce a nation or kingdom from which Ahab has not exacted an oath, to bring you back to Samaria, wherever you may be found." But, upon the prophet's promising, that he would shew himself to the king, Obadiah went, and informed him of Elijah's return, and his promise of a speedy rain. Elijah *and Ahab.* accordingly appeared, and the first greeting between Ahab and him, was such as might be reasonably expected between a wicked haughty monarch, and a person of that prophet's character. After mutual invectives, Elijah desired that all Israel might be gathered together at Mount Carmel, with all the priests of Baal, whom Jezebel maintained. These being assembled accordingly, he reproved the people for halting between two opinions, and dividing their service between God and Baal. "You see, said he, that I am the only prophet of the Lord that is left, and those of Baal are four hundred and fifty; let them offer up a bullock to Baal, and I will offer up another to the God of Israel; and let the deity, whose sacrifice is consumed by a miraculous fire, be henceforth the only object of your worship." As soon as the people had expressed their assent to his proposal, the priests of Baal were ordered to begin. They hewed their bullock in pieces, and laid it upon the altar, and called upon Baal, from morning till noon; but receiving no answer to their invocations, they began, according to their custom, to cut themselves with knives, till the blood ran down upon the ground^r. All this while Elijah plied them with the most biting sarcasms, bidding them to cry louder, for Baal no doubt, was a great God, and would hear them, unless he were either asleep, or more advantageously employed. At length, about the time of offering the evening-sacrifice, he reared up an altar of twelve stones, according to the Mosaic law, and laid the wood and victim upon it; then causing a deep trench to be dug round it, he ordered the assistants to pour water upon the altar till the trench was overflowed. These steps being taken he called upon God with a loud voice, begging of him that he would shew himself to the whole *Elijah's
zeal against
Baal.*

people, to be the only God of the universe ; a fire darting down from heaven, immediately consumed the victim, wood and altar, and dried up all the water in the trenches ; at sight of which phenomena, the people fell upon their faces, and cried out, "The Lord is the only God." The prophet then addressing himself to the people, told them, that if they were really convinced, they ought to seize those false prophets, the priests of Baal, who had seduced them from the worship of God, to serve that filthy deity, and taking them to the brook Kishon, put them all to death. The people obeyed this injunction ; and Ahab, whether the late miracle made him a proselyte, or he thought it dangerous to check their zeal, made no efforts for their preservation. But when he reached his palace, he acquainted his queen with what had happened at Carmel, and what shameful check her favourite deity had received, in sight of all Israel. One would expect, that the long wished-for rain, obtained by the prophet's prayer, might have comforted her for that misfortune, and have inspired her with an uncommon respect for his person ; but it happened quite otherwise, and the death of so many of her prophets threw her into such a rage, that she vowed to fend the author of it after them by the next day ; so that Elijah was forced a second time to fly for his life.

By that time Ahab had reigned eighteen years, Benhadad king of Syria came at the head of thirty-two petty kings, and a numerous army, and laid siege to Samaria ; where, notwithstanding his great forces, and the arrogance with which he threatened both city and king, he was repulsed by a handful of men, who sallied out at mid-day, with Ahab at their head, and forced him to fly with prodigious loss. He endeavoured, in the course of

Ahab's victory and general prosperity.

the following year, to retrieve his credit ; and was defeated again by the Israelites with a terrible slaughter, he himself having narrowly escaped being taken prisoner in the city of Aphek : but, upon his fending from thence a submissive message, Ahab received him with amazing condescension into his chariot, and brought him to his pavilion, where they made an alliance together ; after which, he generously dismissed him without ransom. The particulars of these two famous actions the reader will find in the history of Syria. As soon as Benhadad was departed, one of the sons of the prophets presented himself before Ahab, his face besmeared with blood and dust : he complained, that during the action, a Syrian prisoner had been committed

mitted to his custody, with a strict charge not to let him escape, under pain of death; but that, whilst he busied himself about different things, the prisoner was fled, and himself now in danger of being punished for his neglect. Ahab, who believed the fact to be really as he told it, made no scruple to pronounce him guilty of death; but the prophet, wiping his face, and discovering himself to the king, soon gave him to understand, that he had passed sentence against himself; and that since he had left so powerful an enemy of Israel to go free, when God had delivered him into his hand, his life should pay for that of his prisoner.. Ahab was struck with such surprize at the boldness of the stratagem, that he went away to Samaria full of grief and indignation^m: nevertheless, he kept his word with the king of Syria, till that prince, detaining Ramoth-Gilead, a city which belonged to Israel, contrary to his promise, afforded him a pretence for invading his territories about three years after the last pacificationⁿ.

In the mean time, Ahab suffered himself to be seduced by Jezebel to an inhuman deed, which proved fatal to him and his whole family. Naboth, an inhabitant of Jezreel, had a vineyard contiguous to the palace, which Ahab offered to buy, or exchange for another piece of ground, intending to make an herb-garden of it for his house; but, as it was reckoned scandalous to sell an inheritance, Naboth was uncourteous enough to refuse the offer. Jezebel, incensed at his obstinacy, sent a letter to the elders of Jezreel, sealed with the king's signet, commanding them to proclaim a fast, and to hire some profligate wretches to swear treason and blasphemy against Naboth, for which he should be stoned to death. The Jezreelite, not daring to disobey her order, sent her word soon after of Naboth's death, and she acquainted Ahab with it; but, whilst he was taking possession of the ground, the prophet Elijah came to him from God, foretold the destruction that this murder would bring upon him, upon Jezebel, and upon his whole house; that the dogs should lick his blood, where they licked that of Naboth; that Jezebel should be devoured by dogs, and all his posterity utterly cut off. This dreadful sentence so alarmed the king, that he rent his cloaths, returned home overwhelmed with grief, and, by a timely repentance, obtained a gracious respite; so that the ca-

^m 1 Kings xx. passim.

ⁿ See Usher's Ann. sub A. M. 3104.

laminities

Naboth
murdered.

The History of the Jews

Injuries that were to fall upon his house, did not happen till after his death?

All this time Jehoshaphat enjoyed profound peace, and spent his time partly in strengthening his kingdom, and promoting his naval trade, and partly in making the proper regulations for the utter abolishing of idolatry. He is blamed only in two particulars of his conduct, namely, his not totally demolishing the high-places, and his making alliance and affinity with Ahab (I). It was in consequence of this last connexion, that he came down to Samaria to pay a visit to that prince, having left the care of his kingdom to his son Jehoram. By this time, Ahab had resolved upon taking Ramoth-Gilead from the Syrians; he therefore seized this opportunity of asking his royal guest to assist him in the enterprize; the other readily consented, but desired first of all, that God might be consulted concerning the success of the expedition. Ahab immediately assembled four hundred of his prophets, at the gate of Samaria, where the king of Judah and he sat, each on a stately throne; and, upon his asking the question, they one and all promised him, that he would prove victorious; but, they spoke with such eagerness and assurance, as rendered them suspected to Jehoshaphat, who therefore begged, that if there were any other prophet of the Lord, he might be sent for and consulted. There was indeed such a man as he desired, Micaiah the son of Imlah; but his known veracity had made him too odious to the king: however, he was obliged, in complaisance to Jehoshaphat, to send for him; and he, being before acquainted with the flattering promises of the false prophets, did likewise answer, in a jocose tone, that the expedition would not fail of success; but the king, observing that he did not speak seriously, adjured him to tell the truth in the name of God: upon which, Micaiah declared, that he would certainly lose the day, with his life; that his army would be defeated; and that God had suffered his prophets to be possessed with a lying spirit, that he might go and meet his death where he expected a victory. The king,

* Kings xxi. passim.

(I) This affinity consisted in suffering his son Jehoram to marry Athalish the daughter of Ahab, a most wicked prince, who proved the author of

great mischiefs in Judah; and by whom he had a son named Ahaziah, who afterwards succeeded his father.

...wever,

To the Babylonish Captivity.

however, was so far from being deterred by this speech, that he ran resolutely upon his own ruin; and Jehoshaphat, being too easily persuaded to accompany him, narrowly escaped sharing in the same fate. Ahab, wounded by a random shot, died in the evening. As soon as his death was known, his generals caused a retreat to be sounded through his army, and both sides withdrew before night. The king's corpse was brought to Samaria, and buried in the royal sepulchre; and his bloody armour, chariot and harness, were brought to a pool in that place to be washed, where the dogs coming to lick his blood, verified Elijah's prophecy.

Yr. of Fl.
1451.
Ante Chr.
897.

*His ill suc.
cess and
death.*

Jehoshaphat, on the other hand, having thus happily escaped, returned to Jerusalem; and, in the way, was met by the prophet Jehu, who reproved him in the severest terms, for entering into a confederacy with the impious king of Israel; and the king, become sensible of his error by his late danger, endeavoured to retrieve it by a more assiduous application to every thing that related either to religion, or the good of his kingdom. With this view, he made a progress through a great part of it, diligently examined how the priests instructed the people; how the judges and magistrates administered justice; and every where exhorted them to their duty, with a zeal worthy of so good a prince.

In the mean time, Ahaziah, who had succeeded his father Ahab, both in his kingdom and idolatry, happened to fall through a grate in his dining-room, about the second year of his reign, and was so hurt by the fall, that his life was despaired of. In this extremity, he sent messengers to consult Beelzebub, the deity of Ekron, about his recovery; but these were met by Elijah, who sent them back with this assurance, that, since he had sent to the god of Ekron, as if there had been no God in Israel worth consulting, he should never leave his bed, till he was carried to his grave. At their return, they acquainted the king, that they had met a prophet, who sent them back with a sentence of death from the Lord; and, upon their describing him, that he was a hairy man, girt with a leathern girdle, he knew him to be Elijah, and died soon after, according to his prophecy. During his short reign, the Moabites, who had been tributaries to Israel ever since Jeroboam's defection, rebelled against him; wherefore, when his brother Jehoram came to the crown, he sent to

Yr. of Fl.
1452.
Ante Chr.
896.

The History of the Jews

beg the assistance of Jehoshaphat, who made no scruple, upon such as occasion, to go in person, and help to reduce them. It was well for Jehoram, that he had so good a prince with him; for, when the army was ready to perish with thirst, Elisha, at his request, obtained a miraculous supply of water, which at once refreshed the confederate army, and, by the red reflexion it occasioned at sunrise, so terrified the Midianitish host, that Israel gained a complete victory.

Judah invaded.

At length, towards the latter end of his reign, Jehoshaphat saw his kingdom invaded by the Ammonites and Moabites, with a mixed multitude of other nations, who poured in with such velocity, that they had already advanced as far as Hazazon-Tamar, or Engedi, that is, within thirty-six miles of his capital, before he knew anything of their approach. In this emergency he had recourse to God, proclaimed a general fast, and went at the head of the people, who were assembled at Jerusalem upon that occasion, to the temple; where, having implored the divine assistance, in a humble and pathetic prayer, he was answered by the prophet Jahaziel, that God would speedily deliver him from those invaders in such an extraordinary manner, that he should have nothing to do but seize upon their spoil. Accordingly, next morning, the king went out against them with a small army, whom he still encouraged, as they marched, to rely wholly upon God. Accordingly, their enemies were seized with a kind of panic phrenzy, slaughtering one another with great fury, till they were all cut off. The plunder they found among the slain, being more than they could well carry, they only chose out the richest, which they were three days in gathering. On the fourth, they halted at a convenient valley, to return thanks to heaven for their victory; and from that day the place was called the Valley of Betakah, or blessing. The army, in their return to Jerusalem, marched to the sound of musical instruments, accompanied with canticles sung by Levites; soon after which event, Jehoshaphat ended his days in peace. (K).

Jehoshaphat's miraculous success.

Chron. xx. 1—30.

(K) Some time before his death, Ahaziah, who was then King of Israel, and as impious as his father Ahab, obtained his consent to send some ships of his own to Tarshish along with his fleet; for which condescension, Jehoshaphat was severely rebuked by the prophet Eliezer, who foretold

Jehoram, who had borne a share in the government of Judah towards the latter end of his father's reign, no sooner saw himself alone upon the throne, than he began to undo all that his pious father had done, and to bring upon himself and his house all the curses that had been pronounced against that of his father-in-law. Judah and Israel seemed now but one kingdom, and one scene of idolatry and wickedness. They were both governed by kings of the same name. Jehoram, king of Judah, was influenced by his wife Athaliah, the impious daughter of Ahab; and Jehoram, king of Israel, was directed by his mother Jezebel: this proceeded in all the abominations of his father; and that introduced them into his own kingdom, after they had been abolished by his two predecessors; both bringing down the heaviest judgments from heaven; the one, by forsaking the ways of his pious father; and the other, by continuing in those of his impious parent.

Jehoshaphat had left a numerous issue, and distributed his sons in several cities of Judah, under proper tutors, with appointments suitable to their rank; but he was scarce cold in his grave, before his impious son signalized the beginning of his reign with the massacre of them, and of all the nobles of his kingdom, who either dared to oppose, or dislike his cruelty^a. After this barbarous prelude, being wholly influenced by his queen, he gave himself up to idolatry; and established the worship of Baal, through the kingdom, as well as in the metropolis, in imitation of his father-in-law. For these crimes he was severely reprobated in a letter by Elijah, a little before that prophet's assumption^b; wherein was foretold, among many other evils, the almost total extirpation of his posterity, and the King's own death by an incurable disease in his bowels^c.

The first token of the divine displeasure which he felt, *Edom's fit*, was the revolt of the Edomites, who refused to pay him *and revolted* *from Israel* the usual tribute. Jehoram went out against them, and defeated them; but they soon recovered strength enough to shake off the yoke, and to set up a king of their own: thus verifying Isaac's prophecy, that Esau's posterity

^a Chron. xxi. 1, &c seq. ^b Kings, pass. ^c Chron. xxi. 4, &c seqq.

old the loss of that fleet, ver in the sequel, let any of which happened accordingly; or which reason he would ne-

Yr. of El.
1459.
Ante Chr.
839.

*Judah and
Israel im-
mersed in
idolatry.*

The History of the Jews

should in time shake off the yoke of Jacob. At the same time, Libnah, belonging to the priests, in the tribe of Judah, and upon the frontiers of Idumaea, revolted from Jehoram : but these revolts were only the preludes of the judgments that were to fall upon him. His kingdom was presently after invaded by the Philistines and Arabians, who penetrated even to Jerusalem, and carried off all the riches of that metropolis, together with Jehoram's wives, and all his sons, except only Jehoahaz, who was the youngest, and succeeded him on the throne. Jehoram was soon after seized with an incurable disease in his belly, probably a bloody-flux, which lasted two years, and weakened him to such a degree, that his bowels came out, and he died with extremity of pain (N).

Whilst Judah groaned under these disasters, Elisha was working wonders for Israel. He performed a miraculous cure upon Naaman, a famous general of the king of Syria, and discovered all the secret designs of that prince to the king of Israel ; thus preventing the Syrians, for some time, from succeeding in their attempts against him. But at length Benhadad advanced, not by ambuscades and stratagems, as formerly, but with a numerous host ; and besieged Samaria so close, that it began to labour under a very severe famine ; insomuch that an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and a small measure of pulse (O) for five. How long this siege had lasted, is not easy

*Samaria
besieged.*

(N) He reigned eight years, four with his father Jehoshaphat, and the other four by himself : his disease having rendered him incapable of governing his kingdom, he was obliged to make his son Jehoahaz, otherwise called Ahaziah, viceroy, who succeeded him about a year after, and in the twelfth of Jehoram king of Israel (1).

(O) As most translations have rendered the word chirionim by *dove's dung*, they have given commentators a vast deal of trouble to find out such an

(1) 2 Chron. xxii. 18, & seqq. Vids Ugher. Ann. sub A. M. 3215, &c. 3228.

use for it, as might answer this excessive price, that a measure, which held but six eggs, should sell for above eleven shillings. It were endless to mention all their various conjectures : we have therefore followed the learned Bochart's version, who proves, that the word among other things, signifies a kind of pea, common in all those countries, which the Jews in particular used to parch over the fire for food.

As to what we read farther, that an ass's head was sold for upwards of nine pounds of our

money,

easy to guess; but what might increase this grievous famine, was, that it begun some years before in the land, insomuch that Elisha, who timely foresaw it, sent his kind hostess the Shunamite, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, out of the kingdom, to seek for food where she could find it, whilst he himself tarried in the college of the prophets, and now and then afforded them a miraculous supply, till the Syrian army forced him into the city. By this time the extremity to which Samaria *A great famine.* was reduced, seemed either to have obliterated all the former services of that prophet in the mind of the king; or, more probably, to have rendered him suspected of being gained over to the Syrian interest, since he suffered the city to labour under these difficulties, without interposing his miraculous power, as upon other occasions. His suspicion at length broke out with unusual fury, upon the following dreadful occasion: the king was taking a melancholy turn round the walls of the city, when a woman came to him, and begged for justice against another, whom she had admitted to eat a share of her child, upon condition that, when they had made an end of him, the other's should be likewise killed and dressed to supply their common want; but now the second refused to fulfil her promise, and had concealed her infant in order to preserve its life. Such a shocking tale, accompanied with all the marks of despair, could not but fill the distressed monarch with the utmost horror; he rent his cloaths; disclosed his flesh covered with sackcloth; and, swearing that Elisha's head should pay for the distress of the people, sent immediately an officer to take it off. Elisha, aware of his design, was complaining of the king's cruelty to the elders of Israel, who were at his house, just as the messenger of death entered. However, the prophet found means to detain him at the door, till the king himself appeared. After the prophet had represented to him the injustice of punishing an innocent person, for a calamity which was sent from above, he desired him to have but patience till next day, by which time there would be such a supply of provision in Samaria, that a bushel of fine flour should be sold for a shekel of silver, and the rest in proportion.

money, though it was an unclean creature, and forbidden by the law of Moses; we must attribute the eating of it at

that time, to their extreme want of provision, which, in all such cases, may be allowed to dispense with law.

The prediction was verified accordingly : that we might some lepers, who lodged on the outside of the gate almost perishing with hunger, resolved, whatever might beset them, to go into the Syrian camp, in hopes to find either some supply of food, or, at the worst, a speedier death than that of starving. They entered it without hesitation, and were surprised to find the tents full of provisions and baggage, but empty of soldiers. As soon as they had satisfied their hunger with what they found at hand, they returned and communicated the news to the famished Samaritans. The king, at first, suspected it to be a stratagem of the Syrians, contrived to infuse him out of the city ; but, upon his sending a party to examine farther into the matter, he found, that the enemy had really fled with the utmost precipitation, and left their tents, horses, and baggage. On the preceding night it seems the Lord had excited an extraordinary noise of chariots, horses, and armour, which made them conclude, that Jehoram had hired the kings of Egypt, and other neighbouring nations, to come to his assistance. This supposition spread such an universal panic through the whole camp, that they did not so much as stay to mount their horses, but fled in the utmost confusion ; leaving, besides an immense variety of rich plunder, such a quantity of provisions, that a measure of fine flour was sold for a shekel, and the rest in proportion, at the gate of Samaria, according to the word of Elisha. At the same time a nobleman, who had ventured to declare against the possibility of such an unexpected plenty, and had been answered by the prophet, that he should see it without tasting of it, being appointed by the king to stand at the city gate, to prevent any disorders, was trampled to death by the multitude*.

The siege raised.

A great plenty in Samaria.

Soon after this unexpected deliverance, the prophet, whether out of discontent, or by divine impulse, took the way to Damascus, where the king lay quite exhausted through old age, fatigues, and disappointments. What the design and result of the visit were, the reader may see in the history of Syria. In the mean time the king of Israel entertained himself, during his absence, with the recital of Elisha's wonderful actions, from the mouth of his servant Gehazi ; who, among other things, was giving him an account of his raising the child of his Shunammitish hostess to life ; and of his sending her and her fa-

* Kings, viii. pass.

mily to seek their bread out of the kingdom, during the seven years of famine. He had scarce made an end of the story, when the woman herself came, in a lucky hour, to petition the king for her land, which had been confiscated during her absence; and gave Gehazi, who presently called her to mind, an opportunity of being both her evidence and advocate. So many favourable circumstances could not but render her suit successful: but the king even granted her more than she asked; and ordered, that she should have not only her land, but likewise the seven years income of it refunded¹.

By this time Hazael having murdered Benhadad, and invaded his throne, according to the word of Elisha, Jehoram, who was then at peace with the king of Judah, thought it a favourable juncture to try his fortune against Ramoth-Gilead, which his father had attempted in vain. He sent at the same time to Ahaziah, who had succeeded his father in Judah, and invited him to accompany him in that enterprize. Ahaziah, who was then but twenty-two years of age (P), being the youngest of all his brethren, who had been carried away captive in his father's days, was wholly conducted by his mother Athaliah, and by such counsellors as she pleased to appoint. And, as he followed all the impious ways of his father, he made no difficulty to enter into a confederacy with the king of Israel. This expedition seemed at first more successful than the former; but, in the event, it proved the fatal source of endless misfortunes to Israel, by giving Hazael an occasion of exercising all those cruelties which had been foretold by Elisha. Neither did it prove less fatal to Jehoram; the city was indeed taken, but he himself was so desperately wounded in the attack, that he was forced to return to Jezreel to be cured; leaving Jehu at the head of a number of forces, to secure the place, whilst the king of Judah probably returned to Jerusalem. In the mean time Elisha sent one of the young prophets to Ramoth, where he ordered him to anoint Jehu king of Israel privately; and to tell him, that he was appointed

Yr. of El.
1464
Ante Chr.
884. .

*Jehoram's
second ex-
pedition a-
gainst Ra-
moth-Gi-
lead.*

*He is
wounded
there.*

*Jehu a-
nointed.*

¹ 2 Kings, viii. 5, & seq. See Usher. Ann. sub A. M. 3120.

(P) The book of the Chronicles makes him begin his reign in the forty-second year of his age; but that is allowed to be an error, unless we will understand those forty-two

years not of his age, but of the time which had elapsed from Omri's coming to the crown, to the reign of Ahaziah, as Tremellius does, which amount just to that number.

by God to execute his vengeance against the whole race of Ahab, even to the impious Jezebel, whose carcase should shortly be devoured by dogs, whilst all the rest of his family were condemned to perish by his sword. The prophet had no sooner executed his commission, and poured the oil upon his head, than he fled out of the tent with all speed, to avoid farther examination. When Jehu came forth, his officers asked what business that mad man had with him; and, as soon as he had acquainted them with the secret, they all paid their homage to him, and proclaimed him king of Israel by sound of the trumpet. But Jehu did not think proper to disclose his design, till he had reached Jezreel, and surprised the wounded king before he could be in a condition to oppose him. Thither he rode with all speed, at the head of his men; and when he came within sight of the place, the watch acquainted the court with the arrival of the insurgents. The frightened king sent two messengers successively, to enquire whether or not they came peaceably. But Jehu ordered them both to turn behind his chariot. The centinel having informed the king of this circumstance, he communicated it to the king of Judah, who was come to visit him; and these two monarchs went with their guard against Jehu, who by that time was known from the furious velocity with which his chariot was driven. The place where they met was the vineyard, for which Naboth had lost his life; and here Jehoram asked him, whether he came peaceably; but Jehu soon gave him proof of the contrary, by upbraiding him with his and his mother Jezebel's murders and idolatries, and by putting himself in a posture of offence. The frighted monarch cried out in vain to Ahaziah, that they were betrayed: before he could turn his chariot about to avoid his enemy, Jehu pierced his heart with an arrow, and ordered one of his captains to cast his body into Naboth's field, there to be devoured, according to the word of Elijah. At the same time the king of Judah, terrified at the tragedy, endeavoured to avoid sharing his brother's fate, by flying through the private road that led to the garden-house; but Jehu ordered a detachment to pursue him, by which being overtaken at the ascent of Gur, he received divers mortal wounds, of which he died as soon as he had reached the city of Megiddo. Thence he was carried to Jerusalem, and buried with his ancestors; having reigned one year, and leaving only one son, a child, who

*The kings
of Judah
and Israel
killed by
him.*

who afterwards succeeded him, when he was yet but seven years of age.

Whilst Jehu's troops went in pursuit of Ahaziah, Jehu himself marched directly towards the royal palace of Jezreel, where Jezebel, the queen-mother, by that time informed of her son's fate, was waiting to give him such a haughty welcome, as did not well suit with her present circumstances; but she hoped, perhaps, that he would shew some regard, if not to her quality, at least to her sex; perhaps also she thought that she had still charms enough, in spite of her years, to captivate the new monarch, especially after she had improved them by art, and with the richest ornaments. She was looking out of a window when Jehu entered the palace, and, in a haughty tone, asked him, whether he expected a milder recompence of his rebellion, than his predecessor Zimri had formerly received? Jehu staid not to give her an answer; but observing some eunuchs standing on each side, he commanded them to throw her out of the window. They forthwith obeyed his order; some of her blood was dashed against the wall, her body trampled to death by the horses that were in his retinue, and afterwards devoured ^{Jezebel} ~~killed.~~

The prophet's sentence was not yet fulfilled: the whole race of Ahab was included in the prediction, and he had left seventy sons, who were all brought up under governors in Samaria. Jehu, therefore, did not think fit to enter that capital, till he had tried whether the chief magistrates of it had courage enough to undertake anything for the posterity of their late king. To this end he sent letters to them, seemingly to exhort them to make choice of one of the bravest of Ahab's sons, and to set him upon the throne. But they, who rightly guessed at the meaning of such a message, chose rather to sacrifice that unhappy race to Jehu's successful valour, than to run the risk of turning it against themselves. He no sooner understood their inclination, than he sent them an order to put all the young princes to death, and to bring their heads in baskets to him by the next day; an order which was punctually executed. The bloody present being sent to Jezreel that very night, Jehu ordered them to be laid in heaps at the gate of Samaria; and next morning the elders of that city came, and presented themselves before him. As soon as he saw them, he spake to them to this effect: "In all probability you look upon me as the sole author of all this bloodshed, as the murderer of your late

*Seventy
sons of
Ahab killed.*

king, and the usurper of his throne; but if I conspired against Jehoram, did not you murder all these young princes, in whose defence you might have stood, if you had thought fit? Know ye, therefore, that neither you nor I have done more than executed the sentence which had been pronounced against Ahab's posterity. But I have not finished my task, as long as there remains any of his kinsmen, counsellors, priests, or any of the abettors of his crimes." Accordingly, these were all put to death before he departed from Jezreel.

Jehu then took the road to Samaria, and in his way met forty-two princes of the house of Judah, going down to pay a visit to those of the house of Ahab, all of whom he caused to be slain upon the spot. After this massacre, he met with Jehonadab, the son of Rechab (S), and carried him in his chariot to Samaria, that he might be an eyewitness of his zeal against the impious worshippers of Baal.

When he arrived at that capital, he caused a solemn feast to be proclaimed, pretending great zeal for that deity; and ordered all its priests, prophets, and votaries to be present at it, on pain of death. As soon as they were assembled in such numbers as filled the temple, he commanded a body of troops to rush in, and put them all to the sword, in the midst of their worship. After this slaughter, he buried all the idols and ornaments; and the building being demolished, the place became a common jakes. But his metropolis was not the only place in which temples and altars had been raised to Baal; the infection had spread itself throughout the kingdom, which he now cleared of this species of idolatry. God being well pleased with his zeal, sent a prophet to assure him, that the kingdom of Israel should remain in his posterity till the fourth generation. Happy would it have been for him, if this promise had encouraged him to extirpate likewise the worship of the golden calves of Dan and Beth-el; but he followed Jeroboam's politics as long as he lived. For this reason, God resolved to cut Israel short,

Baal's
priests and
temple de-
stroyed.

Yr. of Fl.
1492.
Ante Chr.
856.

(S) The Rechabites were a tribe. They abstained from set of religiousists, who disdained wine, rejected all worldly pos- guished themselves by austere sitions, and would not evenerty of manners. They would employ themselves in any kind not dwell in cities, nor even of agriculture (1). in houses, but sojourned in

(1) *Jerem. xxxv., 6, 7.*

even from the beginning of his reign; so that Hazael prevailed against them, and took a great number of towns from the two tribes and a half on the other side of Jordan, besides some other frontier towns on this side; and ravaged all the places he came to, putting all the inhabitants to the sword in the most inhuman manner, as we have seen in the Syrian history. Jehu dying in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, was buried in Samaria, and succeeded by his son Jehoahaz ^a.

Whilst Jehu was thus laudably employed in abolishing the worship of Baal in Israel, the impious Athaliah used her utmost endeavours to extirpate that of the living God, and even the remembrance of it, out of Judah. The death of her son Ahaziah, and of forty-two princes of his house, followed by that of Jezebel, effected by a person newly raised to the throne of Israel in consequence of the divine command, filled her with such abhorrence both of the race and the God of David, that she resolved not to sheath her sword, until she had totally extirpated the one, and invalidated all the promises of the other. But whilst she was wreaking her fury against the sad remains of the house of Judah, Providence conducted thither Jehosheba, the daughter of the late king Joram, married to the high-priest Jehoiada ^b. This pious princess found means to save young Joash, her brother Ahaziah's son, who was then but a year old, from Athaliah's sword, and to convey him and his nurse out of the palace, unperceived by that cruel queen. This infant prince was conveyed into the temple, where he was brought up under Jehoiada's care, and kept with the utmost privacy till he was seven years old. During this interval, Athaliah tyrannized over Judah without controul, filling Jerusalem with blood, and destroying the servants of the true God, that she might more effectually establish the worship of Baal through the kingdom. By this time her murders and impieties were grown to such a height, that Jehoiada saw himself forced to put a stop to them, by producing the only remains of David's race, at once to convince the people, that God was still mindful of his promise to that holy monarch, by miraculously preserving him from the common ruin. This high-priest privately conveyed into the temple some of the chief's and elders of Judah, upon whose fidelity he could depend. Having bound them under the strictest oaths of secrecy, he presented their young mo-

Athaliah's
impious
reg.

and slaugh-
ter of Da-
vid's race.

Joash is
preserved.

^a Kings x. per tot. ^b Comp. 2 Kings xi. 2. ^c Chron. xxii. 11. March 5.

Yr. of El. march ; told them by what means he had been saved ;
 1470.
Ante Chr.
 878. and exhorting them to stand now, if ever, in the defence
 of their true sovereign, of their religion and liberty. The
 chiefs received these tidings of their preserved king with
 equal joy and surprize. To give him an immediate proof
 of their zeal and attachment, they took an oath of fidelity
 to him, promising the high-priest, that they would raise
 forces without, whilst he strengthened himself in the
 temple, by retaining and arming all the priests, Levites,
 and Nethinims. All these steps were taken with such
 secrecy and dispatch, that the temple was soon filled with
 armed men, to whom Jehoiada appointed their several
 posts ; by which time the generals without had raised a
 sufficient number of troops, ready to second them upon
 the first signal. On the day appointed, the young mon-
 arch was brought out, and conducted into the priest's
 porch, attended with a numerous train of armed Levites.
 There being anointed and crowned by the high-priest, who
 likewise administered to him the usual oath upon the sa-
 cred volumes, he was seated upon a throne, where he re-
 ceived the homage and loud acclamations of the people ;
 and that sacred place echoed with the sound of " Long
 live king Joash ! "

Athaliah is slain. Athaliah, alarmed at this noise, rushed into the porch, where seeing the young king enthroned, and surrounded by such a number of armed men, she rent her garments, exclaiming " Treason ! " Jehoiada, fearing lest his zealous Levites should pollute that sacred place with her blood, ordered her to be hurried out of it, and put to death. Then the king was conducted from the temple to the royal palace, and the news of this happy change was proclaimed throughout the kingdom. The high-priest being now in great esteem both with king and people, took hold of this happy juncture of the public joy, to root out once more the worship of Baal. They began with the temple of that idol, where having sacrificed Ma-
 than, the infamous priest, at the foot of the altar, they pulled the whole fabric to the ground ; nor did they desist until they had likewise destroyed all the other temples, altars, and monuments of that idolatrous worship, which Athaliah and her predecessors had reared up, both in Je-
 rusalem and Judah. Jehoiada likewise employed his in-
 fluence in making a new reformation at court, and in the temple, by naming those who had shewed the greatest
 bravery and zeal in the late revolution, to the highest
 posts in the government ; and by restoring that regularity
 in

in the divine service, which had been interrupted during the reigns of so many impious monarchs. He in particular prohibited all strangers, and idolatrous apostates, from entering the temple of God; and appointed porters at the gates, to prevent all unclean persons, of what kind soever, from being admitted^c.

Joash, who was proclaimed king in the seventh year ^{Joash's} of his age, continued to testify his grateful sense of the ^{pity and} Divine Providence, by his uncommon zeal for the worship ^{zeal.} of God, during the life of the high-priest. One of his first cares, after he was come to age, was to repair the dilapidations which had been made in the temple. To this end he ordered the priests and Levites to make their yearly circuits through all the cities of Judah, and to raise voluntary contributions among the people, besides the poll and redemption-money, to be employed in finishing those repairs. But the priests, who looked upon the latter as part of their own revenues, executed his orders with such reluctance, that he was forced to discharge them at once, and to commit the whole care of the money and repairs to the high-priest, and other proper officers. But Joash's zeal did not long survive Jehoiada's life. That good old priest died in the hundred and thirtieth year of his age. In honour of his faithful counsel, and signal services to the king and nation, he was buried in the royal sepulchre of Jerusalem; and with him seemed to expire the remembrance of all that he had done. Soon after his death, the base princes of Judah, tired with dissembling a zeal for God, which that pontiff's authority had only forced them to profess, came and prostrated themselves before the king, desiring that they might have leave to return to their old way of worship, which they had been used to in former reigns. The king, pleased, perhaps, with their uncommon submission, having readily granted their request, they immediately forsook the temple and worship of God, and set up new altars to those filthy idols, which they had formerly been used to worship in their groves with the most abominable ceremonies. This ungrateful apostacy, after so signal a deliverance, was not, however, punished, till they had been often forewarned, by several prophets, of the miseries which it would bring upon them (Y). But when they proved

Yr. of FL
1498.
Ante Chr.
850.

*Joash and
his chief
forsooke
God.*

^c Kings, xi. pass. Chron. xxiii. pass.

(Y) Among those prophets, and his nobles, was the high-priest Zechariah, the worthy son

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Ch. of N.
1500.
A.D.Chr.
839.

In all those divine admonitions, God stirred up against them the Syrian king, who began to commit severe outrages in Judea; whilst the cowardly Jews, though much superior in number, were delivered into his hands, as a punishment for their idolatry. Hazael, flushed with his success against Judah, advanced against Jerusalem, and made a terrible slaughter among those Jewish princes who had been the first authors of that defection.

The king of Syria invades Ju-
dah.

Joash is
murdered.

Joash suc-
ceeded by
Amaziah.

The king himself found no other way to escape sharing their fate, but by stripping the temple, and his own palace, of all their treasure, and giving it as a ransom to the Syrian conqueror, who, thus gratified, left Jerusalem, and returned to Damascus¹. Joash, however, did not escape the divine vengeance; though he then laboured under a grievous disease; his servants conspired against him, and murdered him in his bed, in the fortieth year of his reign, then crowned his son Amaziah in his stead (Y).

Amaziah succeeded him in the twenty-fifth year of his age, by which time Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, having reigned seventeen years in Israel, had left the kingdom to his son Joash. During this period nothing considerable had happened in that kingdom, except that their idolatries had also exposed them to the cruel oppressions of the king of Syria, till Jehoahaz's repentance and prayer obtained a kind of miraculous deliverance. What happened during his son's reign we shall see in its proper place. In the mean time the young king of Judah caused the murderers of his father to be put to death; but the text observes, that he spared their children, according to the law of Moses². Amaziah had, indeed, seen such severe judgments inflicted upon Joash, his father, and

¹ Comp. a Kings, xii. pass. & Chron. xxiv. pass.
son and successor of the late Jehoahaz; but his zeal cost him his life. The impious king caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the temple, without regard either to the place, or his character, as a prophet and high-priest; or to the great services of his father, to whom he owed both his life and kingdom. However, Zechariah, being full of the spirit of God, foretold, as he was dying, that

² Deut. xxiv. 16.
God would speedily punish the murder upon the king and them; and his prediction was soon fulfilled.

(Y) Joash was, by this time, in such abhorrence for the murderer of the high priest, that he was even deprived of the royal sepulchre; for, though he was buried in the city of David, yet the text says, that they did not deposit his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, but in some place apart.

his

To the Babylonian Captivity.

his apostate chiefs, as made him, for some time, afraid to imitate them ; though he forgot them but too soon, and, like Joash, having begun his reign piously and successfully, his end was as impious and tragical. His signal successes against the Edomites, promised to him by God himself, did but too much swell the heart of that young monarch. He had an army of three hundred thousand fighting men, and hired a hundred thousand more of the king of Israel, when he was going upon that expedition ; but was at length prevailed upon, by a prophet, to dismiss those last, not without great resentment and animosity on their side, of which they failed not to give an ample proof, by burning and ravaging all the countries through which they passed in their return home. This outrage broke at once all friendship between those two monarchs, and proved the source of a bloody war. Happy had it been for Amaziah if this had been all ; but that infatuated prince, after his victory over Edom, became so fond of the idols, which he had taken from them, that he caused them to be set up in Judah at his return, and went so far as to burn incense before them with his own hands, and vented some insolent threats to a prophet sent from God to reclaim him from his idolatry.

Amaziah had indeed, cause to resent the ravages which the disbanded Israelites had committed in his kingdom, during his expedition against Edom ; and, had he been less elated with his success, might have taken more proper measures for doing himself justice. On the other hand, Joash had no less reason to trust to his own valour. Soon after his accession to the crown, he had been paying a mournful visit to the prophet Elisha, who was then lying on his death-bed. He represented to that holy person the melancholy state in which he was going to leave the kingdom ; which had already suffered the greatest calamities from the kings of Syria, during the two last reigns ; and the prophet had prophesied to him, that he should gain three succeeding victories over that dominating nation. Joash, therefore, who had, by this time, given such signal proofs of his courage and conduct, by those victories which he gained over the Syrians, and by recovering all the places which they had taken from his predecessors (Z), could not forbear expressing the utmost

¹ Kings, xiii. 14, & seqq.

(Z) It is not easy to determine the date of these victories. As for Elisha, he died soon after. Some Israelites going

contempt of Amaziah's defiance. The answer he returned was couched in the most scornful and mortifying terms, under the allegory of a despicable thistle, which, having aspired to an alliance with the noble cedar, had, for his ambition, been crushed under the feet of a wild beast: he concluded with advising him to rest contented with his late petty victories, and not suffer his ambition to drive him into a desperate attempt, which would end, in all likelihood, in the total loss of his kingdom. Amaziah was only the more exasperated at this answer.

*It defeated
by the king
of Israel.*

He immediately took the field against this rival, and the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Beth-shemesh, where Judah was totally routed. Josephus adds, that they were seized with such a panic, at the very first onset, that they turned their backs without striking one stroke, and left their king at the mercy of the conqueror*. Amaziah was actually taken prisoner, and Joash marched on with him, and his own army, to Jerusalem, where he obliged his captive to buy his freedom, at the expence of all the gold and silver which were found, either in the temple or in his own treasury. Then he demolished about four hundred cubits of the city wall, and, having taken some hostages, returned to Samaria. He did not outlive this victory above one year; and was succeeded by his son Jeroboam, the second of that name, after he had reigned sixteen years. As for Amaziah, though he outlived his disgrace about fifteen years, yet we read no more of him till the latter end of his reign, when, having dis-

* Ant. lib. ix. cap. 10.

going to bury a corpse in the neighbourhood of Samaria, perceived a band of Moabites coming towards them, for fear of whom they cast the dead body into Elisha's tomb, and fled: but, as soon as it had touched the bones of the dead prophet, the men revived, and ran after them. We have Elisha's panegyric, in few words, in the book of Ecclesiasticus: "Elisha, says that author, was filled with the spirit of Elijah: whilst he lived, he was not overawed by any prince, neither could any bring

him into subjection; no word could overcome him; and, after his death, he prophesied, &c."

Some authors, however, not content with the miracles he had wrought during his life, and after his death, have affirmed that, at his birth, one of the golden calves pronounced these words, with such a loud voice, that it was heard from Gilgal to Jerusalem: " This is he that is to destroy the carved idols, and break the molten images in pieces."

covered

covered a conspiracy that was formed against him at Jerusalem, he was forced to flee to Lachish, where he was pursued and murdered by the conspirators. His body was carried back to Jerusalem, and buried with his ancestors; and his son Azariah proclaimed in his stead.

Whilst Amaziah spent the remnant of his reign in a kind of inactive security in Jerusalem, Jeroboam II. the brave great-grandson of Jehu, seemed ordained by Providence to restore the kingdom of Israel to its pristine splendor: His reign, which lasted forty-one years, besides those ten which he had governed in conjunction with his father, gave him time more than sufficient to perform that noble work, to which he was encouraged by the prophet Jonah, the son of Amitai (A), and Hosea the son of Beeri, who were contemporaries with him, and foretold, that he should complete the deliverance of Israel, which his father had begun, notwithstanding his cleaving to the idolatries of his predecessors. Accordingly, he took the Syrian capital, Damascus, and Hamath, with all their territories; both which had formerly belonged to Judah, and all the country on the other side Jordan, from Hamath to the sea of the plain, or the Dead Sea. The particulars of all these actions are unknown to us, having been written in the annals of the kings of Israel, long time lost. He died in the forty-first year of his reign; was buried with his ancestors in Samaria, and succeeded by his son Zechariah.^a Jeroboam's reign was glorious, with respect to his conquests; but it stands branded for various idolatries, and for the injustice, luxury, rapine, and other immoralities which reigned at that time: insomuch that the prophets Hosea and Amos, who lived in his days, give us a very dreadful account of the disorders and debauchery which were committed both in Samaria and in Israel, for they were sent to foretel the total ruin which the sins of their inhabitants would shortly bring upon the whole kingdom. Amos, in particular, went from Judah, where he was a common shepherd, to denounce the most severe judgments against Israel, even to its total dispersion. These judgments he foretold under the types of grasshoppers, which destroyed all the fruit of the land; of a devouring

Yr. of Pl.
1503.
Ante Chr.
815.

Jeroboam
II. King of
Israel.

Yr. of Pl.
1564.
Ante Chr.
784.

^a Kings xiv. passim. to ver. 21. ^b Chron. xxv. per tot.

^a Kings xiv. ver. ult.

(A) This is the same Jonah, fear to preach repentance to or Jonas, as he is called in the Ninevites. Gospel, who was afterwards

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fit; and lastly, of a plumbet-line, and tottering-wall ready to bury the idols of Israel under its ruins. For these prophecies he was accused to the king, by Amaziah, one of the idolatrous priests of Beth-el, and by him commanded to return into Judah. He was forced to obey, though not before he had denounced this heavy judgment against the messenger, that his wife should become an open prostitute in the city, that his sons and daughters should fall by the sword, and himself die in a polluted land, namely, that of Assyria; whither the ten tribes were soon after carried away captive.

Xr. of Fl. Zechariah succeeded his father Jeroboam. He was the
1376. great-grand-son of Jehu; and so far was God's pro-
Ante Chr. mize to this last fulfilled, that the kingdom should continue
772.

Zechariah. the downfall of Israel from the reign of Zechariah. From that time, we read of nothing but treasons and rebellions, of murders, anarchy (B), and universal desolation : Zechariah had scarce reigned six months, before he was publicly massacred by Shallum, one of his own domestics, according to Josephus^c, who seized upon the kingdom, and, after a reign of thirty days, was himself murdered by Menahem, Zechariah's general, in the metropolis of Samaria. As soon as this last was seated upon the throne, he returned to Tirzah, a city in the tribe of Ephraim, formerly the residence of Jeroboam I^d: which place refusing to open the gates to him, he put all the inhabitants to the sword, and committed the most horrid cruelties on their pregnant women that ever were perpetrated by the vilest barbarians. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by Pul king of Assyria (C); and, as

(B) Archbishop Usher observes here, that there must have been an interregnum of eleven years and a half before Zedekiah succeeded the throne; without which supposition it will be impossible to make his death, and Shallum's short reign, coincide with the thirty-first year of Azariah king of Judah, in which it is said to have happened.

that this Pul was the father of Sargonapalus, called from him, Sardan-Pul; as Merodach king of Babylon was called Merodach-Baladan. Pul is the first King of Assyria we find named in Scripture, from the time of Nimrod, and may be reasonably enough supposed to have reigned at Nineveh at the time of Jonah's preaching. After all, what is more con-

he was not in a condition to make head against him, he was forced to buy his friendship at the price of a thousand talents of silver, which he levied upon the wealthiest of his own subjects; whom he obliged to pay fifty shekels per head. Pul, thus satiated, returned homewards, and Menahem, having reigned quietly the remaining eleven years of his life, was succeeded by his son Pekahiah, in the fiftieth year of Azariah, or Uzziah, king of Judah.

The kingdom of Judah all this while enjoyed profound peace. Azariah, whom the people had set upon the throne, immediately after his father Amaziah's murder, in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II's reign, was then but sixteen years of age, wholly directed by Zechariah, not the prophet of that name, who lived after their return from the captivity, but another, who is only known for the great wisdom and piety of his counsels to the young monarch. During the life of that faithful counsellor, Azariah became equally conspicuous for his zeal against idolatry, for imitating the best of his predecessors, and for his great success against several of his neighbours, especially the Philistines^f. He likewise fortified his own metropolis; repaired the wall of it, which had been demolished by the king of Israel; and built several fortresses and magazines in different parts of his kingdom, as well as in those countries which he had taken from the Philistines, Arabians, and Mehuimis (D). His army consisted of three hundred and seven thousand five hundred men, under the command of two expert generals, Maaziah, and Hananiah, and of Jehiel, his scribe, or secretary of war, who appointed each band their respective turn of duty, according to the muster rolls. Besides these, he had also two thousand six hundred officers, all famous for their valour and experience; and a prodigious quantity of arms of all sorts, which he kept in several strong store-

* Kings xv. 23, ad 22.

^f Chron. xxvi. 6, & seqq.

(D) These Mehuimis the Chaldee paraphrast renders, *the inhabitants in the wilderness of Madon*, which was in that part of Arabia Petrea toward Gerasa and Rhaesa; for which reason they seem joined with the Arabians of Geshual, who

dwell in another canton of the same province; and, as both were in the same neighbourhood of Egypt, therefore the text adds, that Uzziah's fame was spread abroad, even unto the entering into Egypt (1).

(1) Vide Bochart. Thaleg. lib. ii. cap. 23. Et Clerc. Com. in loc. &c al.

Yr. of Fl.
1538.
Ante Chr.
110.

Azariah's
piety,

and success.

Army and
magazines.

times all over his kingdom; over and above a great number of new invented machines for throwing darts, large stones, and other missiles, from his towers and bulwarks; which machines are said to have been contrived by some of his expert engineers. Whilst he was thus employed in his military affairs, he did not forget the business of agriculture: he had numerous herds of cattle, and a vast number of fields and vineyards; of husbandmen and vine-dressers: he built towers and cots, and dug wells every where, for the conveniency of his servants and cattle. So that, whether we look upon him in peace or war, he seems to have attained the height of glory and affluence.

Yr. of Fl.

1587.

Anno Chr.

761.

But all this he unhappily lost, by his attempting to infringe upon the priestly office, and to burn incense upon the sacred altar. He was strongly opposed by the then high-priest Azariah, at the head of fourscore other zealous priests, who represented to him in vain, that it was a province which belonged only to the sons of Aaron. The infatuated king would not desist, till he felt himself smitten with leprosy in such a sudden and extraordinary manner, as made him sensible, that it was sent from God, as a punishment for his presumption. The priests, as soon as they perceived the first symptoms of that disease appear in his forehead, were going to force him out of the temple; but Azariah was by that time struck with such terror and remorse, that he saved them that trouble. He made what haste he could, not only out of that sacred place, but even out of the city, and went to live in a separate house, where he continued, infected with that distemper, secluded from all society, and deprived of the regal power unto the day of his death; after which he was buried in a sepulchre, a-part, adjoining to that of his ancestors¹. He died in the fifty-second year of his reign, and the sixtieth eighth of his age²; and was succeeded by his son Jotham, who had taken the government upon him immediately after his father's fallacious. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that Uzziah's history was written by Isaiah the son of Amos; but we find nothing now of him in the writings of that prophet, but his name³.

Two years before Azariah's death, Pekahiah succeeded his father Menahem in Israel; and, after two years reign, was killed in his own palace by Pekah the son of Remaliah, one of his generals, who ascended the throne about

*Pekahiah
king of Is.
and suc-
ceeded
and
succes-
sor.*

¹ *Chron. xxvi. per tot.* ² *2 Kings xv. 2.* ³ *Isa. i. viii. 4.*

a year before Jotham succeeded his father in Judah. The characters of these two kings were very opposite; Pekah was a wicked prince, and followed the steps of his predecessors; so that his reign proved troublesome and unsuccessful, and ended in a violent death. Jotham was twenty-five years old when his father died: he was wise and ^{Yotham} ^{king of} ^{Judah.} pious; inherited all his father's virtues, without any of his vices; and was blessed with extraordinary success. Pekah, having concluded an alliance with Rezin king of Syria, made an attempt against Judah, but was soon forced to return, and defend his own territories against Tiglath-Peleser king of Assyria, who had invaded the land of Naphtali, taken the most considerable towns of it, and carried that whole tribe captive into his own kingdom. Mean while Jotham gained several considerable advantages against his neighbours, especially against the Ammonites, whom he brought under a yearly tribute of a hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley ². At length, having repaired and beautified the temple, fortified the city, and done many other public acts, Jotham died in peace, after he had reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son Ahaz. As for Pekah, after he had had the mortification to see one whole tribe torn from him by a foreign power, and his kingdom, during the last ten years of his reign, reduced to a state of anarchy and rebellion, he was murdered, and succeeded by Hoshea the son of Elah, in the twentieth year of his reign ³, and about three years after Jotham's death.

He was more successful, however, during those three last years against Ahaz, Jotham's unworthy son, whose impieties made his reign as unfortunate and inglorious, as that of his father had been glorious and successful. He was scarce seated on the throne, before his kingdom was invaded by the joint forces of the kings of Israel and Syria. Ahaz was under the utmost consternation, when he received intelligence that two such powerful enemies were advancing against him; and seems to have expected nothing less than the total dissolution of the Jewish monarchy; when Isaiah, the son of Amos ⁽⁴⁾, who had been

Yr. of Fl.
1609.
Ante Chr.
739.

Ahaz's ido-
latrous and
unsuccessful
reign.

² Chron. xxvii. 5. ³ Kings xv. 22. ⁴ Chron. xxvii. per tot. See also Other Ann. for A. M. 3445, and the margin of our Bible on Kings xv. 20.

(1) Isaiah is affirmed by the Christians, to have been the Jews, and believed by many grandson of Josiah, king of Judah.

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Yr. of El. 760 to prophesy over from the latter end of Uzziah's reign¹⁶⁰³, came to him from the Lord, to assure him, that those two princes should try their strength in vain against Jerusalem, which they were about to besiege^b. At the same time he assured him, that the final end of the Jewish monarchy was far enough off, bidding him ask a sign of God, and it should be granted. The king, whether out of respect, or despondency and unbelief, refusing to ask for the promised sign, the prophet assured him from the Lord, that before that time came, "a virgin should conceive and bear a son, and call his name Immanuel or God with us."

No sooner had the first part of the prophecy been verified, and the city delivered from the impending ruin, than Ahaz gave himself up to the vilest impieties and idolatries, in which he far outwent the very worst of his predecessors; till God was pleased at last to leave him at the mercy of his two formidable enemies. Rezin, in order to make himself amends for his ill success against Jerusalem, recovered Elath, a considerable sea-port upon the Red Sea, which Uzziah had taken. He repaired and fortified it; expelled the Jews, and peopled it with his Syrian subjects; and from that time the Jews never could retake it from his successors.

*A great
daughter
of his sub-
jects.*
The king of Israel was still more inveterate and successful, and it is not easy to say how far he might have carried on his conquests against him, had not a prophet been sent from God to put a timely stop to his progress. He had already killed in one battle one hundred and twenty thousand subjects of Ahaz, besides his son Maaseiah, and some of the noblest that were next his royal person. He had likewise taken two hundred thousand captives, whom they were carrying away to Samaria,

I. i.

Ibid. vii. 1. &c. ^b Kings xvi. 5.

Jotham. His first vision was about the latter end of Uzziah's reign; but his prophecies relate to the successors of the first four chapters to Joash, the six that follow to Ahaz, and the rest to Hezekiah; comprising that period when we have no mention made which relate to the Assyrians, and to the rise of several foreign kingdoms. He is justly esteemed

the prince of the prophets, for the dignity and majesty of his style, as well as for the clearness of his prophecies.

He was highly respected by the good kings, especially by Hezekiah, who sent to consult him upon all emergencies; and as ill treated by the bad, especially by Manasseh, who is supposed to have put him to a cruel death.

when

when Oded the prophet stopped them short, and asked whether they did not think it enough to have made such a horrid slaughter of their brethren, unless they carried away a much greater number into slavery. He added, that though the idolatries of Judah had drawn those heavy judgments upon that unfortunate tribe, yet, if they persisted to carry those innocent prisoners into captivity, their cruelty would bring down much severer calamities upon themselves. He concluded, with exhorting them to be contented with the rich plunder they had got, and to send their captives back to Jerusalem. This remonstrance made such an impression upon the victors, that they dismissed their prisoners, not without marks of compassion and humanity.

Whilst the affairs of Ahaz remained in this dismal situation, the Edomites and Philistines invaded other parts of his land ; the former carried away a great number of captives, and the latter recovered several considerable frontier towns. In this extremity he had recourse to his old ally the king of Assyria, whose assistance he purchased with all the gold and silver he could find in the temple and city. Tiglath-Pileser received his presents, but instead of coming to assist him against the confederate kings, he turned his whole strength against that of Syria, under pretence of making a diversion in his favour. Having killed Rezin, and seized upon his capital ^b, he was visited by Ahaz, who was so much pleased with a heathenish altar which he saw at Damascus, that he procured a model of it, according to which one was built in the temple of Solomon. At his return he offered up incense and a vast quantity of sacrifices upon his new altar ; but soon after he caused the temple to be shut up, whilst he reared others in every corner of Jerusalem, and every where else, to the Syrian Gods. Thus he abandoned himself to the most abominable idolatries ; finished his impious reign in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Hezekiah ; he reigned fifteen years ^c, and was buried in Jerusalem, but not in the sepulchre of David, of which he was esteemed unworthy ^d.

*Edom and
the Philis-
tines in-
vade him.*

*His idola-
try.*

and death.
Yr. of Pl.
1622.
Ante Chr.
716.

^b Chron. xxviii. 27, 28. ^c Kings xii. 2. ^d Chron. xxviii. ult.

(K) This is, at least, the best way to reconcile the book of Kings and that of Chronicles ; the former of which says, that he came to Ahaz's assistance ; and the latter, that he did not, but rather strengthened him (1).

(1) Conf. 2 Kings xvii. 9, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxviii. 20, 21.

Hoshea,
king of Is-
rael.

Hezekiah's
good reign.

The temple
opened and
purified.

The kingdom of Israel, all this while, was in no better state than that of Judah. Pekah had paid dear for his success against it, in being murdered by Hoshea soon after his return, that is, in the fourth year of Ahaz. This revolution, however, proved so disagreeable to the Israelites, that it caused a kind of anarchy, which lasted almost nine years; during which, Hoshea found it a difficult task to keep himself upon the throne. After he had quelled these commotions, and began to reign more peaceably, we do not find that he made any hostile attempt, either against Ahaz, or his successor (L).

Hezekiah, who ascended his father's throne in the twenty-fifth year of his age, or, as the text hath it, in the third year of Hoshea's reign, easily perceived the source of Judah's misfortunes, and exerted all his endeavours to stop it without delay. He began with opening the temple, and commanded the priests and Levites to renew the daily worship of God, according to the law of Moses. This good work commenced on the first day of the year, it being the sabbath, and was finished on Saturday the sixteenth of the same month. The king assembled the elders of Judah next morning, and repaired with them to the temple, attended by the priests and Levites, and a numerous crowd of people. Here they made the proper offerings to expiate the sins of the nation; after which they sacrificed such numbers of burnt and peace-offerings, that the priests, who assisted at the ceremony, being insufficient for the service, were obliged to call in the Levites to their assistance, and these accepted the office with the utmost alacrity. All this while the air echoed with the sound of trumpets, and other musical instruments, and with the voices of the singers, who accompanied the ceremony with psalms and hymns suitable to that extraordinary solemnity, which was concluded with expressions of the utmost joy and satisfaction, both in the king and people. The season for celebrating

(L) He had, indeed, other business upon his hand: Shalmaneser had, by this time, succeeded Tiglath-Pileser in Assyria; and whether Hoshea had been forced to make use of his assistance to settle himself upon the throne, or whether his predecessor had committed any hostilities against Israel, during his alliance with

Ahaz, Hoshea was, by some means not mentioned in the text, become tributary to Assyria, and was endeavouring to free himself from that yoke, by courting So, king of Egypt, to an alliance. This attempt proved the source of new troubles, which ended at last in the total ruin of the Israelitish monarchy.

the

the Passover being past, their zeal pointed out an expedient from the law of Moses, where it is prescribed, that those, who, by reason of any legal impediment, could not celebrate that festival on the first, should do it on the second month. The good king postponed it accordingly, and made use of that interval to send circular letters through his whole kingdom, inviting his subjects to be present at that feast on the fourteenth of the next month. His piety extended still farther: the miseries under which the idolatrous Israelites groaned, inspired him with a desire of endeavouring, at least, to work a reformation in that unhappy kingdom; to this end, he addressed them in a most pathetic letter, explaining the source of all their misfortunes, exhorting them to return to the worship of the true God, and to present themselves before him at the ensuing solemnity, as the most effectual means, not only to avert his future judgments, but even to obtain from him the redemption of their unhappy brethren, whom the kings of Assyria had carried into captivity*.

Whilst the king's messengers made their progress from Dan to Beersheba, the Jews were employed in burning and demolishing all the idols, altars, and other idolatrous monuments, which had been reared in Jerusalem; so that the metropolis was thoroughly purged, before the appointed festival. By this time the city was filled with people, not only from all the parts of the kingdom, but also from that of Israel, and of the tribes of Asher, Zebulun, Manasseh, and Issachar. This solemnity, such as had not been observed since the latter end of Solomon's reign¹, inspired the people with such uncommon zeal, that as soon as they were dismissed, they went about destroying all the old relics of idolatry, each in their respective countries, the king himself encouraging them by his example, until he had utterly cleared his kingdom. The very brazen serpent, which Moses had caused to be set up in the wilderness, Hezekiah ordered to be broken in pieces, because he found, that the people had offered incense to it: and, in contempt, he called it nehashtan; that is, a piece of brass².

His next care was to restore all the branches of the worship of God; to make an exact scrutiny into the genealogies of the priests, Levites, and musicians, in order to settle their several classes, according to David's model. He provided for their maintenance, by reviving the laws

*A solemn
Passover
celebrated.*

*Israel in-
vited to it
by the king.*

*Several of
them come
to the feast.*

* 2 Chron. xxx. 6, & seq.

¹ Ibid. paff.

² Kings xviii. 4.

Hosheiah's success.

of Moses concerning the first-fruits, tithes, redemption, and vows, so far as they related to the Levitical revenues; so that, by October following, when all the fruits were brought in, they had received their dues according to the original rules of distribution. Hosheiah, all this while, was blessed with success equal to his piety. Finding himself strong enough to assert his independence, he refused to pay the tribute which the Assyrians had extorted from his predecessor; and taking the field against the Philistines, his arms were attended with such success, that in a little time, he regained with interest all that they had acquired during the unfortunate reign of Ahaz.

Israel invaded.

Samaria besieged and taken.

*Yr. of Fl.
1617.
Ante Chr.
721.*

The sad end of the Israelitish kingdom.

It fared quite otherwise with the kingdom of Israel. Hoshea, little dreaming how near it drew to its final period, was thinking how to free it from the Assyrian bondage. But Shalmaneser, who kept a watchful eye over him, soon discovered and broke all his measures. In order to act the more effectually, that king took care to secure the land of Moab, by taking their two chief cities, and laying waste all that land, as well as Israel, even to the gates of Samaria, which he now invested. Hoshea had, however, so well fortified himself in that city, that it held out almost three years against the Assyrian king. The text gives us no farther particulars, either of this siege or war, except that, after the reduction of the metropolis, the rest of the kingdom was forced to submit to the conqueror; that the king and all his subjects were carried away into captivity, and disposed of in the same provinces of that empire, whether their brethren had been sent in a former reign (P); but we have a dreadful account of it in some of the prophets, who describe the distresses of the people, in the most affecting terms¹. The Syrians committed the most horrid cruelties against their

Hosea, 7. 9.

(P) The last book of Chronicles tells us, that God stirred up Pul and Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, against the impious Manasseh; and that the latter carried away the two tribes and a half from beyond Jordan, and banished into the countries of Media, Elam, and Lydia, and to the river Gomor.

And the book of Tobit adds, that the tribe of Naphtali, of which Tobit was, being carried away by Eseniaslar, who is the same with Shalmaneser, was placed in the province of Media, and himself in the capital of it, called Rages, where he left ten talents with his children¹.

¹ Chro. viii. 21. Tobit. 1. 22.

captives,

captives, ripping up their pregnant women, and dashing their children against the ground^k. Having reduced Samaria to a heap of rubbish^l, and laid waste all the land, they returned home laden with the spoil of Israel. Such was the sad catastrophe of the Israelitish kingdom^m, after it had stood divided from that of Judah two hundred and fifty-four yearsⁿ. Its dissolution happened in the sixth year of Hezekiah, and in the ninth of Hoshea. A great number, however, of the Israelites escaped, some into Egypt, and many more into the kingdom of Judah, where they weaned themselves, by degrees, from their former idolatries and rebellion, and became subjects to Hezekiah, and his successors. On the other hand, the Assyrians sent colonies from several of their provinces, but chiefly from Cuthah, to re-people the land of Israel (Q), and those were distinguished by the name of Cutheans^o.

Hezekiah having refused to pay the tribute to Sennacherib, the new king of Assyria, that monarch invaded him with a powerful army, and reduced a great number of fortified cities, with such expedition as seemed to threaten nothing less than the total ruin of the whole kingdom. Hezekiah, who saw his error too late, had no way left to rectify it, but by a speedy submission; he therefore sent an embassy to Sennacherib, acknowledging his fault, and promising to submit to whatever terms he should impose, accompanied with the richest presents, for which he was forced to strip the temple, and his own treasury, of all their silver and gold; an expedient which

Yr. of Fl.
1635.
Ante Chr.
713.

*Hezekiah
revolts.*

*Invaded by
Sennache-
rib.*

^k Hos. x. 8, 14. ^l Micah i. 6, & alib. ^m 2 Kings xvii. pass. ⁿ Uther. Ann. in. A. M. 3283. ^o 2 Kings xvii. 24. Vide Joseph. Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 14.

(Q.) The text adds (1), that these new colonies were like to have been destroyed by lions, Josephus says (2), by pestilence, upon their very first settlement, for their disregard to God; so that they were forced to send into Assyria, to desire the king to give them some Israelitish priests, to instruct them how to worship and appease him. This request being complied with, they learned the Jewish worship, but

without forsaking that of their own gods, which they had brought from their respective countries: and here began a new kind of religion, not unlike that of the Israelites; consisting in the worship of the true God, and of a number of false deities. Hence sprang that mutual hatred between the Jews and Samaritans, the former abominated even the name of the latter.

(1) 2 Kings xvii. 25, & seq.

(2) Joseph. Ant. lib. ix. cap. 14. mollified

mollified the invader so effectually, that he retired without inflicting any other penalty, than a yearly tribute of three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold. This respite, however, though so dearly bought, was of short duration; the treacherous Assyrian king, who remained still at Lachish, in a little time sent his army, under the command of Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, directly against Jerusalem; so that Hezekiah saw himself in much greater danger than ever of losing his kingdom and liberty, if not his life.

Prepara-tions a-painf him. In this emergency, he made all proper preparations for a brave defence: he fortified the city, surrounded it with a second wall, fenced it with towers, and laid in good store of arms and provisions. He likewise caused all the fountains about the city to be stopped; and the course of the brook Gihon, which watered all that region, to be turned another way, to cut off, as much as possible, all supply of water from the enemy. These precautions being taken, he called together all his chief officers to one of the gates of the city. There he exhorted them, in a grave and pious speech, to rely wholly upon God; to behave with becoming valour; and by no means to be disengaged at the number and strength of the faithless Assyrians*. He had been seized with a dangerous distemper, and warned by the prophet Isaiah to set his affairs in order, as he should certainly die: shocked at this prediction, he addressed himself to God in the most humble and pathetic terms, praying that his life might be prolonged; and God being moved by his tears and intreaties, sent back the prophet to assure him his supplication was heard. He gave him to understand that he should not only recover and survive this disorder fifteen years, but also be delivered from the enemies that threatened him with destruction.

Hezekiah was too much interested in these happy tidings to believe them on a slight foundation; and therefore demanded a miraculous sign of God's gracious intention. This was accordingly obtained by the prayers of the prophet, and the sun's shadow went backwards ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz (B). The king happily recovered

* *2 Kings xxii. 7, 8 seqq.*

* *2 Kings xx. 11.*

(B) The learned have not yet certainly discovered, in what manner this phenomenon was exhibited. It is observed

that sun-dials were invented by the Babylonians above two hundred years after this period, and that the Jews had not

in three days ; and the next part of the prophet's prediction, namely, his deliverance from the Assyrian power, did not remain long unfulfilled. The generals of the invading army presented themselves before the walls, and demanded a parley with the ministers of Hezekiah ; who appeared accordingly on the battlements, attended by a vast multitude of people. Then Rabshakeh addressed himself to them in a haughty and threatening speech, filled with the most bitter invectives, and opprobrious language, not only against the king, but even against the God of Israel. It was spoken in the Hebrew tongue, to infuse the greater terror into the listening people ; and when they were desired to speak in Syriac, instead of complying with this request, they only renewed their menaces of reducing the kingdom to the worst extremities, unless they should prevent their ruin by yielding themselves captives to the great Sennacherib ^o.

This insolent address was answered only by a deep silence ; but the Assyrian generals being soon after informed, that their master was forced to defend his own territories against Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had then invaded him, they left Jerusalem, and marched directly to their own country. Before Sennacherib departed from Lachish, he sent a threatening letter to Hezekiah, to assure him, that, if he still persisted in his refusal of yielding himself captive, he would shortly return with double fury against him, and make him severely feel the effects of his own folly, and vain confidence in God, whom he should find as weak and impotent against his irresistible

*Sennacherib's threat-
letter.*

^o Kings xviii. 17, ad fin. ^z Chron. xxxii. 9, &c. seqq. Isa. xxxvi. 5, & seqq. xxvii. 1—10.

not yet divided the day into hours, so that the degrees mentioned in the text, cannot be ascertained. Uher supposes that the whole planetary system went backwards, in which case the miracle must have extended all over the earth, and been remarked in other countries, especially about Babylon where astropony was already well understood : but there it did not

appear, inasmuch as Merodach-Baladan sent an embassy to Hezekiah on purpose to enquire about this preternatural appearance. Others imagine it was no other than a retrogression of the sun-beams in consequence of reflexion and refraction.—Those who are curious to see what has been advanced on the subject, may consult the following authors (3).

(3) Uher, lib. M. M. 391. p. 71. Grot. Chomer. Cyril. Alex. & Hieron. in loc. & in Isa. xxviii. 12. Scalig. Venet. Mans-
ter. Salmai. Galpin. ~~Galpin~~. La Glise. Calmet.

power,

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power, as those of many other nations had hitherto proved. As soon as the king had read the letter, he went up to the temple, accompanied by his chief ministers, and spread it before the Lord; and, in the humblest terms, besought him that he would make good his late promises, and vindicate his honour against his insolent and blasphemous enemy, who had dared to level the God of heaven with the senseless idols of the more senseless heathen. He had scarce ended his prayer, when he received a gracious answer by the prophet Isaiah, importing, that though Sennacherib would certainly bring back his forces against Jerusalem, yet God would so protect it against them, that they should not shoot an arrow against, nor open a trench before it; that this proud insulting enemy should be forced to flee with shame and loss, and fall at length by the sword in his own land. This prophecy was likewise soon after verified. Sennacherib returned against Judah, flushed with his late victory over the Ethiopians⁴, and breathing death and destruction against the whole kingdom; but before he could have time to commit any hostilities against it, the best part of his army was smitten by an angel in one night, insomuch that one hundred and eighty-five thousand of them were found dead by the next morning. This dreadful judgment so alarmed the proud Assyrian monarch, that he retired with the utmost confusion and speed into his own capital, where he was soon after assassinated by two of his own sons⁵. As for Hezekiah, he suffered himself to be so elated by all these extraordinary blessings, that he brought a train of evils upon himself and people. He had, about this time, received a special embassy from Merodach, or, as Isaiah calls him, Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, to congratulate him upon his late success and recovery, and to enquire about the prodigy of the sun's retrogression. As his success, and the spoile of his enemy, had made Hezekiah exceedingly rich, he took a particular pleasure in entertaining the ambassadors with a sight of all the wealth, grandeur, and strength of his court and kingdom. This interview of his vanity brought Isaiah to him with a message from God, informing him that very Babylonians, whose eyes he had glistened with all the glory of his kingdom, would in a short time, not only strip it of all that was valuable in it, but even carry away captive some of his subjects, and make them exarchs in their monarch's

⁴ See the history of the reign of Hezekiah, chap. xxii. 14. In which you will find the names of the two sons of Sennacherib.

palace.

palace. By this denunciation Hezekiah was brought to such a sense of his error, that he acknowledged the mildness of the sentence; since he was suffered to end his days in peace. Among others of his public acts, he is recorded to have made a large pool, and conduit, to supply Jerusalem with water; and to have been an encourager of husbandry, himself having numberless flocks and herds in his own pasture-grounds, besides vines and arable lands. He died in peace, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign, according to the words of the prophet, and was "buried in the chieftest of the sepulches of the sons of David." His funeral obsequies were performed with uncommon magnificence, not only in the city, but also throughout the whole kingdom. (X.)

Yr. of Fl.
1650.
Ante Clr.
698.

Manasseh was but twelve years of age when he succeeded Hezekiah; and, whether he was naturally vicious, or fell into the hands of wicked counsellors, we may date the downfall, both of the kingdom and religion, from the fatal day of his ascending the throne. He seems not only to have strove to exceed all his predecessors in wickedness, idolatry, tyranny, and sacrilege, but even to have shewed an impious emulation to undo all that his pious father had done, and to act in direct opposition to his conduct. But the most execrable piece of wickedness and sacrilege was, his introducing the vilest of idolatries into the very temple of God, and causing "a graven image of the grove," an idol, worshipped with the vilest ceremonies, to be set up in the most sacred place; as if he had designed to drive the God of Israel out of his habitation, and to disclaim at once all those great blessings which had been promised to David and Solomon, and to all that worshipped him⁶ in that place. He worshipped Baal; erected altars and groves in Judah and Jerusalem, to the sun, moon, stars, and other heathenish deities; and encouraged his subjects to sacrifice their children to Moloch.

Manasseh's
wicked
reign.

His sacrilegious
reign.

For these abominations he was often and severely reprobred by several prophets, and threatened with the most dreadful judgment upon himself and kingdom; which

Comp. 2 Kings xx. 30. &c. Chron. xxii. 21. & seqq. 1 Kings viii. 12. ix. 2.

(X) Besides Isaiah and Micah, and the prophetess of Nineveh, Nahum likewise prophesied in Judea, which answered after the days of Hezekiah. He fore-warned the day of Judah's

menaces

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His mur-
ders and
Gra-
vity.

measures only exasperated him to exercise the most shocking cruelties against them, and as many as flared to shew a dislike to his impieties. Jerusalem became, soon after, the scene of the most horrid butcheries; prophets, priests, nobles, and people, were slain indifferently, until he had filled that metropolis with blood¹. At length Providence was pleased to put a signal stop to his impious career, by delivering him into the hands of some of the chief commanders of the Assyrian army, who came upon him so suddenly, that, seeing no way to escape, he went and hid himself in a thicket. He was, however, soon discovered, loaden with chains, carried away to Babylon, and cast into a dungeon by Esar-Haddon, or Assaradin, king of Assyria, who, according to Ptolemy's canon, had made himself master of Babylon about six years before, and was, by this time, become sole monarch over both empires².

His misfor-
tunate cap-
tivity.

The text neither tells us how this calamity was brought upon him, whether by an open invasion, or by some sudden incursion, nor in what year of Manasseh's reign it happened. The Jews affirm that it was in the twenty-second, and they are followed by the generality of our annalists. However that be, the distressed king soon opened his eyes to all his miscarriages and impieties, which his prosperity would not suffer him to see; and, in the bitterness of his soul, sent so many deep sighs to heaven, and such earnest prayers for mercy and pardon, that he at length obtained a happy deliverance. How long this imprisonment lasted, and by what means he regained his liberty, the Scripture doth not say. It appears, however, that, from the greatest sinner, he became the sincerest penitent, and, from the bloodiest tyrant, one of the best of monarchs. After his return he employed his whole time, and application in repairing the damages which his impiety had occasioned. One of his first cares was to clear the sanctuary, and the court of the temple, of those idols he had set up, which the priests had not the courage, nor power, to remove during his absence; and to restore the service to its ancient purity and splendor. He then sent envoys throughout his kingdom, exhorting his subjects to follow his example, and to demolish all the groves, altars, and idols, which had been raised during the course of his reign; an injunction which was speedily complied with by the people every where;

¹ Restored to
his liberty.
² His repen-
tance and
reforma-
tion.

Vid. Ufer.

only

only the high-places were left untouched, the king wanting either power, courage, or zeal, to destroy them, so much were they respected by the multitude. He took the same care to repair, and fortify the city, and other places of his kingdom; and, having reigned peaceably about thirty-three years after his return from Babylon, died in the fifty-fifth of his reign, and sixty-seventh of his age (B).

His son Amon was but twenty-two years old when he came to the crown, so that he could have observed nothing in his father's example, but piety and goodness; and yet so infatuated was he, that he gave himself up to all the idolatries of the former part of Manasseh's reign. He began even to exhibit some early proofs, that he designed to surpass him in his most abominable debaucheries; but, before he had reigned two years, a conspiracy was formed against him by some of his chief officers, who fascinated him in his own palace, and buried him in the same garden with his father. They did not, however, escape unpunished: the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who had no share in this rebellion, rose up in arms immediately upon the news of it; and, having revenged their king's murder by the death of the conspirators, placed upon the throne his son Josiah, who was then about eight years of age.

It is amazing to think how the whole kingdom could be over-run with all kinds of wickedness and idolatry in the short reign of Amon, after it had been so thoroughly purged by his father; and yet it was grown to such a degree of impiety when Josiah came to the crown, that the prophet Zephaniah, who was contemporary with him, gives us a most dreadful catalogue of the licentiousness and irreligion that had then overspread the land^a. In this sad and degenerate condition it was, when this infant monarch took the reins; so that it required nothing less than a miracle to reform it. But Josiah, it seems, had been miraculously promised, above three hundred years before, by a prophet sent on purpose to Jeroboam at Beth-el, as one who was to work the greatest refor-

His death.

Yr. of El.

1705.

Ante Chr.

643.

*Amon's
idolatry,*

and death.

*Josiah's
good reign.*

^a 2 Chron. xxiii. 22 to the end. b Zeph. iii. 1, & seq.
See 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6.

(B) He was buried in his suffering him to think himself own house or garden, probably worthy to be dignified among by his own choice; the sense his ancestors.

tion.

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tion that ever was effected in the land: a reformation which should extend through the two kingdoms; though his tender years could not permit him immediately to undertake any thing, except perhaps advising with his pious counsellors about what was to be done, and the properest means of accomplishing it. He married in the fifteenth year of his age; and, in the sixteenth, had a son and successor, whom he named Eliakim (C): then he set about his pre-meditated design, with surprising zeal, diligence, and intrepidity. He caused all those places of idolatry to be polluted with dead men's bones; and ordered all those priests who had assisted at that unlawful worship, to be for ever excluded both from all sacerdotal functions, and from the privilege of eating holy things. He likewise ordered all the wooden idols, altars, and other combustible materials, which had served to any idolatrous purposes, together with the chariots and horses which had been dedicated to the sun, the vessels where the perpetual fire was kept, the image of the grove, and all that he found of that nature in the temple, to be burnt, and the ashes of them to be thrown over the graves of their votaries; and those that could not be burnt, he caused to be flung into the river Kidron.

Yr. of Fl. 1718.
A.D. Chr. 630.
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From Jerusalem he repaired to the Mount of Olives, otherwise called the Mount of Corruption, where he demolished and defiled all the altars built on it by his predecessors; and at the Valley of Hinnom, a place infamous for the horrid cruelties that were practised by the worshippers of Moloch. Thence he proceeded to Beth-el, the place where Jeroboam the first king of Israel had set up one of his golden calves; which he destroyed, together with the groves, idols, and altars, causing the bodies of the idolatrous priests to be dug up, and burnt upon them. It was upon this occasion, that, having observed a kind of monumental inscription upon one of the tombs, he was informed, it was that of the prophet who came from Judah, to denounce to Jeroboam that total destruction of idolatry, which he was then fulfilling; whereupon the good king ordered, that a particular regard should be paid to his ashes. By these means, those of the living people, who had been the cause of his disobedience and untimely death, and had ordered his body to be buried

in the sepulchre of Sall con. God had shewn me to profess the same religion another way, which signifying,

close

close by him, escaped being disturbed, and, perhaps, being burned with the rest. In a word, Josiah made a circuit through all the cities of Israel, many of which lay almost desolate; and destroyed every where the idols and altars, which either the Israelites, or the Assyrian colonies had established. He put all their idolatrous priests to death; and, having thoroughly purged both kingdoms from every kind of uncleanness, he exerted all his endeavours in restoring the worship of God, and the usual service of the temple.

By this time he had attained to the twenty-sixth year of his age, and eighteenth of his reign; and beheld with regret the dilapidations of that sacred place; to repair which in the most effectual and expeditious manner, he ordered the great coffer, into which the poll-money and free-will offerings used to be deposited, to be opened, and the money to be distributed among such faithful overseers as would execute the work without delay. While they were thus employed, the high-priest, who probably presided over the work, sent word to the king, that he had found the book of the law (D), which he sent to him by the secretary of the temple. Josiah delayed not to read it; and, when he saw what dreadful judgments were denounced in it, against those very abominations with which he had found the whole land over-run at his accession to the crown, he rent his cloaths in a transport of grief, not doubting but that both he, and his whole kingdom, would soon feel the effects of those menaces. There lived at that time, in one of the colleges of Jerusalem, a famed prophetess named Huldah; and to her Josiah dispatched some of his prime officers, with the high-priest at their head, to enquire what would be the fate of the king and people. She declared, that God would not fail to inflict all those severe punishments upon his faithless and ungrateful subjects; but that, as for himself, the concern and remorse which he had lately expressed, had so far suspended the divine vengeance, that he should be happily gathered unto his fathers in peace, before the nation felt its dire effects.

(D) This is generally a
greed to have been the arche-
type of the Pentateuch called
Hathorah, written by Moses,
and by him ordered to be de-
posited, with the ark, in the

most holy place; which some
pious high-priest had caused to
be thus hid, in the reign of
Ahaz or Manasseh, to prevent
its being destroyed.

*The temple
repaired.*

*The book of
the law
found.*

The History of the Jews.

In the course of the same year, Josiah, sensible that his people had been guilty of a shameful neglect of the three grand festivals enjoined by Moses, assembled the heads of the people, from all parts of the two kingdoms, to the temple. There having mounted the royal tribunal, he acquainted them with his having happily recovered the volume of the Mosaic law, and he himself read it in their hearing; he then informed them of his design of expiating, as much as possible, their former neglect, by a more careful observance of it; and, as the solemn feast of the Passover was now at hand, which he resolved should be celebrated with the utmost solemnity, he exhorted them to follow his example, and to prepare themselves for that grand festival. Whilst the people were employed in purifying themselves, Josiah commanded the priests to make a more strict search into the temple, and to cast out and destroy all the profane and idolatrous lumber that should be found in it; to bring the ark, and all the sacred utensils, which had been removed in former reigns, and to deposite them in their former place and order. All these commands being speedily executed by the priests and people, the ceremony of the Passover was celebrated with more zeal and magnificence than had appeared in that solemnity since the days of Samuel. Finally, the king made a second progress through the kingdom; expelled all the wizards and enchanters; instituted courts of judicature every where, giving strict charge, both to the magistrates, and also to the priests and Levites, to see that the people were instructed in, and kept obedient to the law of Moses.

In this manner did the pious monarch endeavour, with the sincerest zeal, to restore the pure worship of God through his dominions; and to clear it from all the dregs of superstition and idolatry; in hopes of averting his impending judgment. Nevertheless, the divine anger was not abated in the least against the people; who, though they so far complied with their sovereign, as to shew an outward zeal for God, were yet found ready to relapse into the vilest abominations, whenever they met with any encouragement for it under a wicked reign. These forced reformations, therefore, could not but render them more odious in the sight of God; so that, having denounced a total destruction against the land, by his prophet Zephaniah,¹ and by the prophetess Huldah, he hastened to take

¹ Zeph. ii. 14. &c. xxii. 16. &c. Chos. xxxiv. & xxxv. psalm. ² Zeph. i. 1, & seq.

Yr. of Fl.
1725.
Aste Chr.
623.

The Passe-
wer kept.

the good prince to himself, according to his promise, that his eyes might not behold the dreadful calamities that were to fall upon his nation.

Josiah had by this time reigned thirty-one years in profound peace, when Pharaoh Necho advanced against the Assyrians, or rather Babylonians, as far as the city of Carchemish, situate upon the river Euphrates^a. It is not easy to say, whether Josiah looked upon the design of this expedition to be levelled against his own territories; or, which is still more probable, whether the kings of Judah were tributaries, and under a kind of obligation to those of Babylon, to assist them against all their enemies. Certain it is, Josiah was no sooner apprised of the Egyptian monarch's design, than he assembled a powerful army, and marched against him to the Valley of Megiddo. Here Pharaoh endeavoured to dissuade him from concerning himself in the war between him and the Babylonians, assuring him by his ambassadors, that he had no hostile design against Judah; Josiah would not be persuaded, but fell out, as if his chief design had been to fight him in person; but, before he could reach him, he received a mortal wound, and was conveyed from the field of battle. He died as soon as he had reached Jerusalem^b, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, greatly lamented by all his good subjects; particularly by the prophet Jeremy, who is supposed to have composed that elegy, known by the name of the Lamentations, upon his death^c.

Josiah was succeeded by his son Jehoahaz, whom the people set upon the throne in the twenty-third year of his age; not in right of succession, for he was the youngest of Josiah's sons, but by downright faction. He began to give them early proofs, that he designed to reign as wickedly as some of his predecessors had done; upon which account Jeremiah was at first sent to him from God, to exhort him to imitate his father's piety, adding, that, if he did not, he should be carried away captive, and die in a strange land^d. Pharaoh Necho came accordingly against Jerusalem, in his return from the Assyrian expedition, and dethroned him, in the third month of his reign; and, having set his elder brother Eliakim, whose name he changed into that of Jehoakim, upon the throne, and laid him under the yearly tribute of a hundred talents of

Yr. of Ph.
1718.
Ante Chr.
610.

*Josiah
mortally
wounded at
Megiddo.*

*Jeho-
ahaz's
short reign*

Deposed

^a Chron. xxxv. 20.
^b Chron. xxxv. 20. & seq.

^c Comp. 2 Kings. xxii. 29, & seq. and
^d Hieron. Proph. in Thess. Uster &c al.

^e Jerem. xxii. 1, & seq.

The History of the Jews

~~had carried silver, and one talent of gold, carried his captive brother into Egypt, where he ended his days.~~

~~Jehoiakim's wicked reign.~~
Jehoiakim was not terrified by this disaster from following his unhappy brother's steps, nor the people from conforming to his wicked ways; insomuch that Jeremiah was ordered by God, in the very beginning of his reign, to denounce his severe judgments against them, unless they repented. The time chosen for this denunciation was the feast of Tabernacles, when there was the greatest concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom; and the place, the court of the temple. The prophet having threatened them with the destruction of the city and temple, was seized by the priests and people, and accused as a sower of sedition, worthy of death. He was, however, acquitted by the nobles, as a person who spoke by divine command;^b and found a powerful protector with the king, in Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, who had formerly been in great credit and authority under Josiah. This patron had influence enough, on this occasion, to screen him from the fury of the people^c; though he had foretold, about the same time, the accession of Zedekiah to the crown of Judah, and that of Nebuchadnezzar to the throne of Babylon.^d

~~Zedekiah's captivity foretold.~~
About four years after this transaction, he predicted the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the temple, and the Babylonish captivity under Nebuchadnezzar, which he said would last seventy years; at the expiration of which, that monarchy would be at an end, and the land become desolate (E). In the same year, being shut up in prison, he caused Baruk, who was his scribe, to write from his mouth the tenor of the same threatenings, and to go and read them in the hearing of all the people, who were then assembled at the temple, upon some solemn fast. Baruk obeyed, and some of the chief ministers, having taken the roll from him, brought it to the king, who, understanding the contents, flung it into the fire, notwithstanding the endeavours of those that were present to prevent its being destroyed. Jeremiah, and his messenger, would

^a Vide a Kings xxiii. 1, &c seq. ^b Chos. xxxvi. 2, 3, 4. Zech. xii. 1, 2, 3, 4. ^c Jerem. xxvii. 1—13. ^d Ibid. ver. 10, ad fin. ^e Ibid. xxviii. 1—13.

(E) This captivity was like under the type of Tyre; and more forcible, though not in like by Habakkuk (5).

(5) Habak. i. 2, & seq.

have doubtless felt the effects of his fury, had they not, as it were by a miracle, been kept out of his reach ; however, his impiety did not escape unpunished. The prophet was ordered to write the same denunciations again^b, which were soon fulfilled by the arrival of the Babylonish ~~punished~~ king with a powerful army.

Neither were idolatry, and contempt of God's worship, the only crimes with which Jehoiakim's reign is branded ; he added to them the most horrid cruelties and tyrannies, rapine and bloodshed ; building and adorning the most sumptuous palaces by violence and oppression ; perverting justice, and inventing charges against the innocent to put them to death ; besides his being deaf to the admonitions of so many prophets. For these enormities, Jeremiah pronounced at last this dreadful sentence against him ; that he should be given up into the hands of his most dreaded enemy, even of Nebuchadnezzar ; that he should die unpitied and unlamented ; that he should have the sepulchre of an ass ; and that his carcase should rot upon the ground^c. By this time also, two singular predictions of that prophet had been fulfilled, which ought both to have added weight to the rest, and opened the infatuated prince's eyes to his imminent danger. Jeremiah had some time before forewarned him not to rely upon the assistance of the king of Egypt, whose army was still at Carchemish, since it would be totally overthrown by the more successful arms of the young Nebuchadnezzar, the prince pointed out by Providence to subdue the rebellious nation of the Jews. This event happened accordingly in the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, when that young prince was sent against the king of Egypt, and defeated him entirely, at Carchemish, took the place, put the whole garrison to the sword, and repulsed the troops that came to its assistance^d.

This victory proved the prelude of Judah's misfortunes, the conqueror marched directly against Jerusalem, which having taken, he rifled the temple of its most precious furniture, and the royal palace of its most hopeful and beautiful young princes, to be made eunuchs in his own court, according to Isaiah's prophecy to Hezekiah ; and the city was deprived of all its choicest youth, whether for birth, learning, wit, or beauty, who were likewise sent to Babylon. Among these last were Daniel and his three com-

Jerusalem taken.

^a Jerem. xxxvi. 1, & seqq. ^b Jerem. xxxvi. 30, 31, comp. with ch. xxii. 13, xxiv. to the end. ^c Usher sub A. M. 3397.

panions. Jehoiakim was at first put into bonds, and designed to be sent away with the rest; but upon his submission, and promise of paying a yearly tribute, the victor changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy over his own kingdom. But, whilst Nebuchadnezzar was employed in other conquests, the king of Judah renounced his dominion, after he had been subjected three years; and refused to pay the tribute. The Assyrian monarch, exasperated at this omission, sent an army into Judea, consisting of Syrians, Chaldeans, Ammonites, and Moabites, who wasted the whole kingdom, carried away three thousand and twenty-three prisoners; took and murdered the unfortunate Jehoiakim, and dragged his carcase out of the city-gates, where they left it unburied, according to Jeremiah's prediction.

Jehoiakim's
death.
Yr. of Fl.
1749.
Ante Chr.
599.

Jehoiachin's
wicked
reign,

and capti-
vity.

This prince was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, called also Jechoniah, and, in contempt Coniah, then but eighteen years old: whether he assumed the crown contrary to Nebuchadnezzar's intention, or had endeavoured to shake off his yoke, the text doth not say, but only observes, that he was as wicked as his father. However, that monarch advanced against him before he had reigned three months: Jehoiachin went out to him, not in a hostile, but submissive manner, attended by his mother, and his whole court; but they found him inexorable, and were all sent away captive to Babylon, where they died. The temple, palace, treasury, and the whole city, were a second time ransacked and stripped of all that was valuable. Nebuchadnezzar also transported ten thousand men, famed for valour or wisdom; besides a thousand of the best artificers in gold, silver, and other metals and materials: in a word, he left scarce any behind but the very dregs of the people, to cultivate the land. Among his captives, was the famed Mordecai, and, as is most generally believed, the prophet Ezekiel. Finally, he set Mattaniah, who was the son of Josiah, and uncle to the unhappy Jehoiachin, upon the throne, and changed his name into Zedekiah; and, having laid him under a certain tribute, and taken an oath of fidelity and subjection, returned to his own dominions.

Zedekiah began to reign in the twenty-first year of his age, and proved as impious as his late predecessors: however, he continued faithful to the king of Babylon some few years, during which, he received embassies from the

kings of Ammon, Moab, Edom, Tyre, and Sidon, who were all under the same yoke, seemingly indeed to congratulate him upon his accession to the crown, but, in fact, to enter into a confederacy with him against the Chaldeans. The young prince gave but too much heed to their proposal; but Jeremiah, who was warned of it, sent to every one of the ambassadors chains and yokes, which he bid them carry to their respective masters, advising them, in the name of God, to submit willingly to the king of Babylon; and not provoke him to lay a much severer yoke upon them, by giving credit to their lying soothsayers and star-gazers¹. There were, at the same time, at Jerusalem, several pretended prophets, who endeavoured to persuade the too credulous king, that the captivity would be shortly at an end, and that the sacred vessels, which had been carried away, would be all restored to the temple. Jeremiah, on the contrary, declared, that those few which had been left behind, would be carried off with the rest. Thus, for some years, there was nothing to be heard, but predictions of victory and deliverance on the part of the false prophets, and of desolation and ruin from the mouth of Jeremiah. These measures raised him many a bitter enemy, not only in Judæa, but even in Babylon: for he had taken the opportunity, as often as Zedekiah sent his yearly tribute thither, to write letters to the captives, exhorting them to bear their yoke patiently, and not to expect a deliverance before the seventy years should be expired; and they, in return, wrote letters into Judæa, to desire that he might be apprehended and punished as a dangerous enemy to his country, who uttered, not what was inspired by the God of Israel, but what was dictated by the king of Babylon².

*Deceived
by his false
prophets.*

This contest lasted some years, during which, his enemies caused him to be imprisoned. The infatuated king was at length persuaded, by his false prophets, to shake off the Babylonish yoke; and that rash enterprize hastened the total destruction of temple and city. He was then in the ninth year of his reign, when Nebuchadnezzar advanced with a powerful army; wasted the whole country; seized upon his fortresses, and at length laid close siege to Jerusalem, before Zedekiah could make any provision, either for his own defence or escape³. It was then, that,

*Rise n.
gainst Ne-
buchadne-
zzar.*

*yrsdss
byzegd.*

¹ Jerem. xxvii. passim.

² Ibid.

³ Kings xxv.

¹, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 10.

scindg

seeing his error too late, he sent privately to consult Jeremiah, who declared, that the city and temple would certainly be destroyed, and himself and all his subjects carried into captivity.^(V) In the mean time, Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries, marched with an army against the besiegers: Josephus says, that Zedekiah had made an alliance with him, before he ventured to throw off the yoke^s; Nebuchadnezzar immediately raised the siege for the present, and advanced directly against the Egyptians. This retreat produced such infatuation among the people in the city, that, looking upon themselves as already out of all danger, they ventured to force into their service those very servants whom they had but lately dismissed, it being the sabbatic year; not so much out of regard to the law of Moses, as out of the fear they were in, of their revolting to the Chaldeans. The king, however, sent to desire Jeremiah to put up his prayers to God for him and the nation; but was answered by him, that the Chaldeans would renew the siege with fresh vigour; and that his Egyptian allies would leave him to their mercy, and return into their own country. Nebuchadnezzar, accordingly, having routed the Egyptians, returned to the siege, and carried it on so vigorously, that the inhabitants, beginning to labour under great scarcity of provisions, found it impossible to hold it out longer. During this last siege, the king sent often to Jeremiah, in hopes of receiving at length some comfortable news; but he would send no other answer, than that they must be all carried away into captivity. Happy had it been for them, if they had taken his counsel, and tried to soften their conqueror by timely submission; but, instead of trying this expedient, the king endeavoured to make his escape by night, attended

* Jerem. xxxiv. 1, &c seq. † Antiq.

^(V) About the same time, Ezekiel prophesied at Babylon, such the same miseries that Jeremiah predicted at Jerusalem; and this difference that occurs had, the king should have seen Babylon; whereas the prophet expected, that he should be called thither unknown and unawares, says nothing, but general conjecture, Jeremiah tells us.

flattered the king's faith, and made him give the less heed to them; but the difficulty was rather how to reconcile Ezekiel to himself, who adds, "that he should die there," though he did not see it. However, Nebuchadnezzar found out the way of doing it, by putting that unfortunate prince's eyes out.

by his nobles and guards. The Chaldeans, being apprised of his design, pursued them, and brought them back to their exasperated monarch, at Riblah; where he glutted his revenge upon the unfortunate king of Judah with the utmost cruelty, by causing all his children to be butchered before his eyes, and then ordering his eyes to be put out, that no object might afterwards obliterate the idea of that bloody scene. This calamity happened towards the end of the eleventh year of his reign: he was soon after sent into Babylon, loaden with chains, and ended his days in prison.

The city was at length, after two years and a half close and strenuous siege from without, and a devouring famine which raged within, entered by the victorious Chaldeans on Wednesday the 11th of the fourth month, answering to our 27th of July, in the year of the world 3416^a.

They plundered the temple and palaces, and seized every where upon the richest spoil. Nebuzaradan, who commanded them after Nebuchadnezzar's departure, caused the two brazen columns, that stood in the court of the temple, to be broken in pieces, and all the gold, silver, and costly furniture, to be taken away, whilst the rest of his army made the same havoc in the city. On the third day after his entrance, which was the 10th of the fourth month, answering to our August 27th^b, and a Sabbath day, he ordered the temple, palace, and the whole city, to be set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The walls, towers, and other fortifications, were demolished, and all the Jews, including the very dregs of the people, were carried away prisoners, except some few of the baser sort, whom he left to till the land^c. As for Jeremiah, Nebuchadnezzar had given his general such charge concerning him, that he was well treated, and set at liberty; and went and lived with Gedaliah (G), whom that general left as a kind of governor over the miserable remnant of Judah.

Yr. of R.
150.
Aste C.
583.

Zedekiah
miserable
end.

*The city
plundered.*

and burnt.

^a Vide Ulster in Ann. ^b Ulster sub A. M. 3416. ^c 2 Kings xxv. passim. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. passim. Joseph. Ant. lib. x. cap. 31.

(G) This Gedaliah was the no screen that prophet from son of Abican, a person in the resentment of the king, such credit in all the latter and fury of the people signs, that he had been able

Such was the second catastrophe of the Isachitish monarchy, after it had stood four hundred and fifty-eight years, from the time that David began to reign over it; three hundred and eighty-eight years from the revolt of the ten tribes, and one hundred and thirty-four years from the creation of the Isachitish commonwealth.

One of the princes of Judah, called Ishmael, who had escaped the common fate, by taking refuge with the king of Ammon, observing, after Nebuzaradan's departure, that great numbers of dispersed Jews flocked to Gedallah, who gave them a kind reception, and provisions for their subsistence, until they could have time to cultivate the land, was impelled by envy, or instigated by the Ammonitish king to deprive him of life. With this infamous design, he repaired to Mizpeh, accompanied by ten resolute associates. Gedallah was indeed warned of his intent; but far from giving credit to it, entertained him with all the tokens of friendship and respect, thereby affording the treacherous Ishmael an opportunity of murdering him, and all the brave Chaldeans he had about him. Two days after this massacre, meeting with about fourscore Israelites clad in mourning, who were going to bewail the ruin of the city and temple, he enticed them to Mizpeh, where he murdered them, and threw their carcasses into a well. But in his return to the land of Ammon, with a number of prisoners which he made at Mizpeh, among whom were some princesses of Judah, whom the Babylonish general had left with Gedallah; he was pursued by Johanam, and some other Hebrew captains, who rescued all the prisoners, and forced him to fly for his life. This barbarous assassination impressed the Jewish officers and the rest of the people with such an apprehension of the resentment of the Chaldeans, that they began to think of fleeing into Egypt for safety. On this subject they consulted Jeremiah, who answered from the Lord, that if they tarried in Judea, they should be protected from the Chaldeans; but that, if they persisted in their design of going down into Egypt, they should all inevitably perish, and share in the dreadful calamities of that sinking kingdom. This response, however, was so far from deterring them, that respecting the prophet was instigated by Barab, when than inspired by God, they notwithstanding went down; but even forced Jeremiah to go along with them to accompany them in their flight. As soon as

they

they reached the city of Taphnes, Jeremiah began to foretel the reduction of that place, and the desolation of that kingdom by Nebuchadnezar; which happened accordingly. What became of Jeremiah, is not known; some suppose him to have been stoned by his countrymen: but that supposition is mere conjecture.

T H E
EXPLANATION OF
S O L O M O N ' S T E M P L E
AND OF THE
C I T Y O F J E R U S A L E M.

FOR the right understanding the description in the plate, we shall lay down the following preliminary observations:

I. First. The temple of Solomon, which stood on Mount Moriah, being our chief and proper object, we give the place or ground-plot of it whole and complete, just as we conceive it to have been.

II. Secondly. We pretend to no other knowlege of the temple, but what we have in Scripture in terminis; and where that fails, we only beg to be allowed the use of criticism, and reasonable or plausible conjecture. As for ancient authors, we have none to produce besides Josephus, and other Jews rather of a later date. Now all we might learn from them, which has no foundation in Holy Writ, to us is no evidence at all. Much they knew, or pretended to know, from tradition; but that, we presume, is not to be depended upon. We know no monuments they had, besides those we have ourselves; and the Hebrew tongue, properly so called, being a sort of dead language at the time those authors wrote, it may well be doubted whether they, who had no other books to learn it by than those that are now in use, could understand it better.

Explanation of Solomon's Temple.

better than those that study it at present. Nay more, it might be shown, that Josephus understood not some of those Hebrew words he pretends to explain in his History of the Jews.

III. Thirdly. We admit of Ezekiel as a prophet; yet we do not allow that he has given us a description of the temple of Solomon, but of a prophetic or emblematical edifice which never existed. Whether any body has ever apprehended Solomon's temple to have been of each side above 500 cubits, we do not know; but that would be nothing to Ezekiel's, which was 500 reeds, that is to say, 3000 cubits, for it is well known that a reed was six cubits; so that here is a difference, as of six to one, in their capacity or inclosure.* The square being 2000 reeds, will not give less than 12000 and odd cubits, or about 4500 paces. Now Jerusalem itself was never so large. How then can we suppose the temple to have been so, that was but part of that city? Beside, Josephus, in the dimensions he gives us of Herod's temple, which he had seen, and was by far the largest of the three, does not exceed 4 stadia, or 500 paces. In a word, never any real temple, built upon Moriah, was any thing near so large as that temple Ezekiel saw and delineated by inspiration.

IV. Fourthly. It is known, that when the Hebrews did worship, they turned themselves towards the most holy place or temple. Now we learn from what Ezekiel saw, that it lay westward of its door and entry. His words are very plain: "Behold," says he, "at the door of the temple were about five-and-twenty men, with their backs towards the temple, and their faces towards the east; and they worshipped the sun towards the east;" therefore the front of the temple was turned towards the east, and this is confirmed by Josephus, who so far must be right, the temple having at first been in the same situation he saw it in afterwards.

V. Lastly. Though our proper enquiry be into what appears to us to be strictly true, as to this matter of Solomon's temple, yet we do not pretend that all that is true of it has been laid by us, because it is possible many things about it may have been omitted by the Scripture historians, and therefore cannot in any wise be said by them. All we pretend to, is carefully to distinguish between those things we have a full proof of, and those

* See the note viii. 22. Phil. cap. 11. Dan. vi. 10, &c. pass. Josephus Antiquit. jud. cap. 35, &c. seqq. wherein

wherein we only try to make some near approaches towards the truth ; and upon this foot will now be explained the several particulars in the plan before us, according to the indication of them by the letters in the margin, for the greater conveniency of finding out whatever may seem to want a review, or deserve to be more narrowly looked or enquired into.

We begin with the oracle (G), where God spake from between the cherubim ; accordingly it is called "the oracle of his holiness," or, as it is otherwise translated, "his holy oracle," towards which the Israelites turned themselves when they worshipped ; and this was a square room of 20 cubits, as appears from 1 Kings vi. 2. 20. 2 Chron. iii. 8.

The holy place, or sanctuary, 40 cubits long, and 20 broad, as is plain from 1 Kings vi. 2 and 3. where it is also called the temple of the house. For the house might properly be the name of the two apartments ; but that of the temple, the proper name for the second apartment ; however, the length of both these together, being the house and temple of God, was sixty cubits. 1 Kings, vi. 2.

Before the sanctuary stood a porch : "Twenty cubits was the length thereof, and ten cubits was the breadth thereof," as is said ver. 3. and so far we have a certainty from the books of Kings and Chronicles. To which we may, if needful, add the authority of Josephus.

Whether there was a wall betwixt the temple and the porch, is not mentioned in Scripture ; if there was, the whole length of the temple, computing the cubit at twenty-two inches, did not exceed 110 feet, the breadth amounting to 36 feet 8 inches.

In all probability there was a wall between the temple and the porch ; but the holy, or external part of the temple, was separated from the most holy by a strong and rich veil ; yet Josephus positively affirms, that besides this veil, Solomon caused a partition-wall to be built ; and the book of Kings implies that chains, bars, or bolts were

(G) In Hebrew, *debir*, as if minister. Besides, it was one should say locutorium, or called "the oracle of the speaking-place." For there it was that God used to speak, or give his orders or instructions to his lieutenant, if one may so call the judge or prince, and to the high-priest, his first

minister. Besides, it was called "the oracle of the house," and "most holy place." Heb. *holy* ; or, as the Septuagint, *holy of holies* ; and, as it is translated concerning the tabernacle, *the holiest of all*.

placed

Chambers.

placed across the oracle, an expression that seems to denote that there was a partition with doors. 1 Kings vi. 21.

The chambers, built against the walls of the temple and the oracle, were each "five cubits broad, and also five cubits high;" but of their length we find nothing recorded. Josephus tells us they were thirty in number. Ezekiel says, "The side chambers were three, one over another, and thirty in order;" so that thirty being multiplied by three, according to the number of stories in the first book of Kings, those chambers will amount in all to ninety, called the nethermost, the middle, and the third. Concerning their use, we find nothing mentioned but that "Joash was hidden in the bed-chamber" belonging to the temple. Taking it then for granted, that they were chiefly or frequently intended to lie in, we may venture to say that they were sufficient for that purpose, especially those of the middle and third story.

"The door for the middle chamber was in the right side of the house; and they went up with winding-stairs into the middle chamber, and out of the middle into the third." We therefore imagine an opening was left in the thickness of the wall for a pair of stairs to go up to the second story of the chambers about the temple, and also a passage from the temple to the porch.

*Porch.**columns,**and chapter.*

In the porch were those celebrated columns or pillars, with which it was adorned by Solomon. "He set them up in the porch of the temple," and "he made before the house two pillars," and "he reared up the pillars before the temple;" which expressions taken together, imply that the pillars were before the temple in its porch. But it is not quite so easy to assign the height of them. In one place it is said of Solomon, "He cast two pillars of brass, eighteen cubits high a piece." In another we read, "He made two pillars of thirty-and-five cubits high." This seeming inconsistency between the two historians may be accounted for, if we suppose the pedestal or basis of the columns to have been 17 cubits high; this, added to the 18 cubits (1 Kings vii. 15.—Jerem. iii. 21.) for the shaft, will make exactly 35, the number mentioned, 2 Chron. iii. 15. Lastly, taking from 1 Kings vii. 16. five cubits, being the height of the chapter, we shall have the true height of the pillars, viz. 40 cubits. It is true, that, in another place, (2 Kings xxv. 17.) the height of the chapter is said to have been 3 cubits; but here we apprehend we have the dimension of the chapter only, strictly so called *cathereth* in the Hebrew, or *crowning*, which

which is expressed to have been 3 cubits; and there is left to be understood the "wreathen work on it round about," which filled 2 cubits more, both which sums added make that of 5; the number set down before by the same author. We can say but little concerning the thickness of the shaft of those pillars, only that "a line of twelve cubits compassed either of them round about;" and therefore the diameter was 4 cubits, the proportion of 12 for the circumference. But it may be farther observed, that one of the pillars was to be seen on the right of the porch, and called Jachin, and the other on the left called Boaz. Now Jachin signifies, *he shall establish*; and Boaz implies, *strength is in him*.

*Their
names,
whence.*

The altar for burnt-offerings standing before the porch¹, and answering to another in the tabernacle, was "in length two cubits, and as many broad, besides ten cubits high^m"; and since no steps were allowed in the tabernacle to go up to the altarⁿ, it ought to be supposed there were none for that use in the temple, but only an easy ascent.

Altar.

Of the court itself we must own, it is our opinion, that it extended at first all around the temple. Thus was the court about the tabernacle an oblong square, "the length thereof being an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where." Now, as we find no dimension of the court in the temple, all we can allow is, that this last court was twice as big as that in the tabernacle, because it appears that king Solomon kept pretty near to that proportion in the building of the temple itself. Again, as in that oblong square the tabernacle stood westward, so that the court had on the east two third parts, or more, of the whole space, we conceive the court of the temple, as Solomon at first built it, to have been much the same.

*Court's di-
mensions.*

But a wall is placed here, on the west side of the court, *Wall.* before the porch, for which no warrant will easily be found in that part of Scripture which was to be our guide in our present enquiry, and therefore it does not seem to be built upon any sure foundation.

A new court is plainly mentioned in history. Thus we read, that "Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of the Lord, before the new court."^o Some will have it to have been the court of priests repaired, as indeed the altar was, by king Asa, and therefore called the New Court.

*The new
court,
what.*

¹ Kings viii. 64. Coll. & Chron. vii. 9. xv. 8. — ^m Chron. iv. 1. — ⁿ Exod. xx. 26. — ^o Chron. xxi. 5.

Explanation of Solomon's Temple.

Court-
wall.

Solomon is said to have "built the inner court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar-beams;" but what these rows were, it is not so easy to explain; to us they appear to have been a kind of parapet-wall, four or five feet high (consisting of three rows of stone, one upon another, and a fourth of cedar-beams over them), sufficient to keep off the people from being a hindrance in the court of priests, but low enough for the Israelites without to see all the priests were doing within.

With respect to the several entries into the court, we place them over-against the gates, that are said to have been in that court where the people met for their solemn devotions.

Entries,
where.

This was called the Great Court, because of its extent, comparatively to that of the priests, which was a good deal smaller; both of them are called the Courts of the House of the Lord^a. And it is said, that Solomon himself built the one as well as the other. "Furthermore, he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass." Josephus, not thinking this metal valuable enough, has made a transmutation of it into silver^b; and has, at no other expence than his fancy, built a large court, upon a mount raised on purpose, four hundred cubits high. It is easy to presume he has spared neither columns nor porticos, nor any embellishments that a fruitful imagination could suggest, to adorn it with.

As to the gates, there were three on three sides of the temple, east, north, and south, besides two on the west side. These gates were kept by wardens, trusted with power and authority, who had under them a number of Levites; for we read, "Among these were the divisions of the porters, even among the chief men, having wards one against another, to serve in the house of the Lord; and they cast lots, as well the small as the great,—for every gate." We have nothing remarkable to say concerning the north and east gates; but, just by that to the south, we find the house of assuppim^c; and what this house was is not easy to determine (Z).

Concern-
^a 2 Kings xxi. 5. ^b Joseph. Ant. lib. viii. cap. 3. ^c 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

(Z) The radical verb *asap*, signifies *to add, assemble, or gather together*, and the several nouns derived from it *keep all* this primitive sense. It appears that there were, near the gate we have been speaking of, two houses, or distinct apartments,

Concerning the other apartments in this court of the people, though we are ignorant of their form and situation, we have disposed of them at the four corners of the temple, leaving to every one to fix and represent them as may be thought most proper. These chambers should be carefully distinguished from those already mentioned, which immediately joined the temple; for, besides that these last were very small, and do not seem to have been spacious enough for those uses the others were put to; the difference of their names makes it probable that these chambers were different. Those about the temple are called Jatziagh, and these in the courts Leflacoeth; and the chief porters were over these chambers, or, as in the margin, "storehouses and treasuries of the house of God."

Let us now consider the gates to the west, which *W^{est} gates,* deserve particular attention. Thus says the text⁴: "To Shuppim and Hosah the lot came forth westward, with the gate Shallecheth, by the causey of the going up, ward against ward; and at Parbar westward, four at the causey, two at Parbar."⁵ As to the first at south-west, the name may be applied, according to its etymology, to what comes out like a projection, as we call it from the Latin, or a jutting out in a building.

When the name of Shallecheth is given to the gate we are here speaking of, we see it, at the same time, joined to a causey. This was a bank, terrace, or bridge, that led up to the temple. And here, it seems, should be placed the misghad, made for the temple, by the king. The translation calls it *pillars* in the text, but, in the margin, *rails* (Hebrew, *a prop*); and, in another place, it bears the name of *metilloth*, rendered by *terraces* in the text, but, in the margin, *stays* (Hebrew, *highways*); the sense of all which comes to one signification; for the ground without the temple seems to have been very uneven; and, in order to make the approach to it not only commodious but delightful, Solomon contrived an avenue over the valley, one end of which answered the gate of Shallecheth, and the other the palace, over-against the south side of the temple, to the north of Mount Sion. It is in this disposal or order we are to consider what is called⁶

⁴ 1 Chron. xxvi. 16.

⁵ Ibid. ver. 18.

⁶ 1 Kings x. 5.

ments, one on each side of this gate; where either the priests or the Levites, or, it may be, both orders, assembled at times,

either about business relating to the temple, or they deposited all things of use in that consecrated place.

" his ascent, by which he went up into the house of the Lord ;" which ascent was built by Solomon, in so costly a manner, that it was looked upon with admiration by the queen of Sheba. Thus have we assigned a cause why this gate should be called Shallecheth ; and as there was the greatest concourse of those about the court, and, in general, from the high city, here were two distinct guard-houses, parallel to one another, one under Shuppim, and the other under his co-partner Hosah.

But, the second to the west, towards the north of the temple, was for the inhabitants of that part of the city that has since been called the Lower ; and this gate was called Parbar, the way leading to the suburbs from it, named, in Scripture, Parvarim. Now, as the temple might be more exposed on that side than any where else, and there was a very great concourse of people, the outlet of the road, near the gate, was guarded by four Levites, and the gate itself by two more. But now let us return to the temple by the terrace-gate.

*Cover of
the sabbath.*

Here we find " the covert for the sabbath, and the king's entry" adjoining to it ; for we read, that " king Ahaz cut off the borders of the bases, and removed the laver from off them, and took down the sea from the brazen oxen that were under it, and put it upon a pavement of stones ; and the covert for the sabbath, that they had built in the house, and the king's entry without, turned he from the house of the Lord, for the king of Assyria." We presume somewhat of a commentary on this passage, as to the two things here mentioned, will not be unacceptable to the reader.

Musac.

We must first form to ourselves an idea of this covert, called in Hebrew, musac. Sacah is *to cover*, and musac, *a covering or veil*. As for the thing itself, we must look for what may relate it among those things that were built by Solomon in the temple. At the time of its dedication " he had made a brazen scaffold (in Hebrew it is kior) of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had set it up in the midst of the court ; and upon it he stood." It might be in the shape of an hemisphere, or hollow vessel, almost like the concha, or triumphal car, of the Romans ; but whatever might be this kior, it must of necessity have rested upon, or been supported by a pedestal or column.

Joash, when he was proclaimed king, " stood upon the pillar :" this is the true meaning of the Hebrew ; the *Chron. vi. 13.* עֲמָד אֶל עַמּוֹד homed al hamoud. fame

same turn of expression already made use of in relation to Solomon, although in the translation it is “by a pillar;” and, what is very remarkable, the text adds cammisiphath, according to the manner, that is, as the kings were used to do in the temple, in their usual place or throne. Josiah, in order to renew the covenant, “stood upon the pillar^x,” according to the text; and this same pillar the king stood upon, is even in our translation called “his place wherein he stood^y.” This place was very fit and proper for the king, who appeared there at the head of the Israelites, in their court, in the midst of which the historian has fixed the throne “before the altar.” But it will not be amiss to observe, that the king did not stand or sit there, when he came to the temple in the form of a humble suppliant to the God of Israel, or to ask his counsel; for in this case it seems the kings were mixed and confounded among the crowd of their subjects. However, the throne was the ordinary seat upon all solemn occasions, when the king appeared before the altar. And there also it was young Joash was seated, in all the pomp of a king, at his inauguration. So the historian says, “The king stood upon his pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets, &c.^z” Our translation here again says, “he stood at his pillar;” but we do not chuse to vary where the text is uniform.

Secondly, Upon this pillar was a sort of alcove, or small gallery, made much in the same shape as our pulpits. This rested on the central point of the convex side, upon the pillar; there the king might either sit or stand, and turn himself about to the temple, altar, or consecration, as he had occasion, as is observed of Solomon at the consecration of the temple^a.

Thirdly, The kior seems to have been covered, as is at present the throne of our kings; and for this reason it was called musac, which may be explained by canopy, or cloth of state, this third part denominating the two first.

But it is not easy to conceive for what reason, to the idea of covering, is joined that of sabbath. The word sabbath properly is rest, and, figuratively, the solemn day on which they did rest. If we take it in the first sense, it must only be understood, that the musac covered the

^x Kings xxiii. 3.
xxiii. 13.

^y Chron. xxxiv. 31.

^z Kings viii. 14.

^z Chron.

vi. 3, 12, 13.

place where the king rested or sat down (A), every one else standing ^m; if we take it in the second sense, it may imply, that the kior, or *throne*, was covered with the musac, or *cloth of state*, only on the last day of the week, the day of rest or sabbath; and then it was laid up till the next sabbath-day, unless some high festival intervened, that required the king's presence in the temple (K).

Solomon's porch.

We shall not here undertake to describe exactly the structure, nor even the situation, of the porch built by Solomon. It only appears in general, that it might reach or extend itself from the gate, where ended the terrace by which the king went up from his palace to the temple, and that it was carried forwards in a strait line, as far as over-against the musac; but then in going to the musac joining to the wall of the court of priests, there was a turn to the left, and that turning will precisely be the mebo, or *king's entry*. It is to be supposed the porch from the gate Shallecheth, as far as this entry, might be a common passage for the use of the public, as well as for the king; but from the turning to the throne, it was the king's entry properly so called; which consequently was adorned and enriched much more magnificently than the rest. For this reason Ahaz made use of it, as well as of the "covert of the sabbath," to buy the assistance of the king of Assyria. Not that we are to think, that Ahaz destroyed the whole building; but as we read of Hezekiah, "that he cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which he had over-laid, and gave it to the king of Assyria;" Ahaz followed his example, "taking away a portion out of the house of the Lord," namely, "the king's entry and covert for the sabbath."

This hypothesis of the situation of the musac, or royal throne, will clear up a circumstance in Jehoash's inauguration, otherwise very difficult to be understood ⁿ. That prince, by Jehoiadah's means, having been proclaimed in the

^m 2 Chron. vi. 3. ⁿ 2 Kings xviii. 16. ^o 2 Chron. xxviii. 21. ^p 2 Kings xi. pass. ^q 2 Chron. xxix. pass.

(A) The seventy interpreters seem to have taken it in this sense; for they translate the covert of the sabbath by τὸ διατίθεν τῆς καθίδησ, *the foundation of the chair, or seat,*

(K) It may give some air of probability to this second conjecture to take notice, that the

musac was surely a very rich and valuable piece of work, since Ahaz made use of it with a design to glut the avarice of the king of Assyria, whom he had very imprudently called to his aid against the king of Damascus;

temple, the noise was heard by Athaliah in her palace; from whence she, in haste, ran to the temple by the terrace-walk, which for her was the readiest and shortest way. She went in at the gate Shallecheth, and crossed what we have called the portico or porch of Solomon, at least that part of the court, where stood in arms the Levites, according to the directions of the high-priest ¹. They, seeing the queen, but having no particular orders concerning her, allowed her to advance, so that she drew nearer; and, coming as far as the "king's entry," or directly over-against it; "she looked ², and, behold, the king stood upon his pillar at the entering in ³, and the princes and the trumpets by the king.—Then Athaliah rent her cloaths, and said, 'Treason! treason!'" Hereupon the high-priest, Jehoiada, ordered the commanding officers to "have her forth of the ranges;" which, according as their armed Levites were posted, could not more conveniently and with greater surety be done, than in opening the ranks towards the gate of Asuppim, which was over-against the king's entry to the south (L). By this gate then Athaliah was thrust out of the temple immediately; and, the better to hinder her from returning to her palace, they conducted her towards the fields, through the eastern gate of Jerusalem, called Miphkad, or Prison-gate ⁴, then, turning to the right by the corner ⁵, down to the Horse-gate ⁶, eastward of the palace, thenceabouts she was killed. Soon after, the high-priest brought the king from the temple to the palace, by the way of the gate of the guard, and thence through the great or high gate of

¹ 2 Kings xi. 5. 11. ² 2 Kings xi. 14. ³ 2 Chron. xxiii. 1.
⁴ Nehem. iii. 31. xii. 3, 9. ⁵ Jerem. xxxi. 40. ⁶ 2 Kings xi. 16. 2 Chron. xxiii. 15. Nehem. iii. 28.

(L) Being divided in three parts, the Levites had three different posts joining to one another (1); one third part was to guard the king's house, or apartment, next to the temple, southward; another to be at the gate of Sur, or turning, which seems to be that of Asuppim, whereat the king turned to his throne. It is indeed, called by another name, but very like it in the Hebrew, viz. the gate of Sippim, where our version has *doors or threshold*. The last was at the gate beyond the guard, or runners (2), which seems to be that of Shallecheth. For the king coming to the temple through this gate, any one may see, that there was their proper station in the avenue. It is also called "the gate of foundation," because of the projection there made with the terrace.

(1) See 2 Kings xi. 5, &c. 2 Chron. xxiii. 4. (2) 2 Sam. xv. 13. Kings i. 5.

that palace ⁷. Some understand by this high gate, a gate of the temple; but there was no such gate in the temple till the reign of Jotham, of whom it is said in express terms ²; “He built the high gate of the house of the Lord;” which is generally taken to be that towards the east.

Those, who have been conversant with all the pompous descriptions of Solomon’s temple, which are every day exhibited, will be surprised to find this come so vastly short of the boasted magnificence of that building. But let it be remembered, that, as this was designed to contain no more than could be met with in, or fairly deduced from, the Scripture; so the reader will at least reap this benefit from it, that he will now be better able to judge what is, or is not, authentic in other plans of this structure.

A Description of Jerusalem.

Its origin and names.

It is a general supposition, though, as we presume, without any solid foundation, that Melchisedeck’s Salem stood in the same place, where afterwards was built the city, the subject of our present enquiry. We will not undertake to decide the question; but shall only take notice of the habitations of the Canaanites, who dwelt here, and in the adjacent parts, under the names of Jebus and Jebusi. David, having taken from them the mountain, upon the top of which was their strong-hold, made it his place of residence; and this is commonly called Zion, or the city of David. Under Solomon the name of Jerusalem either first began, or first got the better of the other; but there being no sure reason assigned for this, nor any determined signification affixed to the name, we will dwell no longer upon these uncertainties; suffice it to observe, that it was generally distinguished by the appellation of “Jerusalem the holy.”

Extent.

It is no easy matter precisely to determine the extent of this city in its different changes. Its most ancient state of perfection was in the reign of its founder’s successor, we mean Solomon; in whose time this city, before embellished by his father David, appeared in its greatest lustre; and there is no great likelihood that it was enlarged by those that came after him. The general and indeterminate descriptions to be found in the authors of those times, will not permit us to settle with any exactness, the limits of Jerusalem. We will, however, ven-

⁷ Chron. xxiii. 20. ² Kings xv. 35. & ² Chron. xxvii. 3.
ture

ture to suppose its circumference, at first, to have been about seven or eight stadia, or a Roman mile. It was certainly twice, or probably three times, as large under Solomon. After the captivity, this city, being rebuilt, took up much the same space as before; as may be gathered from Nehemiah's description of the ruins, and its condition after it was repaired. According to Josephus, the whole circumference of Jerusalem was thirty-three stadia^p; which is about four miles and one hundred and twenty-five paces. But Hecateus, who has described it such as it was in his time, under Ptolemy Lagus^q, gives it no less than fifty stadia^r, probably including the out-parts, which properly did not belong to it; for there is no reason to believe, that there was any considerable decrease from the time of Hecateus to that of Josephus; so that we must stand to the measure of the last of these: we will only add, that Hecateus's assertion, that there were in Jerusalem one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, seems probable enough (M).

Jerusalem was situated upon hills: of these, the two *situation*. largest, Zion and Acra, were directly opposite to each other; and on Moriah Solomon built the temple. Of the two first we will take a more distinct view, beginning with Mount Zion.

This hill bounded to the south the whole circumference, and reached from west to east. The western side was highest, and circumscribed by the valley of Hinnom (N), as

^p Bell. Jud.

^q Diod. Sic. lib. i.

^r Joseph. contra Apion.

(M) His words are, - twelve myriads; now a myriad is ten thousand. According to Josephus, one million one hundred thousand men, $\mu\nu\gamma\alpha\delta\zeta$, $\nu\alpha\delta\zeta\alpha\delta\zeta$, perished in the siege, besides ninety-seven thousand taken prisoners during the war; he adds, that in Ctesias's enrollment at the Passover were reckoned two hundred fifty-five thousand six hundred lambs. Now there were not less than ten men to each lamb; so that the number of those that were purified according to the law, besides the rest, must have been two mil-

lions five hundred and fifty-six thousand.

(N) Ge-hinnom, so it is called in Joshua, from Hinnom a man's name. In the books of Kings it is "the valley of the sons," "or children of Hinnom;" and it is said, that in this valley was Topheth, where the children were made to pass through the fire in honour to Moloch. Upon this account it is thought the place took its name, from the tears the children shed whilst burning, and from the noise of the drums which were beat, in order to drown their shrieks.

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as the eastern was by that of Jehoshaphat^r, which, it is thought, joined the other towards the south^s. Here were several springs, particularly that of Gihon^t, or Shiloah^u, which afforded exceeding good water. To the north of Zion, was another valley named by Josephus “the valley of the cheesemongers;” probably the same as that distinguished in Zephaniah^x by the epithet Machthesh, translated by the Septuagint τὴν κατακεχομένην, that was cut in, or made hollow.

Acra (O), with the said valley to the south, stood to the north of Zion; its declivity was equal on every side. Upon Zion, stood the High City, in the author's time called the High-market-place. The Lower City stood upon Acra; but, before that period bore other names.

The principal quarter was called the City of David^y, on the top of Mount Zion, towards the west. This was a fortification which inclosed that king's palace; and it is likely that near this, afterwards, stood that of Herod, which served as a citadel^z. To the west of the fort was Mizpah, or Masphe; the difficulty would be to prove that Mizpah was a part of Jerusalem, as we are assured that near it was a small town which bore that name^a. These are the words of Nehemiah^b; “Shallum, the son of Col-hose, ruler of the Pelec of Mizpah, repaired the gate of the fountain.” Now pelec in Hebrew is *a flaff*^c, and so may signify a *district, ward, or quarter*, subject to a parti-

^r Vide Joel iii. 2.

^s Kimchi in loc.

^t 1 Kings i. 33.

^u Chron. xxxii. 30.

^v Isaiah viii. 6.

^x Chap.

^{i. xi.}

^{John ix. 7.}

^y

^{2 Chron. xxxiii. 34.}

^z Nehem. xii. 37.

^z

^a Jerem. xl. 10.

^b Nehem. iii. 15.

^c Sam. iii. 29.

But the text in Joshua shews, that the valley bore this name long before it was put to such an use, if ever it was put to it at all. If we believe Maimonides, and other rabbies, the children were made to pass through the flames only, as being, by that ceremony, consecrated to the idol. In later times, the carrión was thrown into this valley; and when it did not waste away fast enough, frequently burnt. This has given room to fix upon the word Geenna (which represents in Greek and Latin the Hebrew word) the notion of hell fire.

(O) This name seems to be borrowed from the Greek ἄκρα, an *eminence*; and sometimes a citadel, or fortress. It is well known, that there was one built upon this hill by Antiochus, and afterwards laid even with the ground by Simon. And to this reason it must be ascribed, that Acra had been since distinguished by that name, notwithstanding the Targum sometimes makes use of this expression, the *Aera*, that is, the *citadel*, of Zion.

culat

Description of Jerusalem.

40

cular jurisdiction or inspection, in the same manner as shebets a rod, signifies a tribe. The Chaldee dialect makes use of pelac, and pileca, in the same sense as is here given to pelec. The Arabians give this name, which they pronounce selec, to a sphere; so that it would be a pretty good translation of παροικια, parish, as it denotes the neighbourhood round about. The Septuagint translate it here part, or portion; but every where else in this chapter it is a περιχωρον, circumference of land, a district of more or less extent. We shall therefore venture to say, that Mizpah was one of the quarters of Jerusalem, and that it was divided into two parts; that we are speaking of, to the west, and the other, where stood the arsenal, and where Ezer was ruler^a, to the east of the fortrefs.

Another quarter, divided into two parts, bears the name of Jerusalem^b, which had two rulers, each of half a quarter. This is the part which Josephus^c calls the city with respect to the citadel; and both together made the upper city. There were three other quarters, which might be looked for in Acre, viz. Bethakrem, Bethzur, and Keilah.

As for the streets, in Hebrew Hhouzoth, all we know concerning those of Jerusalem, is, that as there was one bearing the name of Haophim, that is, *Bakers-street*; so there might be others, which bore the names of other trades; thus the valley in Josephus's time, was called Tyropeon.

Rehob properly is an open place; in the Rehoboth, according to Ezekiel^d, were built the high-places. In the book of Esther^e, an officer of the king of Persia goes out to Mordecai, in the Rehob of the town, over-against the gate of the palace, which seems to have been made use of by the courtiers as a walk. In the Rehob of Jerusalem^f, Hezekiah assembled his generals, and made a speech to them. The people were gathered together by Ezra^g in a Rehob of the temple, and the priests and Levites by Hezekiah in the eastern Rehob; we must suppose these two to have been parts of the vacant space that surrounded the courts of the temple. Lastly, there was a Rehob near the Water-gate^h, which must have been very large, since it contained all the people of both sexes, that flocked thither from all parts, in order to hear Ezra read the law,

^a Vide Nehem. iii.
Jud. xxxii. 6.

^b Nehem. iii. 9.
^c Ezek. xvi. 24.
^d Ezra x. 9.

^e Joseph. Bell.
^f Esther iv. 6.
^g Nehem. viii. 1, 4.

upon

upon a scaffold, or stage, erected upon this occasion at one end of the place, in such a manner, that Ezra had the whole assembly facing him.

If we have not yet taken notice of Millo, it is because we do not find it in Scripture distinguished by any of the above mentioned names, nor indeed by any other appellation than Millo. When David took from the Jebusites the top of Mount Zion, he then "built round about from Millo and inwards," says the text of Samuel^a, where it is easy to understand, a castle was built on this mount, surrounded with strong walls, and probably of a circular form. This building had on the east what is called Millo, and on the other sides was bounded by the hill itself; insomuch that the city of David was within Mount Zion on the north, west, and south, but was bordered eastwards by Millo (P). Although it is said in the text, "Solomon built it;" yet the context shews, that he only made an end of it, or repaired it; and as much did Hezekiah in his time^b. Who the first was that built it, we do not know; but it seems to have been a work of the Jebusites, whose government was almost a democracy, like that of Athens.

Buildings.

Let us next visit the public buildings in Zion: the first that offers itself is the palace of king David, on the top of the mount in the midst of a fortress^c. There was a flight of steps, or stairs, to go up to it^d; to the north of these steps stood the tomb of David, of which Josephus tells many wonderful stories at the end of the seventh book of his Antiquities. At the bottom of the steps was the house of the Mighty^e. This probably served as a guard-house to the palace.

Next was the arsenal, or armoury, at the turning of the wall^b, in Hebrew called mizkoah; but the arsenal itself, by a compendious expression, or way of speaking, was called hanneshek; for neshek is a *weapon*, or *arms*. The word baith, a *house*, must therefore be understood.

Not far from the arsenal, and more towards the middle of the city, was the palace of a high-priest; and lower, at

^a 2 Sam. v. 9. coll. 1 Chron. xi. 8. ^c 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5.
^b 2 Sam. v. 9, & seq. ^d Nehem. iii. 15. ^e Nehem. iii. 16.
^f Nehem. iii. 39.

(P) The truth is, all the connoisseurs and critics in the Hebrew language, are as ignorant of the meaning of Millo, as they are of the signifi-

cation of Rehob, and a great many other terms in Scripture, about which they have bewildered themselves in a labyrinth of childish conjectures.

a very little distance, we find the house of Azariah, a man of distinction of the tribe of Benjamin.

With respect to the royal palace, the books of Kings mention three houses built by Solomon : the first they call the house where he dwelt ; the second, the house of the forest of Lebanon ; and the third was that which he made for Pharaoh's daughter : but this last we suppose to have been only a spacious apartment (N) added to the first house, whose situation it is not very difficult to fix. For, on one side, this palace was almost parallel to the water-gate^e ; and, on the other, there was a communication between it and the temple, by means of the terrace built by Solomon over the valley^f. Perhaps the second was a summer retirement, since we have it upon record, that Solomon built it in the forest ; and this is all we know of the matter^g.

Not far from this palace was the mattara, translated *prison*^h ; but it seems to have been a spacious place or tribunal : for, in the court of this mattara, Jeremiah was confined ; but at the same time was allowed a good deal of liberty, since it was here he made the purchase of an estate in presence of several witnesses, who signed the deed of agreementⁱ. We read, moreover, that afterwards the prophet was taken going out of Jerusalem, and by Zedekiah's order transferred to the mattara again, where he prophesied in the hearing of all the people ; and the prophet remained in the above mentioned court till the taking of Jerusalem^k.

It is said that the Nethenims dwelt in Ophel, eastward, near the valley. Then followed the hall, or place of the merchants or retailers, harokelim^l, who seem to have been the same with the collybistæ, or *money-changers*, a sort of dealers very usual at the gate of the temple, whither abundance of strangers resorted from all parts.

Little is said concerning the walls of the city. After David had taken "the strong hold of Zion, he called it the city of David, and dwelt in that fort, having built round

^e Vide Nehem. iii. 26. ^f 1 Kings vij. pass. ^g 2 Chron. viii. 6.
^h Nehem. iii. 25. coll. Jerem. xxxii. 2. ⁱ Jerem. xxxii.
32, & seq. ^j Nehem. iii. 28. ^l Ibid. iii. 26, 31.

(N) Beth is often taken in that sense, as when Rebekah runs to her mother's beth, or apartment, or lodging : and so is the house of the women to be understood in the book of Esther, the said house probably not being separate from the king's, but part of it.

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about Millō and inward." Solomon and his successors took no less care to improve these, and to add new works; concerning which the historians have left us no particulars, excepting that Hezekiah built up that part which had been demolished by Joash, king of Israel; and added another without. Manasseh likewise is recorded to have "built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the Fish-gate, and compassed about Ophel."

Gates.

In ancient Jerusalem the gates, or shaharim, were ten in number, viz. five from west to east-by-south, and five others by north; here are their names, as they are to be found in the text and translation:

By south,	1. Dung-gate,	Haaspoth.
	2. Fountain-gate,	Haain or -en.
	3. Water-gate,	Hammajim.
	4. Horse-gate,	Hafoulim.
	5. Prison-gate,	Hamiphkad.
By north,	1. Valley-gate,	Haggai or -ge.
	2. Gate of Ephraim,	Ephraim.
	3. Old-gate,	Haieshan.
	4. Fish-gate,	Hadaggim.
	5. Sheep-gate,	Hazon.

As to that which is called of the Valley, the entrance was on the west; by this gate Nehemiah went out of the city, in order to visit the ruins of Jerusalem; he likewise placed himself upon this gate, or upon the wall close to it, when he made the dedication of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, by a double procession of the people, one half going to the right, or south, the other to the left, or north, in order to come by the east to the temple. The Horse-gate is placed to the east by Jeremiah^b, and it was through it that Athaliah went from the temple to the palace; but we must confess it is not so easy to assign the cause for which the Dung-gate is omitted on this account; however, it is spoken of in the rebuilding of the wall; and when Nehemiah viewed the ruins, it is again mentioned by the name of the Dung-port^c.

As to the Water-gate turning to the east, it is likely it answered the southern part of the palace, by the place or square in which Ezra read the law to all the people^d.

The Prison-gate is, in Hebrew, Miphkad^e. This word, which is kept in the translation, signifies *visitation*, and by

^b Jerem. xxxi. 38.
^c 2 Kings xi. 15, & seq.

^d Ibid. iii. 25.

^e Nehem.

deduction

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deduction, *judgment, correction, ward, prison*. It is also called the Gate of Mattara, in our translation, *Prison-gate*¹. It stood eastward of the palace and city both.

It is plain the Gate of Ephraim took its name from its lying the highway leading to that tribe. This may serve to ascertain the truth of the situation we have given of the city.

The Sheep-gate furnishes us with means of explaining the word *προβάτισθν*, in the Gospel according to St. John², where our translation has, "there was a pool near the Sheep-market," in the text, and *gate* in the margin, viz. *ἀσοφά*, or *πύλη*. And the translation in the text seems the most probable; for a sheep-market was there near the gate of the same name, and seems to have been between the gate and the pool of Bethesda, on the north-east of the temple (T).

Lastly, the Fish-gate³ answered to one afterwards built in the new city, called the Gate of Joppa, a sea-port on the Mediterranean.

These we think, are all the gates of Jerusalem, either as it stood before the captivity, or as, after the return from it, it was repaired by Nehemiah.

The towers, as mentioned by Nehemiah, were four. Indeed it is said of Uzziah⁴, "He built towers in Jerusalem, at the Corner-gate, and at the Valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall;" but how many he built is not said. However, the names of the said four towers were Meah, eastward; Hananeel, north-eastward; Hattanourim, of the furnaces, westward; and Ophel, south-eastward. The first-named of these was also the first-built⁵; near this they passed, going to the Sheep-gate, in the dedication of the walls⁶; the second, called Hananeel, lay

¹ Nehem. iii. 25.

^m John v. 2. Nehem. xii. 39.

ⁿ 2 Kings xiv. 13.

^o 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

^p Nehem. iii. 2.

^q Nehem. xii. 39.

(T) Though Josephus does not mention it by name, yet he places a pool thereabouts. Mr. Maundrell found a large empty basin, of which he gives the following description: "It is 120 paces long, 40 broad, and at least 8 deep, but void of water. At its west end it

discovers some old arches, now daimmed up. These some will have to be the five porches in which sat that multitude of lame, &c. The pool is contiguous on one side to St. Stephen's gate, on the other to the area of the temple (z)."

(1) Maundrell's Journey to Jerusalem.

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more to the north ; and the third quite to the west. From beyond this tower they went, in the dedication, to the broad wall ^p. Lastly, from the fourth, Ophel, a ward so called ^q, and the wall itself joining to it ^r, took their name ; but properly it is a tower ^s, supposed to be very high, used perhaps as a watch-tower ^t. It is said king Manasseh raised it up to a great height ^u; and of this tower Josephus speaks, when he says, " That the wall, passing through Ophelias, was carried on so as to join the east portico of the temple ^x."

In mentioning springs and waters in or about Jerusalem, it may not be amiss to give the following description of the pool of Gihon, from Maundrell : " It lies," says he, " about two furlongs without Bethlehem-gate, westward ; it is a stately pool, one hundred and six paces long, and sixty-seven broad, and lined with wall and plaster, and was, when we were there, well stored with water." This remark helps us to understand the better what is related of Hezekiah ^v. " He stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it strait down to the west of the city of David." These naturally ran to the south and east out of the city ; but the king turned off the course of this stream, in order to make it run towards the west in Zion. According to the Targum, Gihon is the same as Shiloh; nevertheless, it is plain there were there two pools, since Gihon is named the upper pool. Now as there was a lower pool, this last might be Shiloh, of which the upper was the spring. Notwithstanding, one might be apt to think that Gihon was only a basin, or reservoir, into which the water came from En-Rogel, that is to say, the *Fuller's Fountain*, where Adonijah offered his sacrifice ^w at the time of his aspiring to the throne. In the time of Hezekiah the water of Shiloh, or Gihon, was brought into the city, and, in all appearance, when the city rose again from its ruins, it was restored to the same advantage ; it is no wonder, that Tacitus places here fontem perennis aquæ.

The king's pool is mentioned in Nehemiah, as being near the Fountain-gate, that is, to the south-west of Zion. It is called by Josephus the pool of Solomon, and described winding towards the east. Isaiah speaks of the

^p Nehem. xii. 38.

^q Ibid. iii. 26.

^r Ibid. 27.

^s Conf. *Neh.* & *Habak.* ii. 1. ^t *Ibid.* xxvii. 14. in the margin. ^u *2 Chron.*

xxviii. 14.

^x *Jos. Bell. Judg.* vi. 6.

^y *2 Chron.* xxxii. 30.

^z *Kings.* 9.

^{aa} *Ibid. lib. v. cap. 18.*

old pool^t, whose water had been made to run between the two walls, and might be the same as that made by Hezekiah, barely called the pool made^u, which might be named the artificial pool; not but that it was a natural spring, but because art had been made use of in order to make it water the eastern parts of Zion. However, one of the most renowned sources of Jerusalem was the brook of Cedron, whose head spring did not run very plentifully, for in summer it was generally dried up; but in rainy weather the quantity of waters falling from the mountains increased it so prodigiously, that it rather looked like a river than a brook. In the Hebrew its name is pronounced *Kidron*, as our translation has expressed it; and where it is said, “King David passed over the brook Kidron, toward the way of the wilderness^x.”

We flatter ourselves we have faithfully represented Jerusalem as it anciently stood, from about the times of David to the Babylonish captivity; for though it may be objected, that Nehemiah, from whom most of our proofs are borrowed, lived several years after the return of the Jews, yet it must be allowed that it was not raised upon any new plan, but only rebuilt upon its ancient foundations. The walls, indeed, had been pulled down, the gates burnt to ashes; but the remains, or at least some marks or out-lines of them all, were still to be seen, and parts of several of them were still subsisting. So, as we read in Nehemiah^y, “the breaches were stopped,” the buildings re-edified, and the whole city restored, as much as possible, to its former condition.

^t Isa. xx. 11. ^u Nehem. iii. 16. ^x 2 Sam. xv. 23. ^y Chap. iv. 7. coll. vi. 1.

T H E

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